THE RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES, and OFFICE OF EMBASSADORS AND PUBLICK MINISTERS.

ILLUSTRATED with

Hiſtorical Narrations of the moſt important Affairs that have been tranſacted by them through all the Courts of EUROPE,

AND

A GENERAL VIEW of the moſt celebrated TREATIES.

To which is added,

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING The Succeſſion in the GERMAN EMPIRE;

With Remarks on the GOLDEN BULL of *CHARLES* IV, which regulated the Number of ELECTORS:

AND

A Short Account of their ſeveral PRINCIPALITIES.

Correcting the Miſtakes of Monſ. DE THOU, and other the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians.

By Monſ. *de* WICQUEFORT,
Privy Counſellor to the Duke of BRUNSWICK and LUNENBURG, ZELL, *&c.*

Tranſlated into ENGLISH by Mr. DIGBY.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE the Lord DIGBY.

MY LORD,

I Shall not in this Dedication imitate the Practice of moſt Authors, and take occaſion from the Antiquity of Your Family, and its ſignal Services to the Kingdom; from the Nobility of Your Birth, nor from Your own perſonal Qualifications, Virtues, and Merits, to ſwell my Epiſtle with Your Praiſes; for tho' no body would better become all that can be ſaid on thoſe Heads than Your LORDSHIP; *yet I am ſenſible Your* LORDSHIP's *Humility is as deep as is requiſite to ſupport the noble Superſtructure You have rais'd thereon; I ſhall therefore carefully avoid gratifying my Pen in the Pleaſure it would otherwiſe take to indulge it ſelf in the due Praiſes of ſo noble a Subject, and forbear ſaying any thing of You by way of Encomium, as well for fear of offending where I moſt would pleaſe, as becauſe I know that all I could ſay would be too little, and I ſhould be liable to be cenſur'd by all that know You for my Temerity in attempting what deſerves a better Hand.*

For theſe Reaſons, MY LORD, *I ſhall content my ſelf with acquainting Your* LORDSHIP *that I put this*

Tranſlation

Tranſlation under Your Patronage on many Accounts: Firſt, becauſe my Author was a great Man himſelf, and ſo worthy Your Protection; next, becauſe the matter he ſo ingeniouſly and skillfully handles is not unworthy Your Peruſal; and tho' I am not to learn that he is no Stranger to You in his own Language; yet I thought it might be ſome Satisfaction to You to read him in Your Mother Tongue. But, MY LORD, *the chief Reaſon is, that I think it a good Opportunity to expreſs to Your* LORDSHIP *and the World, the feeling Senſe I have of all Your Favours and Bounties to me, which juſtly intitle You to all that the Remainder of my Life will enable me to do, in any kind whatever, to teſtify my Gratitude; and till I can give ſome better Proof thereof, I hope You will, out of Your wonted Goodneſs, accept of this ſmall Token of it, ſince I can with the greateſt Truth ſay, that no body can be with more Sincerity, or a more profound Veneration and Reſpect, than I am,*

MY LORD,

Your LORDSHIP's moſt obliged,

and moſt obedient humble

Servant and Kinſman,

JOHN DIGBY.

THE Author's EPISTLE TO HIS MOST SERENE HIGHNESS *GEORGE WILLIAM*, Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, &c.

May it pleaſe Your Highneſs,

MY Deſign was to digeſt in this Work, that Confuſion which disfigures the Memoirs that have been publiſh'd on the ſame Subject, and to reduce it into a Treatiſe that had both Order and Method. I can ſay that its Beginnings were ſo fortunate, that I might have promis'd my ſelf a favourable Succeſs: But I had hardly form'd the firſt Project of the Second Part, when I was depriv'd of the Means to finiſh it, and indeed to continue it. Since Your moſt Serene Highneſs has permitted me to retire to Your Court, I have been oblig'd to beſtow my Thoughts on Affairs of another Nature, and to apply my ſelf to the Continuation of a Work of a larger Extent, which was formerly deſir'd of me. I therefore made no Scruple to abandon a Matter that was not yet in a Condition to receive a reaſonable Form; and nevertheleſs, that I might do no Injury to the Printer, I would not hinder him from giving it to the Publick, to the End he might find an Advantage by it, which I my ſelf could

not. It is not without ſome Reluctancy that I expoſe this imperfect Piece to the Sight of Your moſt Serene Highneſs, and indeed I could never have reſolv'd upon it, if I did not know that there is nothing ſo well finiſh'd, but your great Skill would enable You to find Fault with; and if I did not conſider that Great Princes have this in common with him who is above 'em, That they receive the Vows and Sacrifices of the Rich and the Poor indifferently, and that the Talent of the one and the Mite of the other are equally acceptable to 'em. Small Oblations have their Agreeableneſs and Merit, as well as Holocauſts and Hecatombs. I lay but a ſmall Grain of Incenſe on the Altar, but it is with a profound Reſpect, in Acknowledgment of the infinite Favours I every Day receive of Your Serene Highneſs, and particularly of the Protection You have been pleas'd to honour me with, and for which I render You my moſt humble Thanks. And as the Happineſs of the little Time I have to live depends upon it, I alſo proteſt to You, I ſhall employ all the Moments of it in whatſoever You ſhall pleaſe to require of him who is, with the moſt ſubmiſſive Sentiments,

My LORD,

M

Your moſt Serene Highneſs's

moſt humble, moſt obedient,

and moſt devoted Servant,

WICQUEFORT.

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THE

THE EMBASSADOR AND HIS FUNCTIONS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of an Embaſſador in general.

THERE is no doubt to be made, but the Knowledge of that part of the publick Right, which treats of *Embaſſadors* and *foreign Miniſters*, is very neceſſary, and yet it muſt be acknowledg'd that there is nothing ſo univerſally unknown. There is not any Kingdom or State that does not make uſe of 'em, yet nevertheleſs there is hardly any body that knows what an *Embaſſador* is; that is to ſay, what are the Qualities that form him, the Rights and Privileges he enjoys, what Civilities are due to his Character, and what are the proper Functions of his Employment. I have therefore often wonder'd, that there has not yet appear'd any perfect Treatiſe on that Subject, and that among ſo many learned Men, who have made Politicks their chiefeſt Study; and even among ſo many great Men, who have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in Embaſſies, there is not any one who has thought fit to oblige Poſterity ſo far, as to preſent it with a Work by ſo much the more uſeful, as an Embaſſador is a Miniſter which the State cannot be without; and at the ſame time the Rights and Privileges of Embaſſy are the moſt illuſtrious Marks of Sovereignty.

The greateſt part of thoſe who have handled this Matter have done it but ſlightly, and thoſe who have compos'd whole Volumes to give us an Idea of a *conſummate Embaſſador*, furniſh us with nothing but common Places; inſomuch that inſtead of forming an accompliſh'd Miniſter, they extend themſelves on Qualities that are neither proper nor peculiar to him, but without which it is impoſſible to be either a good Citizen or an honeſt Man. The very Maſters of the Ceremonies, and Introductors of Embaſſadors, have been ſo remiſs and negligent, that except Mr. *John Finet*, Maſter of the Ceremonies in *England*, (who has left Memoirs of what paſs'd at the Court in *London* relating to this Subject, while he diſcharged the Function of Introductor there) not one has been willing to do that good Office to his Succeſſor. M. *Girault*, who is an Aſſiſtant or Lieutenant to the Introductors at the Court of *France*, is beyond all doubt the Man, who, of all the Officers, beſt underſtands this Employment. He holds it from Father to Son, and not being an half yearly Attendant, as the Introductors are, it is impoſſible but he muſt be very knowing. He is moreover a very worthy, and very able Man, and yet he has not hitherto been prevail'd upon to beſtow a little Application, to draw up Memoirs that might regulate the Ceremonial in all

the other Courts of *Europe*. In the ſecond Volume of the *Ceremonial of France* are to be found ſome Remarks that the Count *de Brulon* and Monſ. *de Berlize* have made relating to the time they liv'd in; but then there is but a few of 'em, and even they are imperfect, and have neither Series nor Order.

As for my own part, I do not promiſe here a Treatiſe, where there ſhall be nothing wanting; as well becauſe the Matter it ſelf is endleſs, as becauſe that this Work coming forth during the tediouſneſs of a very rigid and inſupportable Captivity, it is impoſſible but there muſt almoſt every where appear ſome Tokens of the Uneaſineſs of my Mind, as well as of the Infirmities which are common to all Men, and which I readily acknowledge to be very great in my ſelf. During the time of my Solitude I had no other Converſation than that of ſome few of my Books, (which I obtain'd as it were an Alms from the Fiſcal) nor any other Diverſion than that of Reading. That of modern Hiſtory has in all times made part of my Occupation, wherein I took Pleaſure to remark ſome Paſſages which might be uſeful, (if not to the Compoſition of a regular and methodical Treatiſe) at leaſt to lighten the Task of thoſe who, having better Means and larger Capacities than my ſelf, might thereby be ab'e to apply themſelves to it with greater Aſſiduity and Succeſs. But my Misfortunes having made me loſe thoſe Thoughts, and having broken all my Meaſures, have caus'd a Project which in itſelf was reaſonable enough, to be ſucceeded by this Collection of Examples, which have been publiſh'd under the Title of *Memoirs relating to Embaſſadors and publick Miniſters*.

They ſo amply ſet forth the Exemptions, Immunities, Privileges and Advantages that the *Law of Nations* beſtows upon 'em, that, to give 'em ſome Form of a Treatiſe, it was (in my Opinion) ſufficient to ſort 'em, and redreſs in this third Edition what may lie confus'd and irregular in the two former. I know very well, all that I can ſay will never be able to make it a Science that has its mathematical Principles, or that is founded on demonſtrative Reaſons, upon which certain and infallible Rules may be made; but however, I think I can reduce all my Diſcourſe to Maxims, wherein will be found ſomething that comes very near to a moral Infallibility.

Princes have a ſort of Commerce among themſelves as well as other Men, but not being able to confer one with the other in Perſon, without ſome Prejudice to their Dignity or Affairs, they have recourſe to the Mediation of certain Miniſters to whom they give the Character of Embaſſador, or ſome other publick Qualification. On this is founded the Neceſſity of having Embaſſadors; for Princes not being able to do their Buſineſs themſelves with other Sovereigns, they are neceſſitated to employ Perſons who repreſent 'em, who find themſelves thereby rais'd to a high pitch of Dignity, in which they receive Honours they could not pretend to without this eminent Quality. When theſe Perſons have the Character of *Publick Repreſentatives*, they are call'd *Embaſſadors* in a Signification much more reſtrain'd than that the *Romans* gave to the word *Legatus*, which does not only extend itſelf to the Miniſters of the ſecond Rank, but even to Perſons who not being employ'd from Sovereigns, are not within the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. The *Roman* Hiſtory, and the Laws of ancient *Rome*, give the Quality of *Legatus* not only to the Lieutenant Generals of their Armies, and to the Lieutenant Colonels of their Regiments or Legions, but alſo to the Meſſengers the Senate ſent to the Generals, and which the Towns ſubject to their Empire, and the ſame Generals, ſent to the Senate. As I cannot therefore apply to my *Embaſſador* all that the *Roman* Laws ſay of their *Legatus*, I thought it was to no purpoſe to draw from ancient Hiſtory Examples that did not ſquare with modern Uſage, ſince excepting the Protection, that the *Law of Nations* beſtows on the one as well as the other, there is nothing in Antiquity to ſwell this Work with, which treats only of what is practic'd at this time.

The Word *Embaſſador*, *Ambaſſiadore*, or *Embaxador*, is deriv'd from the *Spaniſh Embiar*, which ſignifies to ſend; ſo that one may ſay, *That an Embaſſador is a publick Miniſter, diſpatch'd by a ſovereign Prince to ſome foreign Potentate or State, there to repreſent his Perſon, by virtue of a Power, Letters of Credence, or ſome Commiſſion that notifies his Character.* I am ſenſible this Definition has not all the parts of which it ought to be compos'd; but as the School does not extend its Juriſdiction to the Matter I am at preſent treating of, ſo I do not think I am oblig'd to ſubject my ſelf to its Laws and Rules. I ſhall in the next Chapter ſpeak of thoſe who have a Right to ſend *Embaſſadors*; and the Powers, as alſo the Letters of Credence, ſhall likewiſe have theirs. I ſhall therefore be contented to ſay here, That no body can doubt that an *Embaſſador* is a publick Miniſter, as on the other ſide no body can be ignorant that every publick Miniſter is not an *Embaſſador*, but that it is neceſſary he have the Character of *Repreſentative*, without which he muſt take his Place among the Miniſters of the ſecond Order. The Pope's *Nuncio* has not the Quality of *Embaſſador*, and yet for all that he is one under a *Latin* Denomination.

All other Miniſters, as *Plenipotentiaries* (if they have with this Quality the repreſenting Character) *Internuncios*, *Envoys*, *Reſidents*, *Agents*, *Commiſſioners*, the *Secretaries* of *Embaſſies*, and even the *Secretaries* of *Embaſſadors*, who in the Abſence of their Maſters, or during the Intervals of Embaſſies, are charg'd with the Proſecution or Sollicitation of Affairs, are alſo publick Miniſters, and as ſuch they enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations* in its full extent. This obliges me to ſpeak of 'em as occaſion requires, and to ſhew, that notwithſtanding they are not paid the ſame Civilities that are inſeparable from the Character, yet that is no hindrance to their enjoying all the ſame Advantages which the *Law of Nations*, and the publick Faith, beſtows on all thoſe, to whom one may give the Quality of *Legatus*.

I put alſo into this Number, thoſe Perſons whom Princes employ by a verbal Order; provided that he, with whom they are to negociate, acknowledges 'em in that Quality, and gives them a Credit which he would not give to another without Letters. *Henry* IV. being in

in the beginning of this Age advanc'd as far as the Frontiers of *Flanders*, on occasion of the Siege of *Ostend*, which the Arch-Duke *Albert* was carrying on; and the Queen of *England* being come to *Dover*, there was a mighty Commerce of Letters between these two Princes. The Queen wrote one to the King, the last Lines whereof were so obscure, that the King imagining they contain'd something mysterious, thought he ought to have them explain'd, and to that end employ some Minister, whose Favour with his Majesty, and the Confidence he put in him, was sufficiently known, to prevail with the Queen to unfold her Meaning without Scruple. He therefore order'd the Marquis *de Rosny*, who has since made himself known under the Quality of Duke *de Sully*, to cross the Sea under the pretext of taking a trip to *London*, by way of Diversion, because he was well assur'd that the Queen (who without doubt would be inform'd of his Passage) would not fail to speak to him. Accordingly at his landing he found in the Port of *Dover* several *English* Noblemen, who knowing him saluted him, and acquainted the Queen with his Arrival, who immediately sent for him by the Captain of her Guards. She entertain'd him a long time with the common Interest of both Crowns, and the Designs that might be form'd against *Spain*, and sent him back very well satisfy'd. Now *he had no Letters of Credence* that could give him either Quality or Character, but that did not hinder him from discharging the Function of an Embassador; because the Queen, who knew the Confidence his Master repos'd in him, consider'd him as a publick Minister, and beyond all doubt would not have fail'd to have let him enjoy all the Rights and Privileges of that Character if it had been necessary.

This is what may be done betwixt Princes who are in a perfect Amity and good Understanding; but no risque is to be run of this nature, with those who are not, and who perhaps would not have for the Person, the Consideration they are oblig'd to have for the Character.

In the Year 1646, the Court of *France* seeing that the Abbot of St. *Nicholas*, tho' a Person of great Ability, could not overcome the rigorous Disposition of Pope *Innocent* X. towards the *Barberins*, whose Restoration the King was contriving, resolv'd to send thither the Duke *de Brezé* with the Character of Embassador Extraordinary, or else Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, *who had no other Qualification but what his Birth entitled him to.* But the Duke being kill'd in a Sea-Fight, and the Siege of *Orbitello* being rais'd with little Reputation to the Arms of *France*, the Prince would not appear at *Rome* after that ill Success. He would not take upon him the Character of Embassador that he might not thereby injure that of Prince, but yet he had nevertheless been one in Fact, because he had his *Letters of Credence* to discharge the Functions thereof, and to enjoy the Protection and all other Advantages of the *Law of Nations*. There have been Princes of the Blood of *France* who have been Embassadors to *Spain* and *England*. *Anthony* King of *Navarre* and the Cardinal *de Bourbon* conducted *Isabella* (who was betrothed to the King of *Spain*) to the very Frontiers: The Prince of *Condé* went even to *Madrid*, and the Prince *Dauphin*, Son of the Duke of *Montpensier* was chief of the Embassy which *Henry* III. sent into *England* to negociate the Marriage of his Brother the Duke of *Alençon*. I shall not speak of the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Chevreuse*, Princes of the House of *Lorrain*, nor of the Duke *d'Engoulesme*, because Prince *Thomas* pretended to be something more than they; but I do not believe that a younger Son of the Duke of *Savoy* would put himself in Competition with a Cardinal *Lantgrave* of *Hesse*, which is a Family as illustrious, and at least as ancient, as that of *Savoy*; and yet he appear'd in the Quality of the Emperor's Embassador, at a Court where he held a Rank, that neither the Princes, nor even the Duke of *Savoy* himself, can pretend to. The same may be said of Cardinal *Bichi* Embassador from *France*; of the Bishop of *Osnabourg* Prince of the Empire, who was Embassador at *Munster*, not from a crown'd Head, but from the Electoral College; from whence I conclude, that the Character of Embassador does not at all derogate from the Dignity of Prince.

A domestick Example might have convinc'd Prince *Thomas* of the Truth of this Assertion. In the Year 1607, the Duke of *Savoy*, who was his Father, desir'd and obtain'd of the Emperor the Embassy Extraordinary to *Venice*, where they were endeavouring to adjust the Difference that Republick had with Pope *Paul* V. The Duke said he had sought that Employ for three Reasons: The first, because he fear'd, that if the War kindled in *Italy*, he should be the first that would feel the Inconveniencies thereof; the second, that he might thereby destroy the Opinion was had of him, that being an active Prince, and an Enemy to Idleness, he coveted nothing but War; and the third, because it behov'd him to make the Emperor (who talk'd of marrying his Daughter) sensible that Ambition was not his Vice, and that he could accommodate himself to every thing. This Embassy was not put in execution, whether because the Duke had not wherewith to defray the Expence thereof, or that he was not satisfy'd with the Honours the Senate had resolv'd to shew him at his Reception; or because the Treaty betwixt the Pope and the Republick was like to be concluded, before he could have enter'd upon a Negotiation. However it plainly appears from hence, that the Duke of *Savoy* (whose Heart was at least as good as that of the Prince his younger Son's) did not look upon this Employ to be incompatible with his Dignity. In the Year 1641, the States of the United Provinces sent a solemn Embassy to *England* on account of the Marriage of Prince *William*, Son of Prince *Frederick Henry* of *Orange*. After the Marriage was resolv'd upon, Prince *William* went thither in Person; but to prevent the Difficulties the Embassadors might have made, and particularly Foreigners, to give place to his Quality of Prince, he was himself vested with that of *Embassador*.

It might perhaps not be from the purpose to ask here, whether the *Cardinals Protectors* are also publick Ministers? I dare not declare my self in the affirmative; as well because that not one of those who write of the publick Right puts 'em in the Number of Ministers, as because their Functions are very different. The

Protector

Protector is no Embaſſador, becauſe he has not the *repreſenting Character*; and on the other ſide, he cannot be a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, becauſe that Quality is infinitely below the Dignity of Cardinal. The Embaſſador enjoys the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, and all the Privileges that depend on it; whereas the *Cardinal Protector* can only have recourſe to the Authority, or rather the Interceſſion of that Crown whoſe Intereſt he protects, and cannot exempt himſelf from the Pope's Juriſdiction. The Embaſſador has a ſet Allowance; the Protector has only either Penſions or Benefices. It is true, that the Protection of the two firſt Crowns, gives a great Authority to the Cardinals, particularly in the Conclave, where they are Heads of Parties; on which account the beſt Families in *Italy*, and ſometimes even the Cardinal Nephews themſelves, ſeek after it with Warmth and Ambition, tho' they would not at the ſame time be conſider'd as publick Miniſters.

I do not diſtinguiſh between *Embaſſadors Ordinary and Extraordinary*, becauſe there is no eſſential Difference between 'em. They ought all to have the ſame perſonal Qualifications; their Letters of Credence, their Inſtructions, their Powers, *&c.* the one as well as the other equally enjoy all the Prerogatives of *the Law of Nations*. They are both Repreſentatives in the ſame Degree, and I ſhall ſay nothing of the one, that may not alſo be apply'd to the other.

The *Embaſſador* repreſents the Perſon of the the Prince his Maſter; for which reaſon the Quality of *publick Repreſentative* is given him, in a Signification which is peculiar to that Character. The *Venetians* give this Quality to thoſe of their Magiſtrates, who, like *Proveditores*, have Command in their Armies, or Provinces; and even the *Podeſtats*, or Governors of their Towns, aſſume to themſelves the ſame Quality, and cauſe themſelves to be reſpected as ſuch. In the beginning of this Century, *the Count de Vaudemont*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Lorraine*, being arriv'd in *Italie*, all the *Podeſtats* made him publick Entries, and ſhew'd him other Civilities, but they every where took the upper Hand of him; notwithſtanding the *Doge* did him a great deal more honour, than he is us'd to ſhew to Embaſſadors. The *Repreſentantes* of the *Spaniards* are quite an other thing, altho' it cannot be deny'd, but that a good Embaſſador is alſo a great Theatrical Perſonage; and that to be ſucceſsful in his Profeſſion, he ought to play the Comedian a little.

It is not but I'd have him be a Man of Probity, and that he ſhonld poſſeſs with the true Vertue, the Qualities that are able to form ſo agreeable a Mixture of Morality and Politicks, whithout which, a Miniſter makes a very indifferent Figure among the brighter part of the World. But I am not afraid to ſay, (conſidering the Corruption of the preſent Age) that it is not what is abſolutely neceſſary; and that it ſuffices, that an Embaſſador have a noble Exterior and a fine Appearance, from whence he ſhall draw more notable Advantages than from Vertue her ſelf, although it be impoſſible to conceal long the Qualities Nature has beſtow'd, or to amuſe the World with thoſe one has not. Wit diſcovers it ſelf preſently; but it is not ſo eaſy a matter to penetrate into the true Cauſes of Actions, and to find out whether *Paſſion* or *Vertue* be the Spring that gives 'em Motion; and that for this Reaſon, that the one proceeding from the Corruption of Nature, we take more pains to conceal the one, than to acquire the other. This being a thing ſo common to all Mankind in general, nothing more can be requir'd of an Embaſſador, who nevertheleſs cannot always ſatisfy with outward Appearance, but finds himſelf oblig'd on ſome particular Occaſions, to be effectually what he may pretend to be at another time. If he has not a true Foundation of Honour within himſelf, he muſt at leaſt counterfeit an honeſt Principle in his Exterior, that he may not ſcandalize his Character and his Maſter. The Count *de Cantecroix*, the Emperor's Embaſſador at *Venice*, in the Year 1606, made a Bawdy-houſe of his Houſe: he coyn'd falſe Money: he had attempted to murder his Wife, tho' the Aſſaſſins fail'd in their Undertaking; and he had effectually kill'd his Steward. This gave ſo great a Scandal to the Senate, that they complain'd of it to the Emperor, and caus'd him to be recall'd. All this notwithſtanding, they diſmiſs'd him honourably, and made him the uſual Preſent; but the Count being apprehenſive, that his Wife m ght accompliſh the Stroke he had miſcarry'd in, ſtole out of *Venice*, and left it in the Night, without taking his leave of any Body.

I ſhall not here take notice of thoſe Qualities that are abſolutely requiſite to an Embaſſador, becauſe I deſign 'em particular Chapters; and yet I ſhall not omit ſaying here, that an *Embaſſador* is a uſeleſs Tool, and even dangerous to his Maſter, if he has not an incorruptible Fidelity towards him, and a Zeal, neither inconſiderate, nor ſelf-intereſted; beſides which, he muſt have Ability enough, not to be ridiculous in his Station. He ought moreover to have a perfect Knowledge of the Affairs he is to negotiate, as well as of the Circumſtances of thoſe Princes who have any relation to the Intereſt of his Maſter. It is beſides impoſſible, that the Prince ſhould be aſſur'd of the Fidelity and Capacity of his Miniſter, if he has not given him ſufficient Proofs thereof on other Occaſions, of which the Maſter uſually takes notice in his Commiſſion, which ſerves to make known the Capacity of the one, and the Confidence of the other.

When I ſay that an Embaſſador tranſacts his Maſter's Buſineſs in a Court, or with ſome foreign Power, I on purpoſe decline the word *Negotiate*. All Miniſters of the ſecond Order are *Negotiators*, whereas all *Embaſſadors* are not, neither are all Negotiators *Embaſſadors*. The *Embaſſador* of Obedience, and he who is ſent to be a Witneſs to an Oath, for the Obſervation and Execution of a Treaty of Peace, or to repreſent his Prince at the Ceremonies of a Chriſtening, a Marriage, a Coronation, or a Funeral, negotiate nothing; however this does not hinder 'em from being *Embaſſadors*, and indeed they generally receive more Honour than they who negotiate.

There are, moreover, *Miniſters* who have neither *Quality* nor *Character*, and yet are entitl'd to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. The *Marquis Spinola*, *Preſident Richardot*, and the other Miniſters, whom the Arch-Duke *Albert* ſent to the *Hague*, in the Year 1607, to treat of a Peace, were not *Embaſſadors*; which

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is ſelf-evident, by reaſon their *Credentials* did not give 'em that Character. They were not at the ſame time Miniſters of the ſecond Order neither, becauſe they were of too high a Rank for an Employ ſo much beneath 'em; yet they receiv'd the ſame Honours which would have been paid to the Character of Embaſſador, and were reſpected as if they had been ſuch. The *Mareſchal d'Eſtrades*, while he was yet but a private Captain, and afterwards Colonel, tho' he had no politick Qualification, yet he negotiated Affairs of the higheſt Importance, and was conſider'd as a very able and very neceſſary Miniſter.

Doſſat had ſolicited the Affairs of *France*, a long time before *Henry* IV's Reconciliation; but he was particularly charg'd therewith, only after the Duke of *Luxemburg* had finiſh'd the Buſineſs of his Embaſſy: and notwithſtanding he had not the Character of *Embaſſador*, it was no hindrance to his executing the Functions thereof, or enjoying all the Rights and Privileges of the Character. There was nothing but the publick Ceremonies that diſtinguiſh'd him from an *Embaſſador*, at the Audiences, and at the *Pope*'s Chapels. He ſays himſelf, that at the Marriage of *Philip* III. King of *Spain*, and the *Arch-Dutcheſs* of *Auſtria*, the Solemnities whereof were celebrated at *Ferrara*, in the Year 1598; the Emperor's, and *Venetian* Embaſſadors were ſtanding near the Pope, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador had no Rank, while he, *Doſſat*, was among the Biſhop's Aſſiſtants, and adminiſter'd Incenſe to the new Queen of *Spain*.

But it is a thing ſomewhat extraordinary, to give the Quality of *Embaſſador* to one who is not deſign'd to negotiate; and who cannot, for that reaſon, enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. *Peter*, Lord of *Moldavia*, having render'd himſelf odious to his Subjects, and not being very agreeable to the Court at *Conſtantinople*, was driven from his Countrey by the Turks, who purſu'd him ſo vigorouſly, that all he could do was to fling himſelf into a Caſtle he had acquir'd in *Tranſilvania*, where he had ſecur'd his Wife and his moſt precious Moveables. Here he was beſieg'd by *John Zapoli*, King of *Hungary*, who forc'd him to ſurrender, but upon ſuch Conditions, as oblig'd *John* to permit him to remain in the ſaid Caſtle in full Liberty. *Stephen*, who had ſucceeded his Brother *Peter* in *Moldavia*, fearing to be expell'd himſelf in his turn, made interceſſion to *Soliman* to eaſe him of that Apprehenſion, by taking from his Brother the Protection of the King of *Hungary*. *Soliman* requir'd it of *John*, who at firſt pretended he could not abandon that Lord, after having given him his Word to the contrary; but finding himſelf preſs'd hard, he yielded at laſt to the earneſt Solicitations of *Soliman*, and ſent him to *Conſtantinople*; not as a Priſoner, but with the Quality and Retinue of an Embaſſador. *Peter* was very well receiv'd at the Port; and there juſtify'd his Actions ſo well, that *Soliman* not being able to ſend him back to *Moldavia*, with which he had inveſted *Stephen*, and yet being deſirous to ſpread a good Opinion of his Juſtice and Generoſity, gave him leave to go and live at *Pera*, where he allow'd him a perfect Liberty to make and receive all ſorts of Viſits. *Stephen* dying ſome time after, *Soliman* ſent him back to his own Countrey, where he caus'd him to be re-eſtabliſhed by one of his Baſhas. *Peter* may be ſaid to have had the Quality of Embaſſador, and yet he was none; neither could he pretend to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. He had no Letters of Credence; nor did *Soliman* acknowledge him for a publick Miniſter; and the Retinue that accompany'd him, was in effect but an honourable Guard, compos'd of Perſons who had Orders to deliver him up to the Great Turk.

The Quality of *Embaſſadreſs* is of a much later Date than that of *Embaſſador*. The word *Legatus* is Maſculine, and the ſame Laws that prohibit Women the Exerciſe of publick Offices, debar 'em alſo of this Employ, which Men of the greateſt Ability have much ado to diſcharge worthily. Indeed formerly, when all *Embaſſies* were extraordinary, and laſted no longer than was neceſſary for the tranſacting the Affairs they had to negotiate, *Embaſſadors* did not take their Wives along with 'em; ſo that an *Embaſſadreſs* was altogether an unheard of thing. *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Aunt to the Emperor *Charles* V. *Loüiſa*, Mother of *Francis* I. *Eleonora*, his Queen; *Mary*, Queen of *Hungary*; and *Margaret*, Dutcheſs of *Alençon*, Siſter to the ſame King *Francis*, have all perform'd Negotiations and Treaties; but then they were aſſiſted by able Miniſters, and they had a Quality much above that of *Embaſſadreſs*. The *Marſhalleſs* of *Guebriant* was the firſt Lady, and the only one if I miſtake not, that has had this Quality annex'd to her own Perſon, and ſhe may perhaps be the laſt. When therefore I ſhall ſpeak of an *Embaſſadreſs*, I would be underſtood to ſpeak of the Wife of an *Embaſſador*, who is the Perſon that makes her enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, which is unacquainted with the Quality of *Embaſſadreſs*. The *Engliſh Lady*, of whom *Philip de Comines* makes ſo delightful a Hiſtory, had neither Character nor Quality: But after what he relates of the Ability of this Creature, it muſt be own'd, that if ſhe was not an *Embaſſadreſs*, ſhe knew perfectly well how to diſcharge the Functions thereof. The Earl of *Warwick* was, of all the Engliſh Noblemen, he, who had moſt contributed to the undoing of *Henry* VI. to the ruin of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, and to the ſetting up that of *York* in the Perſon of *Edward* IV. He afterwards incurr'd *Edward*'s Diſpleaſure irreconcilably; ſo that not thinking himſelf ſafe in *England*, he took Shipping, in order to retire to his Government of *Calais*; taking with him the Duke of *Clarence*, his Son-in-law, and Brother to *Edward*. The Earl making a Stop near the Risbank, *Vauclere*, his Lieutenant in the Government of *Calais*, who had been plac'd there by himſelf, fir'd upon him, and forc'd him to put to Sea in order to land in *Normandy*. *Edward* was ſo well pleas'd with *Vauclere*'s Proceeding, that he made him Governor in Chief; but being inform'd afterwards, that this new Governor kept ſtill a Correſpondence with the Earl, he began to diſtruſt him, as well as the Refuge *Lewis* XI. gave to the Exiles. What moſt diſturb'd him, was to ſee his Brother engag'd in the Party of their common Enemies, againſt the Intereſt of their Houſe. To make him ſenſible of the ill Conſequences thereof, he made uſe of a Lady, who under the pre-

tence of going to the Earl, on the part of his private Friends, procur'd her ſelf a Paſſage at *Calais*, and afterwards met with Protection in *France*. She outwitted *Vauclerc*, and ſo artfully repreſented to the Duke of *Clarence*, that certain Ruin would attend him, if he adher'd to the Earl, whatever the Succeſs of Affairs might be, (becauſe the Earl was going to marry his youngeſt Daughter to the Prince of *Wales*, *Henry* VI's Son) that he promiſs'd to declare for the King his Brother as ſoon as ever he had the leaſt favourable Opportunity, and could do it with Succeſs to their mutual Advantage. Accordingly he did ſo, in the firſt Engagement, and thereby ſecur'd the Sceptre to his Houſe, which otherwiſe was juſt returning to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, which by that Marriage was going to reaſcend the Throne. The moſt accompliſh'd Embaſſador could not have done more.

I ſhall only add to this, That the Embaſſies in Ordinary are not of the Appointment of the *Law of Nations*; it being certain, they were not ſo much as known two hundred Years ago. There are ſtill ſeveral Nations that are altogether ignorant of 'em. *Europe* only admits 'em; and thoſe Princes who would not receive 'em, would, 'tis true, act againſt the Cuſtom, but not againſt the *Law of Nations*. There are none to be ſeen at the Court of *Poland*, the *Polanders* not ſuffering any to reſide with 'em willingly.

In the Month of *April* 1666, one of the Deputies of the Nobility ſaid in the Diet at *Warſaw*, that the *French* Embaſſador had nothing to do there: that he ought to be look'd upon as a Spy, or rather as a Traytor: that it was known he had manag'd ſeveral Intrigues againſt the Tranquillity of the State: that the King had no need of a Tutor, nor the Crown of foreign Counſels: that the Reſidence of the *Embaſſador* was to be ſuſpected, *becauſe Embaſſadors are us'd to retire when they have finiſh'd their Negotiation:* that it was above a Year that this was in *Poland*, and what he did there was not known, nor to what his Preſence was requiſite: that he ſhould therefore depart, *or change his Quality of Embaſſador into that of Reſident.* This Gentleman did not explain himſelf well, but nevertheleſs he confirms what I advanc'd. In the beginning of the Year 1668, the Deputies of the Provinces made preſſing Inſtances ten times, that all the Embaſſadors might be ſent away; and that a Law might be made which ſhould regulate the time they ſhould be allow'd to ſtay, which the King and the Senate oppos'd; but this Oppoſition alſo was one of the chief Cauſes of the breaking up of the Diet.

CHAP. II.

It belongs to Sovereigns only to ſend Embaſſadors.

I Have taken notice in the preceeding Chapter, that there is not a more illuſtrious Mark of Sovereignty than the Right of ſending and receiving Embaſſadors. When ſome Years after the Treaty of *Vervins*, the Arch-Duke *Albert* caus'd the firſt Overtures of a Peace to be made to the United Provinces; the States (to ſhew that the firſt Article of their Treaty was to be the Foundation and Eſtabliſhment of their Liberty and Sovereignty) gave the Quality of Embaſſadors, to *Francis d'Arſens* and to *Noël Caron*, who till then had done the Buſineſs of the State as Agents: and the two Kings, of *France* and *England*, acknowledging in thoſe Miniſters the repreſenting Character, own'd at the ſame time the Sovereignty of the State that ſent 'em. But while *Spain* diſputed it with 'em, after the Truce; and that the States were to treat with her at *Munſter*, they found themſelves by ſo much the more perplex'd, becauſe they knew that the *Spaniards* would not ſuffer, that the Quality of Embaſſador ſhould be clearly expreſs'd in the Powers of their Miniſters. At firſt it was propos'd at the *Hague*, to give to their Miniſters that, *of Embaſſadors appointed to the Crown of* Sweden, *and Plenipotentiaries at* Munſter, and to give them the ſame *Character of Embaſſador* in the Powers they were to take with 'em, to treat with the Miniſters of *France*. That at the opening of their Negotiation with thoſe of *Spain*, they ſhould produce that Power, where the Quality *of Embaſſadors to the Crown of* Sweden was expreſs'd; but moreover they ſhould have an other Power, of which they ſhould make uſe, in caſe the *Spaniards* made any Difficulty to acknowledge 'em as Embaſſadors; and that then, thoſe of *France* ſhould be alſo oblig'd to be contented with the Quality of Plenipotentiaries. *D'Avaux* and *Servien* were mightily ſcandaliz'd at this Proceeding, and ſaid, that the *Dutch* were not contented to fill their Powers with a Quality which had not been agreed to, and which the *Spaniards* would not ſuffer, but would alſo oblige the Miniſters of *France* to diveſt themſelves of a Character, which the King had given 'em, and under which they had been acknowledg'd for above two Years. They ſaid, that this was by ſo much the more ſtrange, that even the *Spaniards* did not give it themſelves in the Powers they had to treat with the *Dutch*; whereas all thoſe, with whom the Miniſters of *France* were oblig'd to negotiate, were *Embaſſadors*; ſo that it was abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould alſo have the ſame Character. They moreover ſaid, that this would diſable the King their Maſter from employing, for the future, Embaſſadors, upon occaſion of any Treaty with the King of *Spain*, in any place whatever; becauſe the Intereſt of *France* being inſeparable from thoſe of the United Provinces, he would be always oblig'd to follow their Caprice. That they could not comprehend why the States ſhould reſent againſt *France*, an Injury they receiv'd from *Spain*; *which by rejecting this Power, would call their Sovereignty in queſtion*; whereas *France* acknowledg'd

knowledg'd 'em as Sovereigns. That the *Dutch* would thereby expose themselves without Necessity to an inevitable Affront; by reason the *Spaniards* being punctually inform'd of all the Resolutions the States-General took, would not fail to contest the Quality of their Ministers, if it were but to set that State and *France* at variance, and so expose both the one and the other to the Discretion of their common Enemies. That the *Dutch* acted here contrary to the Rules of Prudence, in wilfully drawing on themselves the Refusal of the *Spaniards*, who, by obliging them *to renounce the most conspicuous Token of Sovereignty*, did them a Prejudice, for which *France* could not cause any Reparation to be made. For if the *Hollanders* should oblige the Ministers of *France* to renounce the Quality of Embassadors, this voluntary Renunciation would not hinder the King of *France* from causing his *Embassadors* to be acknowledg'd in all the Courts of the World; whereas it would be disputed every where, to the United Provinces, when once they should be obliged to blot it out of their Powers. So that they ought to risque nothing, but be contented to take the Quality of *Embassadors* in the Powers they should shew to the whole Assembly, except the *Spaniards*; for fear the Refusal of these should draw upon 'em that of others, who till then had own'd 'em for Sovereigns.

No stronger Argument can be us'd on this Subject, nor that explains it better; for which reason I shall only alledge one Example to make good my Position. The *Grisons* are those People of the *Alps* whom the *Romans* call'd *Rhæti*. They are distinguish'd into three Confederacies, or Communities, and the most considerable (which is call'd the *Grey League*) gives its Name to the other two, of which the one is call'd *the League of the ten Jurisdictions*, and the other *the League of the House of God*. The Inhabitants of the *Valteline*, who are subject to the *Grisons*, rebell'd in the Year 1620; and having call'd to their Assistance the Arch-Duke of *Tirol* and the Duke of *Feria*, Governor of *Milan*, the *Grisons* found themselves so incommoded by the Arms of their Neighbours, that they sent to *Milan* to desire Passports for the Deputies, who were to repair thither to negotiate a Peace. This was granted 'em, but when their Embassadors or Deputies came there, the Governor would not admit of those of the League of the ten Jurisdictions. He said that that League (which formerly made part of the Demesne of the House of *Austria*) having been conquer'd by the Arch-Duke to whom it had sworn Fidelity, he could no longer consider 'em but as a lopp'd off Member, *which being become subject to the Arch-Duke, had no more the Right of sending Embassadors, nor of treating as a free People*. The Duke of *Feria* acknowledg'd the other two Leagues as Sovereigns, as they really were, and are still, as is also the third, having recover'd its ancient Rights; and this is what no body can doubt of. The Kings of *France* and *Spain* have had their Embassadors with them, and have made Treaties and Alliances with the *Grisons*, as with a free and sovereign People. In the Year 1604, the *Grisons* sent to *Venice* seven Embassadors, who were attended by one hundred and fifty Persons, and the Senate defray'd their Expences throughout the whole State, and caus'd 'em to be receiv'd with more Honour than had ever been shewn to any other Embassador.

The Reason that makes this Right inseparable from Sovereignty, is, that the Prince who employs an *Embassador* being oblig'd to protect him, as well as he to whom he is employ'd, it is evident, that the Minister can hope for this Protection but from him who has the Right of the Sword, and can resent an outrage which is done him in the Person of his Minister; that is to say, that those Sovereigns only, who were unaccountable for their Actions, can employ Embassadors, because they are oblig'd to protect 'em.

From whence we must conclude, that those who are employ'd by Persons that are not Sovereigns, being neither Embassadors nor publick Ministers, notwithstanding they are allow'd the Benefit of the publick Security, yet they cannot pretend to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. The Princes of the Blood, and the other Catholick Lords, who after the Death of *Henry* III. declar'd themselves for the lawful Heir, sent the Duke of *Luxemburg* to *Rome* in the Year 1591; but he was no Embassador, because he had no Letters of Credence from his Sovereign, tho' at the same time he took the Journey with the King's Consent. It was not the King that order'd him to negotiate, nor that sign'd his Instructions, but some Lords of the same Quality as the Duke, who pray'd him to take upon him this Commission. The Cardinal *Joyeuse*, and the Baron of *Senecy*, who went thither since in the behalf of the League, were not Embassadors nor publick Ministers neither, but only Deputies of a criminal and very dangerous Faction, which had set itself up in the State against the Royal Authority, which alone could name and constitute publick Ministers. For although the incomparable *H. de Groot* makes this Position, That when in a State there are two Factions or Parties, whose Power is almost equal, the Ministers both of the one and the other ought equally to enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, one would think that should extend no farther than to the Commerce the two Parties may have, each with the other. Had it not been for the Bravery and personal Merit of *Henry* IV, the Party of the League was beyond Comparison more considerable than the King's, yet neither the Pope, nor the King of *Spain* who protected the Catholick Zealots, ever consider'd their Deputies as publick Ministers. It is true that in the Conference at *Surêne*, they treated upon the level with the King's Deputies; but then both the one and the other found their Security in their Passports, and not in the *Law of Nations*, which is otherwise very little respected in Civil Wars.

The Party of the Parliament at *London* was already very considerable, when it sent *Walter Strickland* to the *Hague* in the Month of *September* 1642; but as soon as he had demanded Audience, *Boswell*, who was there on the part of the King of *England*, oppos'd it, and represented that the Parliament being but a Body without a Soul, in the Absence, and without the King's Warranty, had neither the Power to determine any thing within the Country, nor the Authority to set on foot Negotiations out

of

of the Kingdom, *without the Permiſſion of its Sovereign*. *Strickland* ſeeing that the States-General (to whom he had ſent his Letters of Credence) return'd him no Meſſage, went one Day into one of their Ante-rooms and demanded Audience. They ſent him word by two Deputies, that his Letter of Credence not being yet tranſlated out of *Engliſh*, the States deſir'd him to conſider if it might not be proper for him to give in his Propoſals in Writing, that they might be tranſlated at the ſame time: But he made anſwer, That he had Orders to deliver 'em by word of Mouth, and that if they delay'd giving him Audience that Day he would take it as a Refuſal, and would conſider what was proper for him to do. This Reſolution oblig'd the States to ſend him a Deputy of each Province, to whom he laid open his Commiſſion, and left with 'em his Propoſals in Writing; however he had no publick Audience, notwithſtanding the Deputies of the Province of *Holland* ask'd it with as much warmth as himſelf. The States-General came to ſome Reſolutions upon his Memorial, and aſſur'd him they would always obſerve an exact Neutrality between the King and the Parliament. An Expreſſion that gives to underſtand, that the States acknowledg'd that there were two Parties form'd in *England*, and that, for particular Reaſons, (which cannot be unknown) they had more Conſideration for the one than the other. They gave ſufficient Teſtimony thereof the ſecond Voyage the ſame *Strickland* made to the *Hague*, immediately after the Death of the late King, which had not remov'd the Difficulties of his Admiſſion. *Doriſlaus*, his Colleague, had been murther'd there; ſo that *Strickland*, not thinking himſelf ſafe, made preſſing Inſtances to be admitted and diſpatch'd. The Deputies of *Holland* ſeconded his Inſtances, and continually repreſented, that Audience could not be refus'd him without breaking the Neutrality, which the States had promis'd to preſerve inviolably. But all theſe good Offices were of no uſe, for the Deputies of the ſix other Provinces declar'd, They could come to no Reſolution in an Affair of this nature, without the expreſs Order of their Principals, who did not explain themſelves upon the Matter: Inſomuch that *Strickland* (who was in continual Uneaſineſs on the Account of the Accident which had happen'd to *Doriſlaus*) ſeeing the Obſtinacy of the ſix Provinces, back'd by the Authority of the Prince of *Orange*, was invincible, went back to *England*. This Proceeding of theirs was the more ſurprizing, becauſe the State had an Embaſſador with the ſame Parliament, whoſe Miniſter they treated ſo unworthily, and which not wanting the means to reſent it, ſoon reveng'd it ſelf ſo cruelly, that there was all the Reaſon in the World to repent of the little Regard had been ſhewn to a Power, which made a great part of *Europe* tremble.

In the Year 1643, *Hugh de Burgo*, who was deputed by the *Iriſh* Catholicks, being at *Bruſſells*, ſollicited a Paſſport from the States-General to come to the *Hague*; being refus'd it, his Sollicitor deſir'd one from the Council of State, which being ignorant of what had paſs'd in the Aſſembly of the States-General order'd him one. The States being very much ſurpris'd to ſee the Memorial of a Man, to whom they had refus'd leave to enter into the Countrey, caus'd it to be return'd him, with his Letters of Credence which he had deliver'd in with it, and order'd him to depart the Countrey in four Days. Thoſe Catholicks had declar'd againſt the Parliament, but they had given the Direction of their Affairs to the Archbiſhop of *Fermo*, the Pope's Nuncio; ſo that although the King approv'd of their Intention, yet he did not dare countenance their Proceedings. They were Rebels whom the *Law of Nations* does not protect, and whoſe Emiſſaries do not deſerve the Denomination of Miniſters, neither are they ſo in effect.

In making the Right of Embaſſy inſeparable from Sovereignty, we may form two Theſes, the Truth of which we muſt examine in this Chapter; whether all Sovereigns have it, and on the other ſide, whether all thoſe who are not Sovereigns have no Pretence to it. As for the firſt part, I think I may ſay, that except the Electors and the Princes of *Germany*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the fourth Chapter, there is no Sovereign but who has that Right, and enjoys the ſame. The *Pope* ſends his *Legates* every where, and has his Nuncios almoſt in all the Catholick Courts of *Europe*; in *France*, in *Spain*, in *Portugal*, at *Vienna*, *Venice*, *Turin*, *Naples*; and ſometimes Nuncios or Internuncios in *Poland*, at *Bruſſells*, at *Cologn* and elſewhere. They have no Function of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in *France*, but almoſt every where elſe. He alſo ſends Biſhops, of thoſe who are call'd *in partibus infidelium*, into the Provinces of Catholick Princes, and Proteſtants, but they are properly ſpeaking but Vicars; and their Function being merely ſpiritual, they cannot be conſider'd as publick Miniſters, nor enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, tho' they are allow'd the publick Security in thoſe Places where they have Admittance.

The Emperor has his Embaſſadors in Ordinary only at *Rome* and at *Madrid*; he only ſends Miniſters of the ſecond Order to almoſt all the other Courts, altho' he ſends ſometimes Extraordinary Embaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, into *Poland*, to *Venice*, and elſewhere.

The King of *France* has his Embaſſadors in Ordinary at *Conſtantinople*, at *Rome*, *Madrid*, *London*, *Lisbon*, *Venice*, *Turin*, the *Hague*, and at *Soleurre*: At *Vienna* he has only a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, becauſe the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador has there the Precedency. He has no Miniſter in Ordinary at the Courts of *Stockholm*, and of *Copenhagen*, nor in *Poland*, but he ſends thither Extraordinaries when Affairs require it; as well as to the confederated *Griſons*, and to the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*.

The Embaſſies of *Spain* are to *Rome*, to *Paris*, *London*, *Lisbon*, *Vienna*, *Venice*, and to the *Swiſs Cantons*. As for the *Northern* Kings ſhe does as *France* does, ſending Embaſſadors or Miniſters Extraordinary, as Occaſion requires. Since the Peace of *Munſter*, there has been two Embaſſadors in Ordinary from *Spain* at the *Hague*; but in Conſideration that the States grew weary of entertaining one at *Madrid*, and that the moſt important Affairs are for the moſt part determin'd at *Bruſſells* with the Governor of the Low Countreys, the King has thought fit to fill that Poſt with a Miniſter of the ſecond

cond Order, who, in his Quality of Envoy, discharges the Functions of Embassador with as much Sufficiency and Splendor as his Predecessors had done.

The Crown of *England* has its Embassadors in all the Courts I have nam'd, excepting *Vienna* and *Venice*, whither it sends only Extraordinaries. It has one at the Port for the Security of the Commerce, which its Subjects formerly carryed on under the Banner of *France*. It is but of late Years that it has one in *Holland*. After that in the Year 1585 Queen *Elizabeth* had sent the Earl of *Leicester* to the United Provinces, to command their Armies; the States permitted her Minister to assist at the Council of State, by reason that the Queen (who had her Garrisons in the *Brill*, at *Flushing*, and in the Fort of *Rammeken*, for the better Security of being reimburs'd those Sums which she had advanc'd 'em) thought she ought to have a part in their Counsels, being she took so great a one in their Fortune. But the States being unwilling to remain any longer under that Dependence, after they had reimburs'd King *James*, and disengag'd their Towns, understanding in the Year 1626 that *Killigrew* was to succeed *Dudley Carleton* in the Embassy in *Holland*, they gave King *Charles* to understand, that his Embassador should be always receiv'd with the Respect which was due to his Character, but they could not suffer him to have a Seat in their Council of State; because the Reasons, for which this Advantage had been granted to the Minister of Queen *Elizabeth*, being ceas'd, they could not admit there for the future any the King should send. That they had declin'd offering any Affront to *Carleton*, by causing him to quit a Post he was in Possession of, because they knew the King intended to recall him in a little time, but that they could not suffer his Successor to fill the same. The *English* were very much offended hereat, and accus'd the State of Ingratitude, but nevertheless they were forc'd to acquiesce, and all the Resentment they shew'd, was, that from that time they sent no more Embassadors to the *Hague*, but only a Minister of the second Order; 'till Sir *William Temple* having in the Year 1668 concluded the tripple Alliance, the King made him reside at the *Hague* in the Quality of Embassador in Ordinary, and in the Year 1674 he sent him back thither as an Extraordinary.

The Republick of *Venice* has its Embassadors in Ordinary, to the best of my Knowledge, only at *Rome*, *Vienna*, *Paris*, in *Spain*, and at *Constantinople*, observing generally this Order; That he that quits the Embassy of *France* passes into *Spain*, or else *vice versâ* out of *Spain* into *France*, and from thence to *Vienna*; from whence, after his limited time of Service, he is employ'd at *Rome*. She has no Embassador in Ordinary with the Duke of *Savoy*, for many Reasons, which I shall take notice of elsewhere. He that is employ'd near the Emperor has the Quality of *Grand Sage*, at least it is given him in his Letters of Credence; and the other Embassadors have that of *Sage* of *Terra firma*. The Embassy of *Constantinople*, in which the Embassador has the Quality of *Baily*, is the last, as well as the most beneficial of all. It has this Advantage, that, with the Employment of Embassador, he performs also the Function of Consul and of Judge, not only between the *Venetians*, but also between all those who traffick there under the Banner of St. *Mark*; and he is not oblig'd to give an Account of the Money that he is entrusted with, to be distributed among the Ministers of that Court, who are the most self-interested and most avaricious in the whole World. So that it is reckon'd that the Baily may, during his three Years Service, get clear to himself above one hundred thousand Crowns, all Charges defray'd. This Republick also sends sometimes Embassadors into *England*, and to the *Swiss Cantons*; but it is very rarely, and only upon extraordinary Occasions. She also frequently employs Ministers of the second Order, which she takes from amongst her Citizens, and seldom from the Nobles. She ever apply'd her self to the making and maintaining Peace between the other Princes of *Europe*; as well because her Preservation depends in a great measure on the repose of *Christendom*, and principally on that of *Italy*, as because the *Turk*, who is the most powerful and most to be dreaded of all her Enemies, always makes his Advantage of the Divisions of Christian Princes. She would willingly therefore have their Strength so equally ballanc'd, that she might have no reason to be uneasy on that account, and that their Wars may not invite the *Turk* to extend his Frontiers on the side of *Europe*, and especially in their Neighbourhood.

Formerly there was a very good Correspondence between the Republick of *Venice* and the States of the United Provinces, by reason of the common Interest both the one and the other has, to oppose that of the two great Powers, which might oppress the other, and by that means establish an universal Monarchy in *Christendom*. The same Interest subsists still; however all that the Republick of *Venice* does is to contribute its good Wishes, and its Offers of Mediation, while the United Provinces, by opposing the Progress of the Arms of *France* in *Flanders*, have not been afraid to draw upon themselves all the Strength of that terrible Power, which very much approv'd of their Sentiments, when the Arms of the House of *Austria* were more formidable, and its Intentions more dangerous than they are at present. It is true, the States had a particular Interest to keep the Arms of *France* at a Distance from their Frontiers, and to prevent the Conquest of *Germany*, since that of the Low Countreys would have follow'd as a necessary Consequence: But it is also true, that as well on this Occasion, as on many others, the *Venetians* have made use only of Intrigue and Negotiation, so long as the foreign Forces did not approach *Italy*, and did not pass the *Alps*. This good Correspondence was cultivated for many Years by the Embassadors in Ordinary, who were on the part of the two Republicks, at *Venice* and the *Hague*, till this Commerce was interrupted within near these forty Years. The *Venetians* had promis'd to pay yearly to the *Hollanders* certain Subsidies, but perceiving that this remote Friendship was either of no Use, or at least not very necessary, they grew weary of it, and did not trouble themselves much to make good the Alliance they had with the

States. Insomuch that these, finding it was altogether neglected on that side, neglected also to supply the Place of *William de Lire* Lord of *Osterwick*, who, upon the Conclusion of his Embassy at *Venice* in the Year 1638, had succeeded to that of *France*, after the Decease of the Baron of *Languerac*. The *Venetian* Embassador from time to time made pressing Instances that they would send a Successor to the Lord of *Osterwick*, but receiving no other Answer than Reproaches of the little Care was taken at *Venice* to execute Treaties, he caus'd himself to be also recall'd; since which time, there has been no *Venetian* Minister at the *Hague*, nor *Dutch* Embassador at *Venice*. It has been more than once propos'd, and even resolv'd upon in the Assembly of the States-General, to renew this good Understanding, and to send a Minister to *Venice*: But forasmuch as the Interest of those who were to be employ'd was more consider'd than that of the State, this Thought was soon laid aside after their Death, and no farther mention has been made of it these many Years.

The States of the United Provinces have Embassadors in Ordinary but in *France* and in *England*, where they have always had 'em, ever since they have been acknowledg'd as Sovereigns, till the last Rupture. Formerly they had also one at *Venice*, as I before took notice, but they did not think it advisable to continue that Custom, because the Honour of the Republick's Alliance being destitute of all other Utility, they did not think themselves obliged to purchase it. I here speak of the customary and regulated Embassies. It is not long since they had an Embassador in Ordinary at *Madrid*, and another at *Stockholm*; but it may be said, that those Employs were only bestow'd for personal and particular Considerations. *Cornelius Haga* has likewise had the Quality of *Embassador*, or *Orator* at the Court of the Great Turk; but as well he, as the others were succeeded by Ministers of the second Order. The States of *Holland* have a right to present to the States General the Person they would have nam'd to the Embassy of *France*, and the States of *Zealand* have the same Advantage, with reference to him that is design'd for the Embassy of *England*, by reason of the Commerce wherein these two Provinces are principally concern'd. *Holland* again has a right to present one of their Province to all the Embassies Extraordinary that are compos'd of two or three Persons. In the Year 1660, the States-General dispatch'd three solemn Embassies, each of which was compos'd of three Embassadors, to deliver their Compliments at *Paris* and *Madrid* upon the *Pyrenean* Peace and the Marriage; and at *London* on account of the Restoration of the King of *Great Britain*; and *Holland* which had nam'd two to each of the first, nam'd one also to the last. They have only Ministers of the second Order in most of the other Courts, because the Funds they settle every Year, for this kind of Expence, being regulated, they are oblig'd to husband it, that they may not waste themselves in Charges that are not absolutely necessary.

The Swiss Cantons have no Embassadors nor Ministers residing, or Ordinary, at *Rome*, in *France*, *Spain*, or elsewhere. He that sollicits their Pensions, and pays the Soldiers in *France*, is not acknowledg'd as a publick Minister, because he has neither Quality nor Character, nor is not maintain'd by the *Cantons*, but by the Officers of the Troops that are in the King's Service. The Pensions which the King of *Spain* pays to some of the Catholick *Cantons*, on the Score of the Alliance he has with 'em, as Duke of *Milan*, are not so considerable as to require a publick Minister to sollicit the Payment thereof. The Advantages they gain'd in the Battels they gave to *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Expeditions they made into *Italy*, for and against *France*, in the Reigns of *Charles* VIII, *Lewis* XII, and of *Francis* I, procur'd 'em such a high Reputation of Valour, that Princes thought themselves oblig'd to court and even buy their Friendship and Alliance. They have maintain'd themselves in this Acquisition ever since that Time, and receive Embassadors at home, without sending any abroad, unless it be upon very extraordinary Occasions. We may add, that all the *Cantons* have not the same Interests nor the same Alliances, a thing the States of the United Provinces have, which are link'd together by a much stricter, and indeed inseparable Band; whereas the *Cantons* being divided on the point of Religion, which is the most important and most dangerous of all, sometimes take Arms one against the other; which has not yet been seen amongst the United Provinces, as it is very probable it never will. Moreover there are some *Cantons*, who, out of their Territories, have Subjects who do not acknowledge the other Allies in any thing whatever; which is not to be observ'd among the United Provinces, who jointly and undividedly possess whatever their common Arms have conquer'd or united to the State. The *Cantons* have no particular Funds, neither for Embassies nor for the other Expences of that Nature, but when the *Cantons* send an Embassy any where, they each of 'em name a certain Number of Deputies, and pay 'em.

What I have now said of the *Cantons*, may be said of the *three Leagues of the* Grisons. They form also a Sovereign State, which makes it self be acknowledg'd as such, and is pretty considerable, as well on the account of the Alliance they have with the *Swiss Cantons* as because being Masters of the principal Passes, that make the Communication of *Germany* and *Italy*; *France*, *Spain*, and the Republick of *Venice* have judg'd, that the Friendship of these People was necessary to 'em, and accordingly have been chary of it on several Occasions. In reference to Embassy, they govern themselves as the *Swiss* do.

The Republicks of Genoa, Lucca, *and* Ragusa have no Embassadors in Ordinary neither, in the chief Courts of *Europe*, except that of *Genoa*, which has sometimes Ministers of the second Order in *France* and in *Spain*.

Excepting the Duke of *Savoy*, who has his Ordinary Embassadors at *Rome*, at *Paris*, and at *Madrid*, the other Princes of *Italy* employ there only Ministers of the second Order; as also at *Venice*, where the Duke of *Savoy* has not a regular and continual Commerce, but only by Intervals, as it shall be said elsewhere. The great Duke of *Tuscany*, the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, cause their Embassadors

to be acknowledg'd in the first Courts of *Europe*, but they do not keep there any *Ordinaries*.

The Emperor of the *Turks* and the Czar of *Muscovy* are not only Sovereigns, but are so absolute, and reign after so arbitrary a manner, that there is no Difference between their Subjects and Slaves. They also send their Embassadors, and other Ministers, to other Princes, but they do not let 'em reside there. *Philip de Comines* says, "There is a much greater Advantage in "sending Embassadors than in receiving them, "because being Spies that are receiv'd with Ho"nour, they may with the greatest Safety carry "on their Intrigues and Cabals, which are "sometimes very dangerous; so that altho' the "Prince, to whom Embassadors are sent, re"ceives the Honour of 'em, yet he that em"ploys them reaps all the Benefit of 'em. But the *Turks* have quite different Politicks. The Port receives the Ministers of all the other Princes, and values it self for the Honour, flattering it self, that it is a kind of Homage that is done it, while she sends none to the other Courts, where she sends only *Chiaous*, which do not reside there. The Christian Princes on their side, have their Ministers at *Constantinople*, but only for the Advantage they find thereby, in reference to the Commerce of their Subjects; excepting the Republick of *Venice*, who having its Interest to negotiate, is oblig'd to cultivate the Friendship of that Court. The *Turks* do not suffer an Embassador to depart, till he is reliev'd by his Successor, or promises one shall come very speedily. *M. de Nantua*, Embassador from *France*, having fix'd his Design of leaving *Constantinople*, the Divan gave Orders to the *Caimacan* (who is the first Vizier's Lieutenant) to oppose his embarking, till he had caus'd a Successor to be sent to reside in his stead. The Ships which he had provided for his Transportation, were come within sight of the Town, over against the *Seraglio*; so that nothing hindring his Embarcation, he run the Risque of it: but he was hardly ready to sail, when the Wind, which blew very hard, so entangl'd the Admiral (in which he was) in the Sails of another Ship, that it was impossible for him to pursue his Course: by this means the *Caimacan* had sufficient time to give Orders to the Captains of the *Dardanells* to oppose his Passage. The *French* Ships were seiz'd, and the Embassador was order'd to repair to the Court, which was then at *Adrianople*, to give an account of his clandestine Retreat, and to tell the Reason, why the King his Master, had sent so powerful a Succour to the *Venetians* at *Candia*.

The *Czar* entertains no regular Correspondence with other Princes, nor any Ordinary Ministers in their Courts; but sometimes he sends thither Extraordinarys, with such limited Instructions, that they are not allow'd to depart from them in the least, upon pain of Death. The *Muscovites* have some Commerce with *England*, and with the United Provinces, on the account of Traffick, wherein the *Czar* himself has a good Share. They have heretofore had great Differences with *Poland* and the *Swede*, concerning *Livonia*; but at present the *Muscovites* and the *Polanders* seem to have some common Interest, because the *Turks* and *Tartars* are Enemies to both; and that *Poland* cannot be lost, but *Muscovy* must also be undone.

Supposing then, that the Right of Embassy is inherent to Sovereignty, I shall have no great trouble to establish the Truth of my other Position, and to prove, that they who are not Sovereigns, have not the Privilege of sending Embassadors. Upon this Foundation, I say, that all other Princes that are Subjects, after what manner soever it be, cannot enjoy a Right, that is inseparable from Sovereignty.

The *Dauphin*, Son to *Charles* VII. *and some Princes of the Blood*, sent their Embassadors to the Assembly that was holding at *Arras* in the Year 1435. In the Year 1448, the same King sent a solemn Embassy to *Rome*, to endeavour to suppress a Schism, that divided the Church under *Nicholas* V. and *Felix* V. The King of *Sicily*, Prince of the Blood of *France*, added his Embassadors also; and the *Dauphin* sent thither on his part, the Archbishop of *Embrun*, the Bishop of St. *Paul*, the Lord of *Malicorn*, and the Dean of *Gravelle*. But these are things that are out of date, Kings not communicating this Right, neither to their Sons, nor Brothers, because it is one of the Flowers of their Crown, and that in a Monarchical State, none but the Monarch himself is Sovereign, all the rest are Subjects, of what Quality soever they be. There is no true Prince that is not Sovereign, or that is not come from a Sovereign House, altho' he be not a Sovereign himself; but this Quality of Prince, without Sovereignty, does not give him the Right of Embassy. The Princes, Younger Sons of *Savoy* and *Lorrain*, who have settled themselves in *France*, altho' they are Strangers, are Subjects, as well as those other Lords, who take the Quality of Prince, on account of *Dombes*, *Talmont*, *Enrichemont*, of *Tingry*, &c. I say the same thing, concerning the Lords of the House of *Bouillon de la Tour*, who within some Years, are acknowledg'd for Princes in *France*, notwithstanding they are not any longer in possession of the Territory of *Sedan*, of which they pretended to be Sovereigns. The late *Mademoiselle de Bouillon*, who dy'd unmarry'd, was become so strangely vain on the Score of this Principality, that she did not scruple to say, that her Sister, (who was marry'd to the Duke *de la Trimouille*, whose House is one of the most illustrious, and best ally'd in all the Kingdom) had marry'd beneath herself; tho' it was known, that the same Duke *de la Trimouille*, being at *Roan* in the Year 1617, in the Assembly of the *Notables*, oblig'd the Duke of *Bouillon* to quit the Bench of Dukes and Peers, to take place among the Marshals of *France*. The Marshal *de Turenne* had the Quality of Prince but in the Year 1652, because, having left the Party of the Prince of *Condé*, Cardinal *Mazarine* had occasion for his Head and his Heart during the disturbance of the Kingdom. It is not such Princes as these, that have the Right of Embassy, no more than those titular Princes, the King of *Spain* makes in the *Low Countreys*, and particularly in the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, where there are Princes that are hardly Noblemen.

The *Cardinals* pretend to be upon the level with Kings, and to take place of all other Princes. We shall have occasion to speak of 'em hereafter, for which reason I shall only take notice here, that Cardinals have no other Advantage over Princes, than that which *Melchi-*

sedec

ſedec had over *Abraham*; and that whatever Prerogatives have been annex'd to their Dignity, they have not the Right of ſending Embaſſadors. Cardinal *Francis Barbarin* (who was firſt Miniſter under the Pontificate of *Urban* VIII. his Unkle) employ'd ſeveral Perſons near the late Queen of *England*, *Henrietta* of *France*; who under the Quality of Agents, did all that a Miniſter from the Pope could have done, for the Promotion of the Roman Catholick Religion.

He ſent thither, in the Year 1639, Count *Charles Roſſetti*, who has ſince been Nuncio at *Cologn*, and made Cardinal; he was not contented to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to obtain Liberty of Conſcience, and the Exerciſe of their Religion, for the Roman Catholicks; but attempted alſo to change the predominant Religion in the Perſon of the King. He, who writ the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, upon very good Memoirs, ſays, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf was much inclin'd thereto, and reſolv'd to follow *Roſſetti* to *Rome*, if Cardinal *Barberin* would have enſur'd him a Penſion of eight and forty thouſand Livres. The People of *London*, coming to underſtand *Roſſetti*'s Intrigues, attack'd him in his Houſe; from whence he ſav'd himſelf at the Queen-Mother's, *Mary de Medicis*, who was then in *England*. The Parliament caus'd him to be ſought for there, and oblig'd him to leave the Kingdom, and retire to *Flanders*. He was no publick Miniſter, ſince he had no Character, nor *Letters of Credence* from the Pope; ſo that he was at moſt but the Agent of a Cardinal, who could give him neither the one nor the other: for which Reaſon he could not enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, but to the extent of the Queen's Power: But neither the Parliament nor the *Londoners* violated the ſaid Law, in the Perſon of a Man, who having no Character, nor being acknowledg'd for a publick Miniſter, diſturb'd the Tranquillity of the State, by endeavouring to introduce a new Religion, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom.

It is certain, that Subjects, are ſo far from having a Right to ſend Embaſſadors to their own Prince, that they cannot, without a Crime, make a Deputation to a foreign Prince, without the ſpecial Permiſſion of their Sovereign. They who do it, let the Pretext be what it will, are guilty of Rebellion, and High Treaſon. The Deputies, whom the Subjects employ to their Sovereign, as they addreſs themſelves to him, only by the way of Remonſtrances and Supplications, cannot aſſume the Quality of publick Miniſters, nor lay any Claim to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*; even not in thoſe Countreys, which being govern'd after the Form of States, ſeem in ſome meaſure to ſhare the Sovereigny with their Prince. Moſt of the Provinces of the Low Countreys, had ſuch illuſtrious Privileges, that they were within a very ſmall matter of enjoying an entire Liberty. At the beginning of the Troubles, which engag'd 'em in a Civil-War of fourſcore Years, the States ſent into *Spain the Marquis of* Bergen-op-zoom, *and the Baron* de Montigny, to endeavour to make *Philip* II. reliſh the means, which might be of uſe, to prevent the Diſorders, that threaten'd the State with all the Misfortunes which have befallen it ſince. It muſt be own'd, they were very ill treated, and it is not doubted, but the Marquis dy'd there a violent Death, as well as the Baron, who reſign'd his Life in the hands of the Hangman. It cannot be deny'd neither, that it was an Inſtance of barbarous Cruelty, and an Effect of *Philip*'s anxious, reſtleſs and haughty Temper; who, two Years after, did not ſcruple to ſacrifice his only Son, to his Ambition and Jealouſy; but then again, it would be wrong to ſay, that the *Law of Nations* was violated in the Death of thoſe two *Flemiſh* Lords; becauſe *they were not inveſted with a Character, that could ſhelter them from the Severity of the Laws, and of Juſtice*, tho' they who have the Adminiſtration of it, do not always ſtrictly keep up to it.

Their Principals could not be conſider'd as Sovereigns, by that Prince, who was himſelf Sovereign of the one, as well as of the other, notwithſtanding the Privileges and Immunities, which the Provinces enjoy'd, came very near an entire Liberty. Theſe Deputies were indeed publick Perſons, but they were not publick Miniſters, and therefore could not pretend to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, but only to the Enjoyment of the Effect of their Privileges, which might be ſaid to ſcreen 'em from the Rigour of an unproportionate Juſtice, but not from that of Cruelty and Tyranny.

Moſt of the *Provinces of the Low Countreys*, having in the Year 1581, caſt off the Yoke of a Domination, which they ſaid was foreign, offer'd it in part to the Duke of *Alençon*; who dying in the Year 1584, and *William*, Prince of *Orange*, being kill'd the ſame Year, they ſent their Deputies to *France*, and offer'd the Sovereignty of their Countrey to King *Henry* III. He was a timorous Prince, and was ſo perplex'd with the League, that not daring to ſuffer the Deputies to come to *Paris*, he caus'd 'em to ſtay at *Roan*, whither he diſpatch'd *Brulard*, his Secretary of State, to 'em; who being inform'd of their Intention, made his Report of it, and acquainted them alſo with the King's; which was quite contrary to that of the States; who were ſo inconſiderable at that time, that *Brulard* was not ſo much as provided with a *Letter of Credence* to the Deputies.

In the beginning of the Year 1585, the States of *Brabant*, of *Guelders*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Utrecht*, of *Friſe*, and of *Mecklen*, ſent thither again fifteen Perſons of Quality, who beſides their general Commiſſion, had alſo a particular one from each Province.

Henry III. who began to be undeceiv'd in the falſe Zeal, and evil Intentions of the Leaguers, look'd every where about him for Support againſt their abominable Undertakings. He therefore order'd the Deputies to come to *Paris*, after he had made them ſtay a Fortnight at *Senlis*. They had Audience of the King, and of the Queen-Mother, and had ſeveral Conferences with the Miniſters: They were alſo invited to the publick Diverſions, where they had an honourable Seat; and among the reſt, to the Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter, which Queen *Elizabeth* ſent at that time to the King. It is very probable they would have ſucceeded, if the King had not been neceſſitated, to give all his Application to the Affairs of his Kingdom, and to employ his whole Strength againſt the

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House of *Guise*. The Deputies were given to understand as much, and were presented with Gold Chains after their Audience of Leave, and their Expences were defray'd during their Stay at *Paris*. It is very certain they were not consider'd as Embassadors, since neither in those Times, nor a great while after, did the States give that Character to their Ministers; so that it may be said with some certainty, that they did not put on their Hats, when they had Audience of a Prince who understood himself, and knew very well how to assert what was his due. They were publick Ministers, because that notwithstanding the States were not then acknowledg'd for Sovereigns, yet nevertheless they were so in effect, since they had no Superior since the Abdication.

The Deputies, whom the *Catalonians* sent to *Paris* in the Year 1640, were neither Embassadors, nor publick Ministers, altho' they assum'd that Quality. *Catalonia* had revolted, not with an intention to erect it self into a Sovereignty, but with a Design to yield it self to an other Sovereign; so that it could only hope from its Revolt, to change its Master, whereby there is always more lost than got. Hereupon I think I ought to observe, that the Historians, especially those of *Spain*, frequently give the Quality of *Embassador*, as well to those publick Ministers that are employ'd under all kinds of Characters, as to those Persons whom the Princes, who are presumptive Heirs to the Crown, employ'd near their Father: as may be seen in *Henry* Prince of *Asturias*, and in *Charles* Prince of *Viana*, who were presumptive Heirs of *Castile* and *Navarre*; as also to those Commissioners, whom the Kings send to their Subjects, and to those Deputies that the People employ'd to their Sovereign. I know very well, that the *Catalonians*, to justify their last Insurrection, made a long Memorial of several Infractions of their Privileges; wherein, amongst other things, they complain'd, that at *Madrid* Prohibition had been made to give to the *Embassadors* of *Catalonia*, any other Quality than that of Syndicks or Agents; and that the Counsellors of *Barcelona* had not been suffer'd to cover themselves in the King's Presence. But as in *Spain* the Honour of being cover'd before the King is not particularly reserv'd to publick Ministers, so we ought to say, that formerly the Title of *Embassador* was so general, that it extended to all Persons publickly employ'd. But then again, since that Character is no longer given but to Representatives, and not to Ministers of the second Order; Those that are employ'd by *the States of a Province*, whatsoever may be their Liberties or Privileges, if it be not absolutely *Independent* and *Sovereign*, they cannot give themselves that Quality; since they are in effect but Syndicks or Deputies. At the same time I don't disown, that *Catalonia* and the other Provinces dependent on the Crown of *Arragon*, have such large Privileges, and so many, that there is not much wanting to the four Orders of the States, (which they stile the four Arms, which consist of the Prelates, the Barons, (which were formerly call'd, *los Ricos Hombres*) the Knights and the Citizens) to make 'em represent in their Assemblies, a kind of free Republick. We see they have frequently sent Embassadors to their Kings, and that they have likewise receiv'd some from foreign Princes: and that it may be plain, that the Word is taken in its proper Signification, they make a Distinction betwixt the *Embassadors* of the States of the *Province*, and the *Deputies* of the Town of *Barcelona*. *John*, King of *Arragon*, dying in the Year 1395, the Succession of the Crown became litigious, between *Matthew* Earl of *Foix*, who had marry'd *Jeanne* of *Arragon*, and *Martin*, Uncle to that Princess. *Matthew* sent to the States of the Kingdom the Bishop of *Oleron*, and a Lawyer nam'd *Proayre*, in the Quality of Embassadors, to prosecute the Right of his Wife. The States having declar'd themselves in favour of *Martin*, deputed to him the Year following the Archbishop of *Saragossa*, *Don Peter Fernandez d'Ixar*, Commander of *Montauban*, *Don Lopez Ximenez d'Ivrea*, *Don Fernand Lopez de Luna*, *Don Garci Lopez de Sese*, *John Fernandez de Heredia*, *James* of the Hospital, and *Stephen Pettinar*. The two last were Burgesses of *Saragossa*; notwithstanding which they had the Quality of *Embassadors* given 'em, as having been nam'd by the States of the Kingdom; whereas the four Jurats and Burgesses, which the Town added to the others, had only that of *Deputies*. These *Embassadors*, having acquitted themselves of their Complement in a publick Audience, desir'd a private one of the King, at which the Archbishop told him, *That according to the Privileges and Customs of the Kingdom, his Highness was oblig'd to come and give them his Oath in the City of* Saragossa, *immediately after his Accession to the Crown; and that the States were not oblig'd to respect him as their King, nor to receive his Orders and Commands, till he had given 'em that Pledge*. That they had suffer'd the Queen (who had a Power to act in the absence of her Husband) to take the Quality of Queen, and give that of King to her Husband, in the Letters she had dispatch'd to 'em; but at the same time they would have him to be sensible, that they had done it only to destroy the Pretensions of the Earl of *Foix*. That they beseech'd him therefore to grant 'em other Letters, immediately after his taking the Oath, in which he would please to declare, that it should be no Prejudice to 'em hereafter, either in general or particular. And for as much as the King gave 'em to understand, that the War the Earl of *Foix* made against him hinder'd him from going so soon to *Saragossa*, the four Deputies of the City presented to him their Request in Writing, and made a sort of Protestation in form; so that the King, to satisfie 'em, order'd them his Letters Patents, declaring in express terms, that this Delay should be no Prejudice to them. And as their *Embassadors* (since they must be call'd by that Name) have been receiv'd by the Kings their Sovereigns, so foreign Kings have honour'd the States of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* with their Embassadors. In the Year 1410, *Charles* VI. King of *France*, sent to *Martin* King of *Arragon*, *Girard* Bishop of *St. Flour*, *Henry* of *Marle*, first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, *Robert de Chalas*, Seneschal of *Carcassonne*, and *William* or *Giles Vendelle*, to renew the Alliances between the two Crowns. The Advice the Embassadors receiv'd of the Death of *Martin* having stopp'd 'em on their Journey, the King sent them word to pursue

their Journey, *and to repair to the States of* Catalonia, which were aſſembled at *Barcelona*. They receiv'd Audience, wherein they recommended the Rights and Pretenſions of *Lewis*, the Son of *Lewis* King of *Sicily*, and of *Yolande* of *Arragon*. Two Years after, the ſame King *Charles* ſent to the States of *Catalonia*, who were met again at *Barcelona*, and to thoſe of *Arragon* which had been call'd together at *Alcanniz*, the ſame Biſhop of *St. Flour*, the Count *de Vendome*, *Robert de Chalas*, with three or four other Embaſſadors, who had their Audience the 29th of *December* 1429. But as I obſerv'd before, the Word Embaſſador was of a larger Extent in thoſe times: For whatſoever Title may be giv'n to thoſe whom the Subject employs, or to thoſe who are employ'd to Subjects, they are ſtill but Deputies, with this Difference, that the one may enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, which the Subjects can lay no Claim to.

During the laſt Commotions of *Naples*, wherein they took to their Arms under *Gennaro Anneſe*, the Marquis of *Fontenay Marüeil* the *French* Embaſſador at *Rome*, (who gave Sanctuary to the Rebels, and fomented the Rebellion) writing to the People of that revolted City, gave it the Quality of *Republick*, and us'd the Terms of *moſt ſerene Highneſs*; but Cardinal *Mazarini* diſapprov'd it very much, and ſpoke of it as a thing altogether ridiculous and impertinent. He alledg'd that the Title of Highneſs was always given to the Perſon, and not to the State; it being a thing unheard of, that it was given to a Republick, tho' it might very well receive that of *moſt ſerene*. He eſteem'd the Letter of that pretended Republick to be no leſs odd and unaccountable, which was ſign'd *Your moſt humble Servant*. The ſame Cardinal gave expreſs Orders to the Marquis of *Fontenay*, to uſe all his Induſtry to hinder the *Neapolitans* from ſending to the Court of *France*, Perſons with any other Character than that of *Deputies*, that it might not be intangled in Inconveniencies, *if the pretended Embaſſadors of this abortive Republick* ſhould inſiſt upon being treated as thoſe of *Venice* or the United Provinces. Monſieur de *Fontenay* gave the Quality of *Embaſſador from* France *to the Republick of* Naples, by virtue of a Commiſſion given under the Seal of his Embaſſy, to a certain Perſon nam'd *Lewis del Ferro*, who, by the means of a pack of worthleſs Wretches, call'd the *Lazars*, (of whom he was chief) had moſt contributed to the prevailing with *Naples* to have recourſe to the Protection of *France*. This Embaſſador, who repreſented the King his Maſter in the firſt Poſt of *Chriſtendom*, proſtituted his own Character, by communicating it to a ſorry Fellow who had been a profeſs'd Pedant, and by giving the Stile of Excellency to one who was ſuch a mad Man, that there are ſeveral confin'd that don't deſerve it ſo much. The Duke of *Guiſe* was ſo offended at his Extravagancies, that he put him in a Dungeon, and he has ſince been known to beg at *Paris*.

In the Year 1645, the States of the United Provinces, deliberating on the Inſtructions of the Plenipotentiaries they were going to ſend to *Munſter*, were for having the Prince of *Orange*'s Opinion concerning the Civilities they were to ſhew the Miniſters of the *Hanſe Towns* they might poſſibly meet with there. The Prince made anſwer, They ſhould carry it on the level with them; becauſe thoſe Towns do not ſend Embaſſadors, but only Deputies, for this reaſon, that that Right is inſeparably annext to Sovereignty. In the Year 1626 there arriv'd at *London* two Deputies from *Hamburg*, which is of all the *Hanſe Towns* that which has the greateſt Commerce with *England*. Their Names were *Lundſman* and *Brandt*; their Domeſticks, who were ignorant of the Conſequences thereof, gave 'em the Title of *Embaſſadors*; but after the Counſel had perus'd their *Letters of Credence*, they found there nothing like it, but only that the Word *ablegavimus* had afforded room for an Error, into which the Court had like to have fall'n. The Domeſticks of this ſort of Miniſters, who make no Diſtinction between the Terms *Legatus* and *Ablegatus*, make no Difficulty to give the Quality of Excellency to their Maſters, tho' at the ſame time they are only Envoys or Reſidents, and ſo eaſily draw into the ſame Error thoſe who cannot have a particular Knowledge of the Quality their *Credentials* give 'em. The *Engliſh* however did not ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon, but gave theſe Miniſters to underſtand that the Word *ablegavimus* could have no other Signification than that *we have deputed*. And indeed it was upon this ground that they regulated the Civilities they ſhew'd to theſe pretended Embaſſadors; all their Reception conſiſting in the Honour was done 'em, to ſend *Finet* to them, who was Deputy-Maſter of the Ceremonies, who conducted 'em to their Audience, and brought 'em back to their own Houſes in the Lord High Chamberlain's Coach. The Court of *France* did not ſo much to *David Penthorn* and *Dideric Muller*, Senators of *Hamburg*, who arrived at *Paris* in the Year 1654. They had *Letters of Credence* from the *Hanſe Towns*, that is to ſay, from *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburg*, which are the only ones that appear at this time under that Name. The *French* Privateers had taken ſeveral of their Merchant-Men, which were carrying into *Spain* (where the City of *Hamburg* has its chiefeſt Commerce) ſeveral Commodities of *Norway* and *Pruſſia*, which paſs'd in *France* for *contraband* Goods; and the Marſhal *de la Meilleraye*, Governor of *Britany*, under the Queen-Mother, protected the Privateers, becauſe he was a Gainer by their Depredations. The Intention of the *Hanſe Towns* was to ſecure to themſelves the Freedom of Commerce and Navigation, by a good Treaty, by cauſing them to be renew'd which they had obtain'd from *Charles* IX. and *Henry* IV. The Deputies liv'd ſumptuouſly enough, and pretended to be conſider'd as Embaſſadors, by reaſon that in the Treaty *Henry* IV. had granted 'em, their Agents had the Quality of *Embaſſadors deputed*; but at the very firſt Overture they made for it they loſt all Hopes of obtaining of it. Monſieur *Servien*, who had had conſiderable Differences with the Deputies of the *Hanſe Towns* at *Munſter*, ſpoke of it with Contempt, and the *Comte de Brienne* gave 'em to underſtand, that if they inſiſted on their Pretenſion, their Negotiation would ſoon have an end. They had Audience of the King and the Queen, paying the uſual Reſpect; not one of the Miniſters gave 'em the Hand at his own Houſe;

and

and all they could obtain, by the means of a conſiderable Gratification, was that the Count *de Brienne* was prevail'd upon to let ſlip into the Treaty the ſame Words of *Embaſſadors deputed*, becauſe their *Letters of Credence* gave 'em the Quality of *Ablegati*. But ſuppoſing their Principals had giv'n 'em that of *Legati* or *Embaſſadors*, the Court of *France* wou'd have took no notice of it, becauſe it does not belong to the *Hanſe Towns* to take upon 'em to be Sovereigns, and to give their Miniſters a Quality, which the Princes of *Germany* have not yet been able to procure for their own. *M. de Brienne* made no great Difficulty to inſert the Quality of *Embaſſadors*, as well becauſe it is found alſo in the Treaty made with *Henry* IV. as by reaſon that Word ſignifies nothing when it is joyn'd with that of *deputed*, the laſt deſtroying the firſt.

In the Relation a Perſon of Quality and publick Capacity has made of the Particulars of the Marriage of the Lady *Henrietta* of *France* with the King of *England*, we find that in the Church of *Noſtre Dame* there was a Bench plac'd for the Nuncio, and for the Embaſſadors of *Spain*, *Venice*, and *Savoy*; and about three Foot behind the ſaid Bench was another for the four *Embaſſadors Reſidents*, that is to ſay, for the Miniſters of the ſecond Order.

And indeed it is matter of Amazement, that at this time any Conſideration ſhould be had for the *Teutonick Hanſe*, which being formerly compos'd of ſeventy Towns, has at preſent no Subſiſtence but in the Imagination. There are but three left, as I juſt now obſerv'd; and again, of theſe three, that of *Bremen* retains only the Name of one, that of *Lubeck* contributes little or nothing, and that of *Hamburg* alone furniſhes all the Expences of theſe Deputations; to the End ſhe may thereby preſerve her Commerce under the ſhelter of that great Name, and the Favour of its firſt Reputation. To ſpeak the truth, the *Teutonick Hanſe* never was a State nor a Republick, but barely a Society, united for the greater Security of their Commerce and Navigation. This being indiſputable, I cannot comprehend how the Courts of Princes and Potentates of *Europe* ſhould admit or conſider the Miniſters of a Body, which no longer ſubſiſts, otherwiſe than as ſingle Deputies; ſince while it yet ſubſiſted, and had a being, it could not be conſider'd but as a Society of Merchants, or at moſt but as the Companies that have form'd themſelves for both the *Indies* in the United Provinces, which do not act, but under the Name of the State that protects 'em. Which is by ſo much the more evident, that even when the *Teutonick Hanſe* was ſtill ſomething, and its Power yet conſiderable, it did not form a particular Republick, nor a Sovereign State in *Chriſtendom*. For being compos'd of Towns, which for the moſt part were *Municipals*, and had not the leaſt Token of Sovereignty, but depended on Princes who govern'd 'em as they did their other Subjects, they could together make but barely a Society of Merchants, and not an Alliance of Sovereign to Sovereign. Nay, even at this time, the City of *Hamburg*, which the King of *Denmark* pretends to make part of his Dutchy of *Holſtein*, acts under the Title of *Hanſe*, only becauſe it cannot effect its being declar'd Free Imperial. The two others, on the contrary, glory in being Imperial, becauſe they do not reap any great Benefit from the *Hanſeatick* Society. To which I ſhall add, that whoever will take the Pains to examine the Treaties which the *Hanſe Towns* have at any time heretofore, and even within ſome Years, made in *France* and *England*, will find, that they are only Renovations and Confirmations of thoſe Privileges, Liberties and Immunities, they had formerly obtain'd for the Benefit and Security of their Navigation and Commerce. In the Year 1589, Queen *Elizabeth* gave leave to certain *Engliſh* Lords to fit out ſeveral Men of War, which on the Coaſt of *Spain* took ſeveral Merchant-Ships belonging to the *Hanſe Towns*, which traded to thoſe Parts. Hereupon they ſent their Deputies to *London*, where they made their Complaints, mix'd with Threats and Marks of great Reſentment. The Queen ſent 'em word, that ſhe had warn'd the Towns to leave off that Commerce, and withal had foretold 'em what had ſince happen'd: That their Ships were lawful Prize: That Privileges are particular Laws, which cannot prejudice the Publick Good, which is the ſupreme Law of all: *That in the Privilege granted by* Edward *to the* Hanſe Towns, there was a Condition, and an expreſs Proviſion, that they ſhould not carry any Merchandiſe nor Commodities to the Enemies of *England*: That what ſhe had done was not without Precedent: That the Neutrality ſubſiſted no longer, when Kindneſs was ſhewn to one of the Parties to the Prejudice of the other; and that the Threats of a few trading Towns did not at all terrifie a Queen, who did not ſtand in fear of the greateſt Powers of *Europe*. It was hereupon that the Advice of the Prince of *Orange* was grounded; it was likewiſe upon this that the States-General founded the Reſolution they took the 11th of *February* 1656, ordaining that for the future *the Deputies Extraordinary of the Hanſe Towns*, ſhould not be conducted to Audience but by the Agent, in one Coach with two Horſes; that they ſhould be ſeated in a Cloth Chair with a back, and that they ſhould be reconducted home again in the ſame manner.

What I have now ſaid of the Subject and Sovereign, ought alſo to be allow'd of with reference to *Lord* and *Vaſſal*. But as there is a great deal of Difference betwixt a Vaſſal and a Subject, ſo likewiſe is there a great deal of Difference betwixt the Lord of a Fee and the Sovereign. *They who are in Poſſeſſion of Fees, with the Offices and uſual Conditions, cannot ſend Embaſſadors to their Lord on the accounts of the Fee, tho' at the ſame time they were in actual Poſſeſſion of other States in full Sovereignty.* Pope *Urban* VIII. would never ſuffer the Duke of *Parma* (who on other Occaſions ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome* and other Places) to ſend him one, on account of the Difference that was between 'em about the Dutchy of *Caſtro*, which is a Fee of the Apoſtolick See, notwithſtanding the preſſing Inſtances of the two Crowns, and the major part of the Princes and States of *Italy* to that purpoſe. The Pope ſaid poſitively to *Don John de Chiumazzero*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Spain*, who preſs'd him very much thereto, that he would not admit of any Miniſter from the Duke, and that if he ſent a private Perſon, it would only ſerve to inform the Judges. *That he ought not*

to ſend, but to come. Yet if the Vaſſal poſſeſſes with his Fee, other States and Provinces in Sovereignty, it is certain, that he may ſend Embaſſadors to his Lord, and elſewhere. The King of *England* was formerly Vaſſal to the Crown of *France*, on the ſcore of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, which he held of it; but that did hinder him from being Sovereign on the account of his own Dominions; and in that Quality he not only ſent Embaſſadors to the King of *France*, but alſo made War againſt him. I ſay the ſame of the laſt Dukes of *Burgundy*, who, together with thoſe Provinces which they held of the Crown of *France*, were in Poſſeſſion of others, of which they were abſolute Sovereigns. They ſent Embaſſadors to the King, and receiv'd 'em from him. In the Year 1464, *Lewis* XI ſent to *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, a ſolemn Embaſſy, conſiſting of the *Comte d'Eu*, Prince of the Blood; of the Chancellor of *France*, and of the Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*. And *Philip* ſent to *Lewis* the Biſhop of *Tournay*, and the Lord *de Crequy*.

This Correſpondence was frequent enough between the King and the Duke; and *Philip*, who pretended to carry it on the level with crown'd Heads, affected the Preſervation of this Advantage with reference to *France*. He was a great Prince, as well on the account of his perſonal Qualifications, as by reaſon of his Power: His Houſe was regular, and ſerv'd by half Yearly Waitings, as that of the Kings, to which it was not inferiour, either in Number of Officers, or in Quantity or Quality of Furniture, Plate or Jewels. The account *Olivier de la March* gives of his Houſhold at the end of his Memoirs, very well deſerves to be look'd into. *Guy de Rochfort*, Chancellor of *France*, inſiſted on the Reſpect that was due to him, when he receiv'd the Homage of the Arch-Duke *Philip*; but when the Ceremony was over, he made it very well known, that he knew how to diſtinguiſh between *Philip*, Earl of *Flanders*, and the Arch-Duke, Sovereign Prince of ſeveral free and independent Provinces. Thoſe Princes, who by vertue of their firſt Inveſtiture, poſſeſs their Fiefs in full Sovereignty, with all the *Rights* of the *Regalia*, ſo as to owe only ſimple Homage; notwithſtanding it be accompany'd with ſome Acknowledgments, yet that does not hinder 'em from being Sovereigns in effect, nor from ſending Embaſſadors every where, even to the Lord of the Fief. Whatever therefore the Pope ſaid to *Don John de Chinmazzero*, and to *Hugh de Lionne*, relating to the Duke of *Parma*, ought to be apply'd to the Dutchy of *Caſtro*, and not to the Dutchy of *Parma*, becauſe the laſt, altho' it be a Fief of the See of *Rome*, owes nothing to the Pope, who could not confiſcate it from the Duke, even for Felony; and the See of *Rome* will never be able to reunite it to its other Demeſnes, unleſs it ſhould become Caducous for want of Heirs. Thus we ſhall ſee hereafter, that the Pope gives Audience to the Embaſſador of *Parma*, with the ſame Ceremonies that are us'd to the other Princes of *Italy*.

Before the Kings of *Arragon* had annex'd the two *Sicilys* to their Crown, the Kings of *Naples* ſent their Embaſſadors to *Rome* and other Places, notwithſtanding that Kingdom be a Fief of the Holy See. The Kings that have reign'd there, after the Death of *Alfonſo* the Magnanimous, us'd to ſend their Embaſſadors to *France*, *Spain*, *Venice*, *Milan*, and even to *Rome*; becauſe, having acquitted themſelves of the Duty of Homage, and what depended on it, they did not acknowledge the Pope's Authority in point of Temporals. The King of *Spain* does the like to this Day, after the Example of all the other Princes of *Italy*, who notwithſtanding they hold their Principalities of the See of *Rome*, or of the Empire, do nevertheleſs poſſeſs 'em in full Sovereignty, and have the Right of Embaſſy in all the Courts of *Europe*. I ſay the ſame of the Princes of *Germany*, who tho' they are *Vaſſals of the Empire*, poſſeſs their Principalities in full Sovereignty, and enjoy all the Rights that are annex'd to it. The Oppoſition that is form'd againſt that of Embaſſy, which cannot be conteſted with 'em, no more than all the other Rights, obliges me to give 'em a particular Chapter after the next following.

Before I put an end to this, I ſhall ſay two or three Words concerning the *Deputies* that compoſe *the Aſſembly, which repreſents the States General of the United Provinces*. Theſe Provinces are all Sovereign and Independent, except only with reſpect to the Conditions that make the Foundation of their Union, and of their State. In this Quality of Sovereigns they ſend to the *Hague* Perſons that repreſent 'em; and deliberate and reſolve together, what they judge neceſſary for the common Intereſt of the Allies. Alſo it muſt not be doubted, that as ſuch they ought to be conſider'd as publick Miniſters, whom the *Law of Nations* protects, and that no Violence can be offer'd 'em, either in their Perſons or Attendants, without failing in what is their due, by vertue of the publick Security. The Quality of Embaſſadors is not given 'em, as well becauſe they are not ſent out of their own State to a foreign Power, as becauſe they are ſent to a perpetual Aſſembly, as Members of the ſame Body: which is the reaſon why they are not treated and conſider'd as publick Miniſters, but as Deputies of Provinces, that conſtitute among themſelves the ſame State and ſame Republick. However they enjoy an entire Security, and are inviolate in their Perſons; even to that degree, that the Juſtice of the Place cannot extend its Juriſdiction to them. But it is not ſo with reſpect to thoſe Deputies that aſſiſt at the Aſſembly of the ſame Province: wherefore it might be doubted whether it was properly ſpoken, when it was ſaid, that the Town of *Groningen*, by confining a Gentleman, (whom the neighbouring Country had deputed to the Aſſembly of the States of the Province) and in cauſing him to be proſecuted, did violate the *Law of Nations*. The States of that Province are compos'd of two Members, to wit, of the Town and of the circumjacent Countrey, which being inſeparable from one another, conſtitute together the Sovereignty of the Province; ſo that for what relates to the Province in general they cannot act ſeparately. I am willing to ſuppoſe beſides, that the one cannot alone proſecute the Subjects of the other; but I would not

not maintain, that in so doing the *Law of Nations* was violated. I am of Opinion it were better to say, that in violating the publick Security, they transgress'd against the Treaties which are the Preservation, and the fundamental Law of the Province.

CHAP. III.

Whether Usurpers and Governors in Chief can send Embassadors.

I Shall in this Chapter speak of four sorts of Persons. First, Of those who possess Countreys and States with a supreme Power and Authority. Secondly, Of those who having been driven from their States, do nevertheless retain the Possession thereof. In the third place, Of those that abdicate and renounce their Sovereignty. And lastly, Of those who not being Sovereigns, do notwithstanding discharge the Functions thereof, by virtue of a Power committed to 'em.

Of the first, Some are Sovereigns by Birth, or become so by Election or Conquest, or else they usurp the Sovereignty. Lawful Princes have the Right of Embassy beyond dispute; but the Usurper will find some Difficulty to have his Embassadors admitted, even tho' he were absolute Master of the State he has so usurp'd; if the Prince, to whom he sends his Ministers, has not some Interest that obliges him to seek after, or suffer his Friendship. *Lewis* XI, who was the Prince of the World that best understood his Interest, did not scruple to purchase that of *Edward* IV, who had usurp'd the Crown of *England* from *Henry* VI; but he despis'd the earnest Sollicitations of *Richard* III, his Brother, and would not so much as see his Embassadors. That Tyrant had caus'd his Nephews to be murther'd, the Eldest whereof was his lawful King, to whom he had sworn Allegiance; so that being both Parricide and Usurper, and having withal so many Enemies in *England*, that *Lewis* had not the least reason to apprehend his coming to distrub his Quiet in *France*, he would have nothing to do with him, and sent back his Embassadors.

There is in the Negociation of President *Jeannin*, a Passage which is admirable on this Subject. *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, having caus'd himself to be crown'd King of *Sweden* in the beginning of this Century, sent into *France James Van Dyke*, and made offer to *Henry* the Great, to renew the Treaties and Alliances that had been formerly betwixt the two Crowns. *Van Dyke* represented, that the Advantages that would accrue to *France* from the Commerce with *Sweden* would be so very considerable, that the King listen'd to the Propositions of this Minister, and had a great mind to come to a Conclusion with him. There was nothing hinder'd him from it, but only the Action of *Charles*, who had usurp'd the Crown from *Sigismund* his Nephew, after this had been chosen King of *Poland*, which was by so much the more odious, as the Pretext of Religion was the Cause of the Revolution. *France* likewise consider'd, that the King of *Denmark*, who was no Friend to *Charles*, might form a Party against him, with the King of *England* his Brother-in-law. But notwithstanding all this, *Monsieur de Villeroy*, writing to *Jeannin* on the 8th of *April* 1608, cuts short and says; *All these Reasons and Considerations, shall not hinder the King from treating with* Charles, *if he finds it to be for his Interest, and that of his Kingdom.* He adds, that *Sigismund* had no other Sentiments than what the Court of *Vienna* inspir'd him with, and that *England* and *Denmark* having no great Consideration for *France*, the King was not oblig'd to have any for them. However, it was thought proper to observe some Measures in the matter, and know for certain whether the King would gain his Ends in effect; wherefore *Van Dyke* was sent back to President *Jeannin*, who negotiated at that time in *Holland*, where he might get Information of the State of the Affairs of *Sweden*.

If there ever appear'd in any State, a Chief who was at the same time both Tyrant and Usurper, most certainly *Oliver Cromwel* was such: and yet for all that, never was there an Usurper so solemnly acknowledg'd. Immediately after the Death of the late King, *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, Embassador from *Spain*, legitimated this bastard Republick; and *Oliver* had no sooner made himself Sovereign, under the Quality of *Protector*, than all the Kings of the Earth prostrated themselves before this Idol. To gratifie him, the lawful King, with his Brothers, were driven out of those Kingdoms and Provinces, that ought to have serv'd him as Places of Refuge or Asylums. *Lotcard*, who was Embassador from the Usurper, was not only receiv'd in *France* with all the Honours that could have been done to the Minister of the first Monarch of Christendom, but *Cardinal Mazarine* even refus'd to see the King of *Great-Britain*, who had travell'd quite through the Kingdom to come to him at the foot of the *Pirenean* Hills, and would not so much as speak to the Person that came from him, and waited at the Door of this chief Minister; who at the same time had daily Conferences with the Usurper's. All that the dispossess'd King could obtain was, that the Cardinal gave him leave that the Duke of *Ormond* should speak to him as he pass'd along, and as it were accidentally, as he went from his own Quarters to the Isle of the Conference.

The King of *Spain*, who was Brother-in-law to the deceased King, behav'd himself a little better. He suffer'd the Son to be in safety at *Brussels*, where he also met with some Civilities: and his chief Minister, *Don Lewis de Haro*, at the *Pirenean* Hills, shew'd him that Respect which the Cardinal had refus'd him.

The King of *France* being advanc'd as far as the Frontiers of *Flanders*, the Protector sent *Falconbridge* his Son-in-law to him, to pay him those Civilities, which Sovereigns are us'd to

ſhew one another on the like Occaſions: and the Duke *de Crequy*, one of the firſt Lords of *France*, next to the Princes, was ſent to *London*, to thank the Uſurper for his Civilities: and that nothing might be wanting to the Ceremony, the Cardinal would have his Nephew *Mancini* accompany the Duke. The Difference that is ſeen in the Behaviour of theſe two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, who were both nearly related to the King of *England*, proceeded only from the Difference of their Intereſt. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador had us'd his utmoſt Endeavours with the Uſurper, to engage him in the Intereſt of the King his Maſter; even to the offering him a hundred thouſand Crowns *per* Month, two hundred thouſand by way of Advance, and an Army of twenty thouſand Men, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* to re-conquer *Calice*. *Cromwell* had rejected theſe Offers; and as he fear'd more the Neighbourhood of *France*, than he hop'd for Advantage from the languiſhing and remote Strength of *Spain*, he ſided with the firſt, whoſe Friend he became; by that means obliging the other to be ſo to the King of *Great Britain*, whoſe three Kingdoms he had uſurp'd.

Thoſe Princes to whom Miniſters are ſent, do not uſually examine into the Title of thoſe that employ 'em; they are contented to weigh their Power and Poſſeſſion, tho' at the ſame time, unleſs Intereſt ſways 'em, they are not over forward to acknowledge an Uſurper. When their Intereſt is concern'd, Princes make no great Difficulty to receive Embaſſadors and Miniſters from whomſoever ſends 'em. Cardinal *Doſſat* explains himſelf very well on this Head, in the Letter he writes to Monſieur *de Villeroy* of the 23d of *July* 1601, where he ſays, That Princes, when they ſee a conſiderable Power well eſtabliſh'd, do not mind whether the Potentate, who ſends the Embaſſador or Agent, be lawful or not; and do not enquire ſo ſcrupulouſly into the Title, as it is uſual in the Caſe of buying and changing, but have a regard to the Power and Poſſeſſion. That if it were neceſſary to judge of the Title of each Prince before their Miniſters were receiv'd, there would be found a great many whoſe Embaſſadors would be ſent back; but it is not what is cuſtomarily look'd into, not even amongſt Enemies, who very often ſend 'em to each other. He inſtances in the Example of the *Swiſs Cantons*, who having been formerly Subjects to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, have ever ſent and receiv'd Embaſſadors. I dare not ſay that *John* IV King of *Portugal* was an Uſurper, ſince *France*, *England*, *Sweden*, and the United Provinces acknowledg'd him for a lawful King, after the unanimous Declaration of the States of the Kingdom; yet nevertheleſs, whatever Inſtances the Plenipotentiaries of *France* made at *Munſter*, the Mediators would never admit his Miniſters, nor negotiate with them, as with the other Embaſſadors. The Pope's Nuncio and the *Venetian* Embaſſador ſaid, That ſince the Pope nor the Republick had not as yet acknowledg'd the King, they could not treat with thoſe who took the Quality of his Miniſters. In the Month of *March* 1641, two Embaſſadors from *Portugal* being arriv'd at *London*, and having obtain'd Audience, the King told them, That till then he had not own'd any other King of *Portugal* than the King of *Spain*; but ſince the Embaſſadors aſſur'd him, *That the Prince they repreſented had obtain'd the Crown, with the unanimous Conſent of the People, and that he was in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom*, he had been willing to admit 'em, that he might not injure their Character. The *Venetian* Embaſſador, who was at that time in *England*, refus'd to ſee thoſe Embaſſadors without Orders from their Republick.

Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*, who had admitted and own'd thoſe Miniſters, and had caus'd 'em to aſſiſt at her Coronation, bethought her ſelf the Day before ſhe abdicated, to ſend Word to the Reſident of *Portugal*, that ſhe acknowleg'd no other King of *Portugal* than *Philip* IV King of *Spain*. But this was only a capricious Humour, whereas the Court of *Rome* had a particular Reaſon that hinder'd it from owning him. The Pope who is ſaid to be the common Father of the Catholick Princes, and was as the Judge of the Difference, could not determine it without being duly inform'd of the Cauſe, and without receiving the Oppoſition of the King of *Spain*; as he would in ſome meaſure have decided it, had he admitted and acknowledg'd the *Portugal* Embaſſador. The Biſhop of *Lamego* went to *Rome* in this Quality; but the Pope, who was oblig'd to have ſome Conſideration for the King of *Spain*, hinder'd him from entring in the Day-time, and from appearing with the Tokens of Embaſſy. This did not hinder his Friends from ſeeing him, and conſidering him as an Embaſſador. The Affair of his Reception had been warmly debated in a particular Congregation of Cardinals, before he came to Town; and foraſmuch as the Court of *Rome* was not willing to loſe the Profits ſhe receives from that Kingdom, it was concluded, that the Biſhop ought to be admitted to Audience without prejudicing the Rights of others. The *Nuncio* that reſided at *Madrid* had Orders to try to make this Reſolution reliſh with the Council there, and prevail with it to acquieſce to the Reaſons the Pope had for ſo doing. But the Nuncio met with ſo great an Oppoſition, accompany'd with ſuch ſtrong and expreſs Proteſtations, that he was fore'd to let the Affair drop, for fear the *Spaniards* ſhould take Reſolutions that the Pope would not at all have been pleas'd with: So that all the Pontificate of *Urbin* paſs'd without any thing being done for the new King of *Portugal*. Cardinal *Antonio*, *Urbin*'s Nephew, protected the Biſhop, and *France* was very officious for his Admiſſion; but it was impoſſible to prevail with the Pope, who would never give him place amongſt the publick Miniſters: On the contrary, taking Occaſion or Pretext from the Rencounter the Biſhop had with the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, he oblig'd him to return back to *Lisbon*. *Don Lewis Peirera de Caſtro* ſucceeded him, not as Embaſſador, but as Deputy of the Clergy of *Portugal*, who preſs'd the Pope hard to provide for the Biſhopricks, which being moſt of 'em vacant, there were not Prieſts enow to diſcharge the Service and adminiſter the Sacraments.

The Rencounter the Biſhop of *Lamego* had with the Marquis *de los Veiez* Embaſſador from *Spain*, was ſo conſiderable, that I think my ſelf obliged to relate the Particulars thereof, which

are remarkable enough. The Biſhop having begun to viſit the Cardinals, in order to diſpoſe 'em to favour the Intereſt of the King his Maſter, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador deſir'd Cardinal *Barberin* not to ſuffer the *Portugueſe* to appear in publick with ſo much Pomp and Attendance, becauſe there might ariſe from thence ſuch a Scandal as might be capable of diſturbing the Pope's Repoſe. Now the Congregation that had the Affairs of *Portugal* before it, not judging it proper to hinder the Biſhop from going abroad, was contented to regulate his Attendants, the Number of his Footmen, and his manner of going about the Town, by ordering him to draw the Curtains of his Coach whenever he met the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador. It was according to this Regulation that the Biſhop went the 20th of *Auguſt* 1624 to viſit the Marquis *de Fontenay* Embaſſador from *France*, at the ſame time that the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador made a Viſit to Cardinal *Roma*, whither they brought him Advice that the Biſhop was at Monſieur *de Fontenay*'s. He immediately ſent one of his Coaches to fetch him a good Number of Fire-Arms, which he caus'd to be diſtributed to his People, amongſt whom there were ſeveral Soldiers cloath'd with his Livery. The Embaſſador, as he took Coach, having perform'd his Viſit, gave Orders to his Retinue to let the Biſhop of *Lamego* paſs quietly, without any notice, if the Curtains of his Coach were drawn; but if they were not, and the Biſhop did not ſtop to pay his Reſpects to him, then to hamſtring his Horſes. The *French* Embaſſador, and the Biſhop of *Lamego*, being inform'd that the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador had ſent for Arms, made Proviſion alſo thereof; and the Biſhop being accompany'd by the Domeſticks of Monſieur *de Fontenay*, and what other *French* Men, *Portugueſe*, and *Catalonians* could be got together, took Coach alſo, in order to return home the neareſt way. He had not gone far, before his Attendants meeting with that of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, ſeveral Diſcharges were heard, no body being able to tell who had fir'd firſt. The Embaſſador's two Horſes (which the Coachman had on purpoſe caus'd to rear, thereby to cover his Maſter) were kill'd, and ſav'd the Embaſſador, who not without Difficulty retir'd into the Palace of Cardinal *Alhornas*, which was in that Neighbourhood, whilſt the Biſhop alſo ſav'd himſelf in a Houſe hard by. *Don Diego de Vargas*, a *Valet de Chambre*, and a *Sicilian*, were kill'd on the ſide of the *Spaniards*; and the Biſhop loſt one of the *French* Embaſſador's Coachmen, and two *Peruvians*. All the Friends of the Marquis *de los Velez*, and all the Partiſans of *Spain* immediately repair'd to his Houſe: So that the Court apprehending ſome worſe Conſequences, poſted two Companies of Foot and fifty Horſe before his Palace, and Orders were given to the Officers not to ſuffer any body to go out. They did the ſame before the Biſhop's Houſe; beſides which, there were *Corps de Garde* up and down, and the Patrole went about all the Night. The very next Morning the Marquis *de Fontenay* ſpoke to the Pope about what had happen'd, as alſo to Cardinal *Barberin*, and demanded Reparation to be made for the Violence that had been offer'd to the Biſhop, who, he ſaid, was Embaſſador from a crown'd Head. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador made alſo his Complaints, but not having receiv'd much Satisfaction, he took the Advice of the Cardinals of his Party, and reſolv'd to retire to the Kingdom of *Naples*; becauſe he ſaid, it would be impoſſible for him to ſtay at *Rome*, and not break through the Bounds of that Reſpect which he would always preſerve for the Pope, and which was inconſiſtent with the Reſentment he ſhould be oblig'd to ſhew. To hinder his withdrawing, the Affair was put under Examination; but after ſeveral goings and comings, (during which the Pope made Enquiry into the Matter) he was told at laſt that it would take up ſome time to perfect the Informations, which not being finiſh'd, the Pope could not condemn the Biſhop without hearing him, (notwithſtanding *he was his Subject*) *by reaſon of his Character*; but as for his part he had good reaſon to complain of both the one and the other. The Embaſſador had reſolv'd to depart without taking leave of the Pope, and alter'd his Mind but only at the Requeſt of his Friends, who prevail'd with him to go to Audience; at which he complain'd of both the Cardinal Nephews, who, as he ſaid, had openly declar'd themſelves his Enemies. The Pope anſwer'd him coolly enough, that the Proceſs not being yet duly prepar'd, he could not tell which of the two was in the wrong or in the right. The Embaſſador went away the ſame Day, and the *Spaniſh* Cardinals retir'd the next Day to *Frascati*, the other Prelates and Partizans of the *Spaniſh* Faction withdrawing themſelves likewiſe.

France, *England*, and the United Provinces, who had no very good Underſtanding with *Spain* at that time, were not contented to acknowledge the King of *Portugal*, and to admit his Embaſſadors, but they alſo declar'd themſelves for his Eſtabliſhment and Intereſts. Divers other Princes follow'd their Example; and at this time the King of *Spain* himſelf receives *Embaſſadors* from *Portugal*, and ſends his own thither. I cannot therefore ſufficiently wonder, that after a ſolemn Treaty, which has been concluded between theſe two Crowns, there are Perſons ſuffer'd at *Bruſſels* (to their Shame be it ſpoken) who make no Scruple to put the King of *Portugal* in the Number of Uſurpers, and have the Impudence to publiſh in their impertinent Libels, that the Treaty, which Neceſſity extorted from the Council of *Madrid*, would not ſubſiſt after the ſaid Neceſſity was over. The *Spaniards* proteſt in all their Manifeſtos and Declarations, that they never violated Treaties, how diſadvantageous ſoever they may have been. To ſpeak the truth, they have not ſtipulated any great Advantages, in all the Treaties they have made ſince that of *Chateau Cambreſis*. That of *Vervin* oblig'd 'em to reſtore all that they held in *France*; and the *Pyrenean* Treaty, as well as that of *Aix la Chappelle*, have extorted from 'em Conditions hard enough; and nevertheleſs they pretend to have obſerv'd 'em very religiouſly, notwithſtanding the Rupture in the Year 1673. I ſhould think that the ſame Author that ſtrives to canonize the Probity and Sincerity of *Ferdinand the Catholick*, might very well forbear repreſenting the *Spaniſh* Miniſters as Perſons capable of breaking (after the Treaty of *Portugal*) that

that, which the ſame Neceſſity oblig'd the King of *Spain* to conclude with the United Provinces. It is well known, that the major part of Princes, do not obſerve thoſe Treaties which they can break with any Advantage; but at the ſame time, there are none that glory in it, or that take pleaſure to make known their evil Diſpoſition, as well as Impotency. I ſay nothing of Prince *Don Pedro*, who during the Life of his Brother, enjoys both his Wife and Crown, and cauſes his Embaſſadors to be receiv'd every where.

It is ſufficient that the Prince who cauſes his Embaſſadors to be acknowledg'd be in poſſeſſion of the Sovereignty: hence we may conclude, that he that has been expell'd by a ſuperior Force, or by the Inſurrection of his Subjects has been oblig'd to withdraw, retains Poſſeſſion, till by a formal Treaty he has renounc'd the Countreys which have been conquer'd or uſurp'd from him, or till Succeſs has juſtify'd the Arms of the Subjects: He retains alſo the Right of Embaſſy, becauſe the Sovereignty remains in him. *Chriſtierne*, King of *Denmark*, and *John Zapoli*, King of *Hungary*, kept their Miniſters in foreign Courts during the time of their Exile. Altho' the *Spaniards* were in poſſeſſion of the *Upper Navarre*, that is to ſay, of that part of the Kingdom which is beyond the *Pirenean* Hills; yet that did not hinder *Pius* IV, from giving Audience to the Embaſſador of *Anthony*, King of *Navarre*, in the Year 1560, and *Gregory* XIII, in the Year 1573, admitted likewiſe the Embaſſador of *Henry*, *Anthony*'s Son. It is true, that *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, would not ſuffer *Jerome Laski*, Embaſſador from *John Zapoli*, to come into *Germany*, and that he would not grant him a Paſſport; but then it was, becauſe that *Laski* was to go thither, in order to procure Succour againſt *Ferdinand*, who pretended himſelf to the Crown of *Hungary*, as Husband to the Siſter of the laſt deceaſed King: which notwithſtanding, did not hinder *Laski* from being conſider'd at *Conſtantinople* as *Embaſſador* from *John*. If at the time of the *Pirenean* Congreſs, Cardinal *Mazarin* thought it proper to deal other Uſage to the Miniſter of the King of *Great-Britain*, it was not becauſe *France* was ignorant of what might, and even ought to have been done; but becauſe it had other Intereſts to look to, and was apprehenſive, leſt the Protector ſhould ſtrike in with the *Spaniards*. This was ſo powerful a Conſideration at that time, that the ſame Cardinal had oblig'd the King, and the Princes his Brothers, to depart the Kingdom: and he himſelf refus'd to ſee the King, who had croſs'd all *France*, and was come to the Frontiers of *Spain*, to ſpeak to the Cardinal. However, the Conſideration that *France* and other Places had for the Uſurper, did not cauſe the Quality of publick Miniſter to be call'd in queſtion, nor the Protection of the *Law of Nations* to be deny'd, to thoſe whom the King of *England* employ'd in thoſe Courts where he had ſtill ſome Intereſt. The Duke of *Lorrain* (altho' diſpoſſeſs'd of his Countrey by a ſuperior Force) had for all that his Miniſter at *Nimmeguen*, even with the Paſſport of *France* that had diſpoſſeſs'd him.

The ſame *Anthony*, King of *Navarre*, which I juſt now mention'd, being a very weak Prince, ſuffer'd himſelf to be continually flatter'd with the falſe Hopes the *Spaniards* gave him of the Reſtitution of his Kingdom of *Navarre*, or at leaſt of an Equivalent. A *Bernese* nam'd *Leſcun*, one of the Duke of *Albuquerque*'s Domeſticks, told him from the Duke his Maſter, that if he could reſolve with himſelf to go to *Spain* in Perſon, and make a Compliment to King *Philip*, he might be aſſur'd of receiving Satisfaction concerning *Navarre*. Hereupon *Anthony* ſent thither the *Sieur d'Odaux*, of the Houſe of *Levy*, with Letters, in which he deſir'd a Paſſport for the Safety of his Journey. *Philip*, who was adviſ'd of the Subject of the Embaſſy, gave Audience to *Odaux* in the Preſence of *Sebaſtian de l'Aubepine*, Biſhop of *Limoges*, the *French* Embaſſador, of whom he enquir'd afterwards, whether the King his Maſter had any knowledge of that Embaſſy. The Biſhop made anſwer that he could not tell, and that nothing had been writ to him about it: whereupon *Philip* return'd to *Odaux* his Letters of Credence, and caus'd him to be told, that if *Anthony* had no other Motive for his Journey into *Spain*, than to talk with him on the Affairs of *Navarre*, neither he nor his Wife need give themſelves that trouble: that they could not be ignorant what were his Sentiments on that Subject, ſince he had ſufficiently explain'd himſelf at the Congreſs of *Cercamp*, where the Treaty of *Chaſteau Cambreſis* had been regulated.

It is no hard matter to gueſs at the Reaſon that made *Philip* give this Repulſe to the Miniſter of a diſpoſſeſs'd King, ſince he could not have done otherwiſe, without acknowledging himſelf to be an Uſurper of the Kingdom of *Navarre*. *Henry* II. by conſenting that no mention ſhould be made thereof in the Treaty of *Chaſteau Cambreſis*, conſented to the Uſurpation, to the Prejudice of the Honour and Intereſt of the Crown of *France*, which were even proſtituted by thoſe who counſell'd him to treat upon ſuch infamous Conditions.

There is a vaſt deal of difference betwixt a Sovereign, whom a foreign Force or a civil War drives from his Eſtate, and a Prince that abdicates voluntarily. *He that abdicates or reſigns, does no longer retain his Sovereignty*; by renouncing it, renounces alſo to all the Rights that are dependent on it; and amongſt the reſt, to that of ſending Embaſſadors or publick Miniſters. Birth ſtamps ſuch a Character on Princes as is indelible; ſo that to whatſoever Extremity they are driven, there is a Reſpect due to 'em; but as for the Rights of Sovereignty, they are inſeparable from him that is in poſſeſſion thereof. There is no holding the one without the other. Whoſoever is call'd to Sovereignty, either by Birth or by Election, ſucceeds alſo to all the Rights that belong to it. They are not communicable to any body whatever, nor can they be reſerv'd by him that abdicates, renounces, or reſigns; who after Abdication, Renunciation, or Reſignation, has no longer any Affairs of State to negotiate. King *Caſimir*, by quitting the Crown and *Poland* it ſelf, might be ſaid to leave the World, where he had made a very indifferent Figure: and if Queen *Chriſtina* makes any ſtill, and if any Regard be had to her Miniſters, it is becauſe ſhe has a diſtinguiſhing Merit, and a Greatneſs

of

of Soul, which she could not deprive her self of, when she resign'd the Crown of *Sweden*. I would stop here, and be contented to add, that the King and Queen were the last of the Posterity of *Jagellon*; and that if the Queen grew tir'd with wearing a Crown that was beneath her, the King quitted it because he was not worthy of it, and was incapable of Governing after the Death of his Wife; were it not, that within some time, they have in a manner dug up at *Brussels* (where they ought to have had some Veneration for that Princess) the Marquis *Monaldeschi*, and spoke after a strange manner of the Execution she had caus'd him to undergo at *Fontainbleau*. I do not doubt but what the Queen did was what he deserv'd, and I know very well that Sovereigns often pass over Formalities: I know also, that without a weighty Reason of State they neither ought nor can dispense with 'em: and I am not afraid to add, that on this occasion the Queen could not act as Sovereign. I shall moreover say, that a lawful Power, how absolute soever it may be, (unless it be Despotick, or, to speak more intelligibly, altogether Tyrannical) never gives it self nor its Jurisdiction this Extent of Power, which indeed is never practis'd in the Territories of another. This matter shall be spoke to hereafter, when we treat of the Jurisdiction Embassadors have over their Domesticks; wherefore I shall only here speak a word or two in reference to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. *John Lesley*, Bishop of *Rosse*, Embassador from *Mary* at *London*, having been convicted of a Conspiracy against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, as I shall more particularly take notice of in the 27th Chapter; the best Lawyers of the Kingdom were consulted, to know whether the Minister of a Queen, who had resign'd the Crown to her Son, ought to enjoy the Privilege of the *Law of Nations*. Their Report sav'd the Bishop's Life; because they represented, that besides the having suffer'd that Queen's Minister at the Court, this Princess's Abdication was not voluntary. On the contrary, it is certain, that she was not only a Prisoner when she was forc'd to resign, but that she made a formal Protestation, in the Presence of *Nicholas Throgmorton* the *English* Embassador, against the Violence that was done to her in this Action. Which was so notorious, that in the Year 1568, that is to say, after her Abdication, the same Bishop of *Rosse*, with the Bishop of *Orkney* and some others, were acknowledg'd in the Quality of her Embassadors.

Viceroys and *Chief Governors*, who have an absolute Power, employ also publick Ministers, who enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, and to whom they give the Quality of *Embassador*. While the *English* were still in possession of the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, notwithstanding they were both held of the Crown of *France*, the Governors that commanded there for the King of *England*, negotiated Affairs with the King of *France*, by the Mediation of their Embassadors; and no Objection was made against treating with these subaltern Ministers, because it was well known that their Principals had a substituting Power.

John Baptista de Gattinara, Nephew of that *Mercurin* who was Minister of *Charles* V, *had no other Power but what was given him by the* Count de Lanoy, *Viceroy of* Naples, when in the Year 1524 he was at *Rome*, and there concluded a Treaty with the Pope, and with the *Florentines*, (leaving to the Republick of *Venice* the liberty to come into it) for the Preservation of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*. This Treaty was concluded on the 1st of *April*, and proclaim'd the 1st of *May*, upon the Ratification of the Viceroy, who did not wait for that of the Emperor. The Duke of *Alva*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Lieutenant General to the Emperor *Charles* V, and to *Philip* his Son in *Italy*, designing to amuse Pope *Paul* IV with some Proposals of an Accommodation; in order to justifie the Rupture, and the War he had resolv'd to make against the *Caraffas*, sent to *Rome*, *Pirrho Loffredi*, Marquis of *Trevico*, whom the Pope caus'd to be confin'd, as soon as the *Spanish* Army had enter'd the Ecclesiastick Territories. The Duke complain'd of it, and reproach'd the Pope with having violated the *Law of Nations* in confining his Minister. The Court of *Rome* has within these few Years seen the Secretary of *Don Pedro* of *Arragon*, Viceroy of *Naples*, complement Pope *Clement* IX upon his Exaltation; which was very well taken, and the Pope entertain'd him very handsomly. In the Year 1577, *Don John* of *Austria*, *Governor of the Low Countreys*, sent a solemn Embassy to the Emperor and Princes of *Germany*, and at the same time he dispatch'd the Viscount of *Gand* in the Quality of Embassador to *England*. In the Year 1588 there was a Deputation made of some Ministers of *Spain* and *England*, to *Flanders*. As soon as they communicated their Powers to each other, *it appear'd, that that of the* Spaniards *was sign'd only by the Duke of* Parma, who was Governor of the Low Countreys, and not by the King: But that did not hinder the *English* from continuing the Conferences, because they could not be ignorant that the general Power the Duke had, imply'd that of *Subdelegation*. *Albert* of *Austria*, *while he was yet but Cardinal*, *and Governor of the Low Countreys*, sent his Ministers to all the neighbouring Princes, as well in *Germany* as elsewhere; and particularly in the Year 1598, he sent the *Count de Barlaimont*, with *Westerdorp* and *Nikerchen* to *Lubeck*, as to the chief of the *Hanse Towns*, to endeavour to bring 'em to a Rupture with *England* and the United Provinces: This Embassy, if it may be so call'd, was so well receiv'd, that notice was given thereof to the other Towns, which have always been, and will ever be ready to interrupt and disturb the Commerce and Navigation of the *Hollanders*. The Government of *Milan* is one of the most considerable Employments of *Spain*; because that Dutchy being situate in the midst of the States of the Republick of *Venice*, *Genoa*, the *Swiss Cantons*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Mantua*, *Parma* and *Modena*, the Governor is so much respected, that as soon as he comes to his Government, all the neighbouring Princes complement him by their Embassadors, and he returns their Civility by sending his to them.

However we must observe, that altho' this Quality be given to the Ministers of Viceroys and chief Governors, yet they are (to speak properly) but Deputies, to whom Honour is

done for the Prince's ſake, which the Governor repreſents.

Don Alfonſo Caſſati, and his three Sons, had been a long time employ'd by the Governor of *Milan* to the *Swiſs Cantons*, who had conſider'd 'em as Embaſſadors, notwithſtanding they had no Credentials from the King of *Spain*. In the Year 1646, M. *de Caumartin* the *French* Embaſſador, perceiving that the third of theſe Brothers, who was there in the ſame Quality of Embaſſador, thwarted his Negotiation, undertook to affront him by diſputing his Character. He ſaid that *Caſſati* having Credentials but only from the Governor of *Milan*, he could at moſt be conſider'd but as his Agent, and not as the King of *Spain*'s Miniſter, and that in this Quality the *Cantons* could not give him Audience in their General Aſſembly. *Caſſati* reply'd, that his Father, and his two Brothers, who had not had any other Letters, had been treated as Embaſſadors, and the five little *Cantons* which are in Alliance with the State of *Milan* back'd his Pretenſions; but *Caumartin* carry'd it againſt him in the General Aſſembly, which would not give him Audience, notwithſtanding it had been promis'd him. He had it only of the five little *Cantons* which did not give him the Stile of Excellency, but only that of Lordſhip. The Money and Authority of the King of *France* were the Cauſe of his receiving this Affront. For as I juſt now took notice, the Governor of *Milan* has a right to ſend Miniſters, to whom the Quality of Embaſſador is given. One of beſt Hiſtorians of our time remarks, that when, in the Year 1615, *Don Pedro de Toledo* enter'd upon his Government of *Milan*, the Duke of *Savoy* ſent an Embaſſador to him to compliment him; and foraſmuch as *Don Pedro* did not make a handſome Return, (not ſending any body to *Turin* of a great while after) his Incivility was talk'd of, as a certain Proof of the little Friendſhip he had for the Duke. He ſent *Andrew Manriquez* to *Venice*, where the Count *de Bethune*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France*, treated with him. *Richardot*, *Taxis*, and *Verreyken*, had indeed their Commiſſion from the Arch-Duke; but they were Embaſſadors from the King of *Spain*, whoſe Procurator the Arch-Duke was. The ſame ought to be ſaid of the Baron *de Bergeyck*, whom the Marquis *de Caſtelrodrigue*, Governor of the Low Countreys, ſent to *Aix la Chapelle* in the Year 1668. The Deputies whom I juſt now ſpoke of, and who met in the Year 1588 on the part of the Duke of *Parma*, with the Miniſters of *England*, were not Embaſſadors; *Chiapin Vitelli*, whom the Duke of *Alva*, Governor of the Low Countreys, ſent into *England* in the Year 1569, was not Embaſſador neither.

It is indubitable, *That thoſe who during* Interregnums *have the Direction of [illegible] with a full Power*, may ſend Embaſſadors. After the Death of *Sigiſmund the Auguſt*, King of *Poland*, and even after the Election of the Duke of *Anjou*, the Senate of the Kingdom ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *France*; and they who compos'd it were conſider'd there and treated as Embaſſadors; tho' it may be ſaid, that *Poland* being properly but a Republick, the Senate which repreſents it has a right in it ſelf to ſend Embaſſadors, ſince it lends its Name and Authority even to thoſe the King employs. So that there is no *Interregnum*, any more than there is at *Venice*, upon the Death of the *Doge*. For altho' the publick Deliberations are ſuſpended for ſome Days, it is only to oblige the Senate to proceed to an Election ſo much the ſooner. *Sede vacante*, the *Conclave* may ſend *Embaſſadors*, and there are Examples of it.

In hereditary Kingdoms there is no *Interregnum*, and nevertheleſs, when the Succeſſion is conteſted amongſt the Heirs, the Eſtates of the Kingdom may ſend *Embaſſadors* in their own Name. After the Death of *Henry* King of *Portugal*, the *Regents* of the Kingdom ſent the Biſhop of *Coimbre*, and *Don Emanuel de Melo*, to *Philip* King of *Spain*. *Philip*, who pretended there was no *Interregnum*, by reaſon he maintain'd that his Right was indiſputable, put it in Deliberation, whether he ſhould receive 'em as Embaſſadors, or whether he ſhould treat 'em as his Subjects. *However he receiv'd them as Embaſſadors, and gave 'em publick Audience*; but he did not deal the ſame Uſage to *Ferdinand de Silva*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *Portugal*, neither did he invite him to the Chapel after the Death of *Henry*, notwithſtanding he had *Letters of Credence* from the Regents. *Charles*, the eldeſt Son of *John* King of *France*, who was Regent of the Kingdom during the time his Father was a Priſoner in *England*, ſent his Embaſſadors every where; as well becauſe in thoſe Days the Regents govern'd in their own Name, as becauſe being Regent in his own Right, and preſumptive Heir to the Crown, he was in a manner the Sovereign thereof, ſince there was then no other in the Kingdom. The Mother of *Francis* I, who was Regent of *France* during the time of her Son's detention at *Madrid*, had only a delegated Power; yet that did not hinder her from ſending, in the Year 1524, the Archbiſhop *d'Embrun*, ſince Cardinal; *John de Selve*, firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, and *Philip Chabot* Lord of *Brion*, in the Quality of Embaſſadors, to treat there of the King's Liberty. The illuſtrious Poſterity of this *John de Selve* invites me to add, that he was always Spokeſman, tho' at the ſame time his two Collegues had alſo the Reputation of being very able Negotiators. He left behind him ſix Sons, who, except one who was Abbot of St. *Vigour*, were all employ'd in Embaſſies and Negociations of Importance. *Lazarus de Selve*, his eldeſt Son, and one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber to the King, was ſent to the *Swiſs Cantons*; *John Francis* into *Turkey*; *George*, Biſhop of *Lavaur*, to the Emperor; and *John Paul*, Biſhop of St. *Flour*, and *Odet*, to *Rome* and *Venice*.

This Embaſſy of the Regent receiv'd its Authority, in part, from that of the Eſtates of the Kingdom, who had a conſiderable ſhare in the Affairs during the King's detention. But as for an Embaſſador, or publick Miniſter, he cannot *ſubdelegate*, unleſs he has a ſpecial Power for that Purpoſe. For this Reaſon, the Count de *Peguranda*, when he ſubſtituted and ſubdelegated the Archbiſhop of *Mecklin*, *Diego de Saavedra*, and *Anthony le Brun*, for the Negotiation at *Munſter*, gave them an Inſtrument wherein he ſpeaks in theſe Terms: *Don Gaſpar de Bracamonte*, Count *de Peguranda*, *&c. Foraſmuch*

much as it has pleas'd the King of Spain, *my Master, to give me by his Letters Patents of the twenty fifth of* February 1645, *full Power and Authority to treat of Peace or Truce with the High and Puissant Lords, the States of the United Provinces; which Letters begin thus:* Philip, *by the Grace of God, King of* Spain, &c. *I therefore, by virtue of the Power and Authority which his Majesty has given us, by which I can take to my Assistance one or more Persons, and by which I am empower'd to substitute, subrogate, and nominate 'em, do by these Presents name and constitute Brother* Joseph de Bergagne *Archbishop of* Mecklen, Diego de Saavedra, *and* Anthony le Brun, *and all and every of them, Plenipotentiaries at the General Peace at* Munster, *to whom I have transmitted, and do transmit the same Authority, and same Power with which his Majesty has invested me; and substitute 'em to my self; to the end that in the Name, and on the Part of his said Majesty, they may negotiate and conclude all Treaties of Peace or Truce; either all together, or each of them in particular, as well in my Absence, as in my Presence,* &c. But then these Ministers were not the Embassadors of Count *de Peguerande*, like those which Viceroys and Governors send in their own Name; they had the Quality of Plenipotentiaries of the King of *Spain*.

I shall illustrate this Matter by one Example more. *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, being kill'd at the Battel of *Lutzen* the 16th of *November* 1632, the Crown of *Sweden* gave the whole Direction of Affairs, and of the War in *Germany*, to the Chancellor *Axel Oxenstiern*, with the Quality of Legate, or Embassador Plenipotentiary in the Empire. The whole Party acknowledg'd him in that Quality, and all the Princes, except the Electors, gave him the Hand. There were some that did it with Reluctancy, and that could not endure that a Gentleman, who was a Stranger, should assume an Authority that exceeded that of Sovereign. And in fact he exercis'd it with so much Imperiousness, that it was one of the chief Causes of the particular Peace, which the Elector of *Saxony* concluded at *Prague* in the Year 1635, and of the Engagement the Duke of *Weimar* made with *France*. *Oxenstiern* making use of the Power of Legation, nominated *Hugh de Groot* to the Embassy of *France*, to which the deceased King had destin'd him, and provided him with Letters of Credence, and his Instructions. Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was then first Minister of *France*, oppos'd the Admission of Monsieur *de Groot*, because, not having Letters from the Senate of *Sweden*, the general Power of Plenipotentiary did not extend so far, as the Faculty of giving to another the representing Character. Neither was he admitted, till the evil Constitution of Affairs obliging the Chancellor to return into *Sweden*, and to take his way through *France*; he represented to the Cardinal, that the same Power that had made him be consider'd in the Treaties he had made with *France*, ought also to make him be consider'd in the Commission which he had given to Monsr. *de Groot*, which could not be rejected without destroying at the same time all that had been concluded with him in *Germany*. The Cardinal, who design'd to make use of *Sweden*, in the Execution of the great Designs he was laying against the House of *Austria*, suffer'd himself to be overcome, and caus'd Monsr. *de Groot* to be accepted. He was Embassador of *Sweden* and not the Chancellor's, who had given him his Commission by virtue of his Procuration, or his full Power.

The Duke of *Orleans*, Lieutenant General of the Kingdom during the Minority of the present King, might in the King's Absence, who was then in *Guyenne*, subdelegate a Person to treat of the Peace, with whomsoever the Arch-Duke *Leopold* should nominate on his Part; but forasmuch as this particularly relates to the Powers, we shall speak of it hereafter more seasonably.

Generals of Armies employ also Ministers, who, as publick Persons, ought likewise to enjoy the Protection of *the Law of Nations*. *Philip* of *Savoy*, Count of *Raconis*, commanding the Armies of *Emanuel Philibert* against the Protestants of the Valleys of *Piedmont*, in the Year 1561, sent to them a Gentleman nam'd *Frantis de Gilles*, who having negotiated and concluded their Accommodation, upon very reasonable Terms, was kill'd the same Night by two of the Inhabitants of the Valleys, as he was returning to the Duke of *Savoy*'s Camp. The Count was extremely exasperated hereat, and complain'd thereof, *as a Violation of the Law of Nations*. Those of the Valley detested the Action, and, to justify themselves, deliver'd up the Authors of the Murther to the Count, who perceiving thereby the Sincerity of their Intention, was satisfy'd, and procur'd 'em a Peace on the Conditions *Gilles* had granted them.

Generals make use also of *Trumpeters* and *Drums*, who, having succeeded to the Function of the *Heralds*, enjoy likewise their Rights and Privileges. This Matter alone is sufficient for a whole Volume; so that as it cannot make a part of that I am now handling, I shall be contented to say, that the *Law of Nations* is violated, when any Outrage is offer'd to those Drums and Trumpeters, who having a Passport from the General of an Army, or Governor of a Place, go from one Camp or Garrison to another; provided they carry publickly the Tokens of their Function, *viz.* The *Trumpeter his Trumpet*, the *Drummer his Drum*, and the *Herald his Coat of Arms*. *Mary* Queen of *England*, in the Year 1555, sent *Norris* her Herald to declare War against *Henry* II King of *France*; *Norris* had enter'd the Kingdom without making himself known, and indeed he was not provided with a Passport from his Mistress; for which Reasons the Duke *de Montmorency* told him he deserv'd to be hang'd. However the King gave him Audience, in the Presence of the Nuncio, and of the Embassadors of *Portugal*, *Venice*, and of *Ferrara*; and told him that he accepted the Queen's Defiance, and as he had done nothing that could oblige the *English* to break with him, he had reason to hope that the End of the War would be fatal to 'em. He moreover added, that as the Herald had spoke to him from a Woman, he did not answer him as he would have done, if he had brought him such a Message from a Man. He would not suffer the Herald to reply, and commanded him to depart the Kingdom immediately. The King's Prophecy was verify'd in the Loss the *English* sustain'd of the Town of *Calais*,

Calice, and of the little Countrey they had left in *France*. It was a comical ſort of a Herald that *Lewis* XI ſent to *Edward* IV King of *England*. The Stay the *Engliſh* Army made in *France*, gave great Uneaſineſs to *Lewis*, who deſiring to ſend it to the other ſide of the Sea, bethought himſelf to make a Herald's Coat of the Banner of a Trumpet; and having cloth'd therewith a Groom belonging to one of his Noblemen, he diſpatch'd him to the *Engliſh* Camp; where this pretended *Herald* made the firſt Overtures of an Accommodation, obtain'd a Paſſport for the Deputies that were to negotiate it; and carry'd back with him a true Herald, who came to fetch a Paſſport for the *Engliſh* Deputies. This Groom who had been taught in a moment the Buſineſs of a Herald, had without doubt ſomething ſpiritual and ſingular in him, which the King had taken notice of before he gave him this Commiſſion.

All thoſe who have had any Knowledge of the *Law of Nations*, have ever had a great Conſideration for *Trumpeters* and *Drums*; becauſe they in ſome meaſure diſcharge the Functions of the *Feciales* and *Caduceatores* of the Ancients. The Emperor *Charles* V having ſummon'd a Diet at *Spires* in the Year 1544, *Francis* I, King of *France*, ſent a Trumpeter to it, who was to ask a Paſſport for the Embaſſadors he intended to ſend thither. The Emperor caus'd the Trumpeter to be ſeiz'd, and having taken his Letter from him, made him be very ſtrictly guarded: But after having detain'd him four Days, he order'd his Letters to be reſtor'd to him, and caus'd him to be conducted to *Nancy* by the ſame Soldiers who had had him in Cuſtody. The Emperor ſaid, that the Trumpeter deſerv'd to be hang'd, becauſe the King of *France* being his Enemy, he was not oblig'd to ſuffer his Meſſenger in the Empire, where he alone could give Safety to the Trumpeter: and that he would have given it without difficulty, if he had addreſs'd himſelf to him; but that it was failing in the Reſpect that was due to him, to ſend a Trumpeter to the Deputies of the Diet while he was there in Perſon. He was willing however to teſtifie that he reſpected the *Law of Nations*, by making the Trumpeter enjoy that Safety, which he ought to find in the King's Paſſport.

The Duke of *Alva* being encamp'd with his Army near the *Meuſe*, the Prince of *Orange*, who was encamp'd on the other ſide of the River, ſent a Trumpeter to him; but the Duke caus'd him to be hang'd. He ſaid he was not oblig'd to protect a Trumpeter, who brought him a Meſſage from the Chief of the Rebels. He was in the wrong; for although the *Law of Nations* does not protect thoſe that violate it, by taking Arms againſt their Prince, yet there is a great deal of difference betwixt a Deputy that comes from the Rebels, and a Trumpeter that ſerves in their Army. For the Deputy that accepts of a Commiſſion from the Rebels, makes himſelf thereby an Accomplice of their Rebellion, whereas the Trumpeter is oblig'd to obey the Orders that are given him on pain of Death. The ſame Duke of *Alva*, while he was at the Head of *Philip* II's Army, in order to conquer *Portugal*, caus'd the Governor of *Caſcais* to be hang'd, becauſe he had fir'd upon the Trumpeter that had ſounded the Parley for the Summons to ſurrender. Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, Captain General of the United Provinces, having caus'd *Ysendick* to be inveſted, at the beginning of this Century, the Garriſon fir'd upon the Trumpeter that ſounded the *Chamade*. The Prince reſented it ſo far, that he would not ſo much as hear of a Capitulation: ſo that to ſatisfie him, he had an *Italian* Soldier deliver'd up to him, who having deſerv'd Death for other Crimes, was alſo accus'd of this unwarrantable Act. The *Italian* clear'd himſelf, and the Prince ſent him back, and let the Governor know, *that the Violence that had been done to the Law of Nations, could not be expiated by the Death of a ſingle Perſon*. We read in the Hiſtory of *Italy*, that *Fabritio Maramaldo* kill'd *Ferrucio* (who was Commiſſary of the Republick of *Florence*) with his own Hand, becauſe that during the Siege of *Volterre* he had caus'd the Drummer to be hang'd, whom *Fabritio* had ſent into the Place. There are ſeveral Examples of Generals of Armies, that have caus'd Reparation to be made for Injuries done to Trumpeters and Drummers. The two Armies of *Charles* V, and of *Henry* II, being in the Year 1554, encamp'd on the Frontiers of *Picardy* and the Low Countreys, a *French* Trumpeter, who had been ſent to the Emperor's Camp to demand a Priſoner, fell into the hands of ſome *Germans*, who diſmounted him and left him in his Shirt. The King having complain'd thereof, the Duke of *Savoy*, who commanded the Imperial Army, caus'd a ſtrict Inquiry to be made after the Authors of this Exceſs, gave the Trumpeter a good Horſe out of his own Stable, and a new Coat, and had him conducted ſafe to the *French* Camp. The Reparation made by the Duke, is a Token of the Reſpect he had for the *Law of Nations*, by giving ſo particular a Protection to a Trumpeter, who, excepting ſome ſmall Wages and this Privilege, had not the leaſt Advantage over the leaſt Party-man. Indeed there are none but Princes, and thoſe that are about 'em, that make it their Study, and come to the Knowledge of it, not in the Schools or at the Bar, but in the Management of Affairs, which have no more analogy to thoſe that amuſe the Judges and the litigious Crew, than there is betwixt the Materials that employ the Labour of a Goldſmith, and thoſe that ſerve the common Cobler.

Now as none but the Sovereign, or the Perſon that repreſents him, and is impower'd by him, has the Right of ſending Embaſſadors; ſo is there none but the Captain General, or he that in his abſence commands a Body or a Garriſon, that can give Paſſports, or cauſe a Place to be ſummon'd by a Drum or a Trumpeter. At the Siege that the *Admirante* of *Arragon* made of *Rhinberg* in the Year 1598, *Alfonſo d'Avalos*, Camp-maſter of a *Spaniſh* Regiment, caus'd the Garriſon to be ſummon'd to ſurrender the Place; but the Governor ſent Orders to the Drummer to withdraw, and that if any other Drummer or Trumpeter dar'd to come again, by the Order of any Colonel or Camp-maſter, he would cauſe him to be hang'd.

I think this a proper place to ſay a word in reference to the Deputies of an Aſſembly, that the Sovereign calls together to take their Advice, or elſe to let 'em know his Pleaſure concerning

cerning the Affairs of his Eſtate. It is very certain there is a great deal of difference between theſe Deputies and publick Miniſters: But yet as they are publick Perſons who repreſent the whole Body of the State, they ought to enjoy an inviolable Safety, as well going and coming, as during the ſtay they make in the Place where the Aſſembly is held. So that it is not lawful for the Sovereign, and much leſs for him that is not ſuch, to offer violence to their Perſons, nor to moleſt 'em by Proſecutions, either for Debts or common Treſſpaſſes. This is what is obſerv'd at the *Diets* of *Germany*, at the *Cortes* of *Spain*, in the Parliament of *England*, and in all the Aſſemblies of States wherever they are conven'd. There are two Reaſons for this. The one is, That the Eſtates making one half, or the Trunk of a Body, whereof the Prince makes the other part and the Head, he cannot do otherwiſe than we ſee in natural Bodies, the Head does with reſpect to the other Members, which are obedient to a reaſonable and lawful Will. The other Reaſon is, That there is no Countrey, where the Eſtates have not Privileges, which being inſtead of Contracts between the Prince and his Subjects, he cannot violate 'em, without deſtroying the Foundation of Civil Society. Admitting that *Henry* III. King of *France* had taken no Oath, nor given any particular Aſſurances to the Duke, and Cardinal de *Guiſe*, the ſingle general Security, which was due to all the Deputies, of which the States of *Bloiſe* were compos'd, was ſufficient to protect their Perſons from the Violence that was practis'd towards 'em. It is true that the Regal Dignity, nor even the King's Life, were not ſafe; and I will not deny, but that the Life of the one depended on the Death of the other. The King had receiv'd ſo many outragious Injuries, that they could not be aton'd for but by the violent Death of ſo powerful and dangerous a Subject; but that is no Argument, that the Security of the Eſtates, which ought to have been inviolate in all reſpects, was not violated by the Murther of thoſe two Lords, and the Impriſonment of ſome others. Theſe *Strokes of State*, however neceſſary they may be ſometimes, are accompany'd with Irregularities, that are not reconcileable either with Honour or Conſcience. The King having reſolv'd to take off the Duke, would have made uſe of *Grillon*, Camp-maſter of the Regiment of Guardes. He was a gallant Man; but being incapable of doing a cowardly Act, he offer'd the King to challenge the Duke by the way of Duel, to fight him without any advantage; and he aſſur'd him that he would do it with ſo much ſucceſs, that he ſhould ſoon find himſelf freed from the Anxieties this ambitious and rebel Prince created him continually. The King would not conſent to it, and *Grillon* would not do a foul Action. There is but one thing that can ſave the King's Honour, which is the certain Advice he receiv'd, that it was the Duke's Intention to dethrone the King in that very Aſſembly; ſo that there were no meaſures to be obſerv'd with a Subject, who had made himſelf ſo powerful, that there was no proceeding againſt him by the ordinary ways of Juſtice, and of whom he could not rid himſelf, but by an extraordinary Violence. Things being thus, and the Duke of *Guiſe* failing firſt in his Duty to his Sovereign, the King was not oblig'd to ſtick at any thing to ſave his Life and his Dignity.

CHAP. IV.

The Princes of Germany *have a Right to ſend Embaſſadors to repreſent them.*

THE great Diſputes the *Barberins* and the Duke of *Parma* had towards the latter end of the Pontificate of *Urban* VIII. concerning the Dutchy of *Caſtro*, making it to be fear'd, that the continuation of the War might draw the main Forces of the two Crowns into *Italy*, *France* labour'd with application to compoſe the Difference. The Pope, who receiv'd theſe Offices with Indignation, complaining one day to *Hugh de Lionne*, (who then negotiated without a Character, but has ſince been Secretary of State) told him, that the Duke of *Parma*, who being his Vaſſal, ought to come in Perſon and make his Submiſſion, did not ſeem to take any notice of that Duty; and that inſtead of ſending him ten Embaſſadors one after another, ſuppoſing he would admit of 'em, was for negotiating with him through the Mediation of a little Secretary of a ſubaltern Miniſter. *Lionne* made anſwer, *That thoſe Vaſſals, who by virtue of their firſt Inveſtiture, receiv'd their Fiefs with all the Rights of Sovereignty, owe nothing to the Lord after the ſimple Homage, and may negotiate with him by the means of Embaſſadors:* and as for the Miniſter of whom the Pope made mention, he was the Duke's Secretary, who as well as other Sovereign Princes, might give him what Quality he pleas'd, not being oblig'd to comply in that reſpect, with the Opinion or Capriciouſneſs of the Prince to whom he employ'd him. This Reply, which is ſo conformable to the *Law of Nations*, and to common Uſage, is ſo contrary to the refuſal the *French* make to admit the Miniſters of the Princes of *Germany* in the Quality of Embaſſadors, that I find my ſelf oblig'd, before I leave this matter, (which is the Subject of the two preceding Chapters) to give one to the Diſcuſſion of the Queſtion, that is at this time in agitation at *Nimmeguen*, and in moſt of the Courts of *Europe*; to wit, whether the Princes of *Germany* have the Right of Embaſſy.

I here ſpeak of thoſe Princes of *Germany* who have a Right to ſit in the Diets, and I alſo comprehend the Electors; as well becauſe *France*

does not admit or acknowledge their Embaſſadors but in Congreſſes, not allowing them in its Court the Honours that are due to the Character; as becauſe even in Congreſſes and Aſſemblies the Miniſters of *France* do none to all the Embaſſadors of the Electors without Diſtinction, but abſolutely refuſe 'em to thoſe of the other Princes. We ſhall find a proper Place elſewhere to tell after what manner they uſe 'em; I ſhall therefore only take notice here, that the ſaid Honours cannot be refus'd to the Miniſters of Princes, without diſputing their Sovereignty; which would be by ſo much the leſs juſtifyable, that even thoſe, who would undertake it, are for having it to have been eſtabliſh'd by the Peace of *Munſter*, as it were by a *Pragmatick Sanction*, and have treated with the Princes of *Germany* as with Sovereigns.

As the King of *France* who reigns at preſent, poſſeſſes in the higheſt Degree, all the eminent Qualities that go to the forming a perfect Monarch, it is not to be doubted but he is alſo very civil, and that he is ever ready to ſhew to thoſe foreign Princes who have no Dependence on him, all the Civilities the Conſideration they have for him can deſerve, which makes 'em look upon him as the firſt and greateſt King in *Chriſtendom*. He not only ſuffers the Duke of *Savoy*, the great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Dukes of *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, to ſend him their Embaſſadors, but he alſo allows the ſame Princes at their own homes to take the place of Honour of his Embaſſadors. So that there is reaſon to wonder that this great Prince, who is otherwiſe ſo juſt, will not ſuffer the Princes of *Germany*, as the Dukes of *Newbourg*, *Brunſwick* and *Lunenbourg*, and others of the ſame Dignity, to have even the Power of nominating Embaſſadors, and that he takes from them an Advantage which he grants to the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*.

Before I enter farther into this Matter, I muſt lay down this Poſition as a thing certain, that the King does not hinder the Princes of *Germany* from ſending him their Embaſſadors, but that he will not ſhew them the ſame Civilities which he does to the Embaſſadors of the Princes of *Italy*. When the Elector of *Bavaria* ſent Count *Groenſfeldt* and *Curtz* into *France*, in the Year 1689, their Quality of Embaſſadors was not diſputed, but they would have treated 'em as they do the Embaſſadors of the *Swiſs Cantons*; that is to ſay, leave 'em the Quality, but uſe 'em in reality like Miniſters of the ſecond Order. In the Month of *March* 1653, *S. Krohs*, Chancellor of *Baden*, was ſent to *France* with the Character of Embaſſador, to conclude the Marriage of the Prince, Son to the Marquis of *Baden*, with the Daughter of Prince *Thomas* of *Carignan*. He did not cover himſelf when he ſpoke to the King; but notwithſtanding, the King ſtood all the time of the Audience, and alſo uncover'd. The Chancellor of *France* (whom the Embaſſador would likewiſe ſee) underſtanding that he was not cover'd when he ſpoke to the King, ſaid that ſince it was ſo, he would neither give him the Place of Honour, nor the arm'd Chair at his Houſe. And indeed the Chancellor receiv'd him only in the Hall, where they both were ſtanding and uncover'd. The Chancellor, who did not fail to ſhew Civility to thoſe to whom it was due, behav'd himſelf after this manner, becauſe he knew he oblig'd the Embaſſador more in treating him thus, than if he had us'd him altogether like a Miniſter of the ſecond Order. The Maſters of the Ceremonies were of Opinion, that the Chancellor could not refuſe him the arm'd Chair, becauſe the Cardinal himſelf gave it even to Reſidents. They ſpoke the Truth, yet at the ſame time their Reaſons were defective. For what the Cardinal did in this reſpect was not a thing of Obligation, and therefore his Example could not bind the Chancellor.

It is not my Intention to draw a Parallel between the Princes of *Germany* and thoſe of *Italy*, but I think I may ſay without offending the latter, that the Families of *Gonzague*, of *Medecis*, and of *Farneſe*, were not ſo much as known when the Houſes of *Bavaria* and *Brunſwick* furniſh'd *Germany* with Emperors. Thoſe who do the greateſt Honour to the Duke of *Savoy*, make him deſcended from a younger Brother of thoſe Princes, of whom the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg* are the true and undoubted Poſterity, and who, under the great *Henries*, extended their Dominions *a Mari ad Mare*, from the *Baltick* Sea to the Gulf of *Venice*. So that it is reaſonable to believe, that it is not on the account of the Antiquity of their Families, that the Princes of *Italy* ought to be preferr'd to thoſe of *Germany*.

I cannot believe neither, that it is to be maintain'd, that thoſe are more ſovereign, and more independent than theſe. For beſides that Sovereignty admits of no Comparative, notwithſtanding all Princes are not alike abſolute; the Duke of *Savoy*, who is the firſt Prince of *Italy*, values himſelf ſo much on the Vicarſhip of of the Empire, that he procur'd a Confirmation of it by the third Article of the Capitulation of the Emperor now reigning; and glories in being of the Number of his Princes. In the Year 1544, *Charles* Duke of *Savoy* ſent his Embaſſadors to the Diet at *Spires*, where he complain'd of the Invaſion the *Turks* had made in his Countrey, at the Inſtigation of the *French*. They repreſented that their Maſter had not wherewith to contribute to the *Turkiſh* War, neither was he able to defray the Expences of his Journey, to appear in Perſon at the Diet; and therefore pray'd the Eſtates to protect him as a Member of the Empire. The great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who has had a Confirmation of his Title from the Emperor, gives place to the Duke of *Savoy*; and the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Modena* hold their Dutchies as Fiefs of the Empire, as the Duke of *Parma* holds his of the See of *Rome*; notwithſtanding which, the Pope himſelf admits of his Embaſſadors, and receives 'em with the ſame Civilities he ſhews to other Sovereign Princes. In the Year 1669, the Duke of *Parma* ſent the Count *de Sant Secondo* to *Rome*, to complement *Clement* X upon his Exaltation. He was attended by eighteen Prelates to his Audience, and had a Cortege of one hundred and fifty Coaches, and the Pope receiv'd him in the Preſence of eight Cardinals, whom he had ſent for to his Chamber for that purpoſe. The Princes of *Italy* have no Sovereignty, which thoſe of *Germany* have not as good a Title to, in as abſolute a manner, and to the ſame Degree as They. I ſhall not here make a uſeleſs Enumeration thereof, but it is ſufficient

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to say, that without being Sovereign a Prince cannot declare War, and make Peace, cast Cannon, fortify Places, lay up Magazines, make Levies of Soldiers, treat of Alliances, as well within as without the Empire, coin Money, grant Pardons and Oblivions, and in a word, do all that a Sovereign does. This is so evident, that even *France* agrees thereto, and has acknowledg'd it on several Occasions, so that it would be superfluous to dwell longer upon it. It cannot therefore be on this Foundation, that it refuses to admit their Embassadors.

I can say as much of the Forces, and Extent of the Estates of the one and the other. For although it is Sovereignty and not Power, that regulates the Rank and the Rights of Princes; I dare affirm nevertheless, that even on this account the Princes of *Italy* have no Advantage beyond those of *Germany*. The Kings of *France* were the First of all *Christendom*, at that very time that the *English* were in Possession of a considerable part of the Kingdom, and while *Burgundy*, *Britany*, *Dauphiné* and *Provence* had their particular Lords. It is true, the Princes of *Germany* live upon their Demesn's, and raise neither Taxes, nor Customs, nor any other extraordinary Imposts from their Subjects, unless it be with the Consent of the Estates of their Country; but then, that is the King of *Great Britain*'s Case as well as theirs, and if we will believe *Philip de Commines*, that of all others, who ground their Actions upon Reason and Justice, and have the Safety and Welfare of their People for Motives of their Conduct. That Tract of Countrey, that between the two Rivers, the *Elbe* and the *Weser*, extends it self from *Magdeburg*, almost to the very Ocean, may it not be compar'd with the largest Provinces of *Italy*, as well for the Number and Quality of the Towns, as for the Importance of its strong Places, even without the Counties *de Hoye* and *Diepholt* on this side and beyond the *Weser*? I'll be bold to say, that the two largest Provinces of *Italy*, without excepting even those belonging to the Pope and the Republick of *Venice*, will not make together what the Countrey of *Brunswick* and *Luneburg* was alone in the Year 1645. The Imperial Army having push'd that of *Sweden*, this Countrey serv'd for a Place of retreat to the latter, whose Cavalry was almost entirely dismounted; furnish'd it with very good Quarters all the Winter, without incommoding the Husbandman; and when it march'd out, supply'd it with fifteen thousand Horses. I omit speaking of the Armies that have been rais'd there, and which have been subsisted in it during an almost thirty Years War; as well as of those particularly which Duke *George*, the Father of the three Princes that are now living, has commanded, and shall only say, that not one of the Princes of *Italy*, who are suffer'd to give the Quality of Embassador to their Ministers, is able to do any thing like it. The War of the *Barberins*, against whom the Republick of *Venice*, the great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, had exerted all their Strength, is a sufficient Proof thereof. This makes me affirm, that it is not likewise on this account that the Princes of *Italy* ought to be more consider'd than those of *Germany*.

Those that have any Knowledge of the Affairs of the World, will not likewise say, that the first have done more for the Interest and Glory of *France* than the last. The Duke of *Savoy* did not declare for *France*, till *Spain* either would not, or could no longer protect him; and all that he has done for it, is that he left off doing it any harm, when the Power rather fail'd him than the Will. The Duke of *Mantua*, who was oblig'd to *France* for the Preservation of his whole Estate, lost the Memory, as well as grateful Sense thereof, as soon as the Troubles of the Kingdom gave him an Opportunity to show himself ungrateful and treacherous. There is no body but who is sensible of the disobliging Behaviour of the same Duke of *Parma*, who had been so mightily honour'd at *Paris*, in preference to the incomparable Duke of *Saxe Weimar*: and the Duke of *Modena* had no sooner declar'd for *France*, than he fore'd it to consent to his reconciling himself with *Spain*. It cannot be deny'd, that all the Engagements, and all the Friendships of the *Italian* Princes, have always been accompany'd with Jealousies and Distrusts, of which *France* has never been able to cure 'em. On the contrary, the Princes of *Germany* have always seconded, with Firmness and Courage, the Interests and Intentions of *France*, whilst it with Constancy oppos'd (ever since the Reign of *Francis* I, till the Peace of *Westphalia*) a predominate Power, which was going to establish it self in *Europe*. The Duke of *Luneburg*, whom I just now mention'd, has alone done more for the Success of the Arms of the Allies in *Germany*, than *France* could have expected from all the Princes of *Italy* together. And admitting that History took no notice of a great Number of *German* Princes, who have been well affected and very faithful to *France*, I need only oppose to all *Italy* that incomparable *Amelia* of *Hanaw*, Princess Regent of *Hesse*, and the Heroine of our Age, who has plainly shewn, that, even for personal Merit, the Princes of *Italy* have no Advantage over those of *Germany*. *France*, that is a competent Judge in this Matter, and that does judge of it with Freedom and Justice, will not scruple to own, that in all Ages *Germany* produces very great Princes, and that in one single Century there have been more of 'em seen at the Heads of Armies, than all *Italy* has afforded since the decay of the *Roman* Empire. Certainly, if the right of nominating Embassadors were annext to the Wit, Conduct, Generosity, and to all the other Qualities that form extraordinary Princes, I would be bold to say, it were due to the Princes of *Germany*, preferably to those of *Italy*.

I know very well, that as at present most of the Princes of *Germany* are engag'd in a Party quite opposite to *France*, they will find it a difficult matter to obtain a Novelty, and an Advantage, which by being neglected is become of the last Importance. But as the King is a Prince, that is extremely reasonable in all his Actions, I with the profoundest respect beg his leave to examine whether he be so in this.

The ignorance of the History of the ancient *Roman* Laws, and of the true Constitution of the present Affairs of *Europe*, has fill'd the greatest part of the Books of modern Lawyers with so many Paradoxes, that there is hardly

any difference between their common Opinions and popular Errors. It is particularly remarkable in those of *Germany*, where one Doctor has no sooner struck into a prejudicate Opinion than all the rest fall into it likewise, with the same Fury that caus'd the two thousand *Gadarean* Swine to cast themselves headlong into the Sea. One would take it to be a kind of Enchantment, which produces the same effect in them, that *Circe*'s Potion wrought in the Companions of *Ulysses*. They find in History, that the *Roman* People gave up all their Rights of Sovereignty to the Emperor *Augustus*, who by degrees usurp'd also those that the Senate had reserv'd it self; and they apply to the Emperors of the House of *Austria*, the Commentaries and Glosses they make upon the ancient Constitutions, endeavouring to form an Idea of a fourth Monarchy. It is certain that the modern Emperors share the Sovereignty of the Empire in general with the Estates that compose it; and that they have none at all left in those Provinces that have particular Princes. The Emperor's Counsellors are excusable, and even those of the aulick Council, when they entertain these Sentiments: But this Fault is no way pardonable in those, who being of a Prince's Council, and oblig'd to speak in the behalf of the Rights of his Sovereignty, dare to declare themselves in favour of Maxims directly opposite to the Truth, and so prejudicial to their Master. The Ambition of Princes that have any thoughts of an universal Monarchy, does not want being excited by such pernicious Counsels, which would have made the Imperial Dignity hereditary, and the Power of the Emperor absolute, if *Charles* V could have transmitted it to his Successors, the Kings of *Spain*, in the Person of his Son *Philip*. It is also probable enough, that without the victorious Arms of *Gustavus Adolphus*, we should have seen in effect, that whereof there remains only an imperfect Idea in the wounded Imagination of some Pedants, who pretend that a sovereign and absolute Power is resident in the Person of the Emperor of *Germany*. The Capitulations which have been made with *Ferdinand* III. and *Leopold*, as well as the Treaties of *Westphalia*, have secur'd to the Princes of *Germany* those Rights that put 'em upon the Level with other Sovereigns, and set 'em in a Rank wherein they are oblig'd to yield but only to Crown'd Heads.

Yet nevertheless it is only on the false Maxims of those Doctors, that *France* can ground its refusal to admit the Embassadors of the Princes of *Germany*. It is but since the *Bohemian* War that the Council has taken a due Cognizance of the Affairs of the Empire; and as it is but since the Ministry of Cardinal *Richlieu* that any regard has been had thereto, so they have been very much neglected since his decease, as well as the Inclinations of the Princes, who out of a regard to their own particular Interest could not consent to the prevailing Power of the House of *Austria*. I shall add, that *France* thinking she should with more ease compass the Design she had, not to moderate, but even to pull down the Power of *Spain*, by attacking it in the Dutchy of *Milan*, or in the Kingdom of *Naples*, she shew'd a greater Consideration for the Princes of *Italy*, who were able to contribute or consent thereto, than to those of *Germany*, whose Friendship was not so useful to it, or at least not so necessary. It is what was very much forwarded by the Counsels of those Ministers, who to consecrate their own private Opinions, have acted contrary to the true Maxims; and have despis'd old Friends to make new ones, who were more able to second the Intention of those that were for raising the Grandeur of the *French* Monarchy upon the Ruins of that of *Spain*.

It cannot be deny'd also, that the King's Haughtiness will not easily suffer the Style and Conduct to be chang'd, especially now that he has carry'd the Glory of his Crown beyond the Pretensions, and even the Hopes of his Predecessors. It may be said again, that it is not without some Ground, that he will have all the Princes, be they who they will, pay Him the same Respect they shew the Emperor; and will not allow them to exact more from the one, than they know will be granted by the other. He sees that the Princes of *Germany*, in writing to the Emperor, pay him the same Submissions they us'd to do when he was Sovereign, and when the Imperial Dignity was hereditary in the Houses of *Saxony*, of *Franconia*, and *Swabia*, and even greater than those the *French* themselves pay to their King: Hereupon he does not think himself oblig'd to treat as *Sovereigns*, those Persons the Emperor treats as *Subjects*.

I say *Subjects*; and to shew that I do not speak improperly, I might instance in the Submissions some Protestant Princes, and among the rest, the Landgrave of *Hesse* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* made to the Emperor *Charles* V, after the Battel of *Roglits*; *who prostrating themselves at his Feet, and begging his pardon, tell him, that they are his most humble and most obedient Servants, Vassals and Subjects.* But I consider that the Emperor, on this Occasion, behav'd himself as a victorious Prince, who having his Sword in his Hand gave Laws to all *Germany*, where he pretended to Reign as Sovereign and absolute Prince thereof. It was also an act of Sovereignty, when in the Year 1549. he confin'd (at *Placentia*) the Deputies or Embassadors of those Princes who had protested against the Decree of the Diet at *Spires*; and indeed it was not without some violence to the *Law of Nations*, or at least without breach of the Capitulation. There have been also Acts of the same strain in the Reigns of *Ferdinand* II, and *Ferdinand* III. When the first Discourse arose of negotiating a Peace at *Cologn*, and while the Emperor's Ministers and those of *France* were settling the Preliminaries at *Hamburg*; the King asking for Passports for his Allies, nam'd the *Swede*, the United Provinces, and the Princes of *Germany*. The Emperor made answer, that as for the *Swedes*, he had consented to a particular Congress, which was to be held at *Lubeck*; and that they ought themselves to ask for Passports if they would have any; that being in a Neutrality with the United Provinces, their Deputies had no occasion for any; and as to the Ministers of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, he would not so much as suffer it to be mention'd; *That the Subjects of the Empire ought to ask the Emperor's pardon*, and not talk of Negotiation, more especially since the Door of

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Reconciliation was open to them by the Treaty of *Prague*. This Declaration of the Emperor oblig'd the *French* to change their Batteries; they ſaid, that it was not the King's Intention to bring the Proteſtant Princes People to the Aſſembly as publick Miniſters, but as private Perſons, who were to inſtruct the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, in their Maſter's Intereſts. The Republick of *Venice* (whoſe Mediation had been accepted, and was chiefly to employ it ſelf in what related to the Proteſtant Princes) not being able to prevail with the King of *France* not to inſiſt, that at leaſt they ſhould be allow'd to ſend to the Aſſembly Perſons in a private Capacity to ſollicit their Intereſts, made two Overtures for that purpoſe: The one, that the Emperor ſhould cauſe Paſſports to be diſpatch'd for the ſafety of thoſe, who as private Perſons ſhould recommend the Intereſts of their Maſters to the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and that he ſhould grant them the privilege of ſending and receiving Courriers; the other was, that in caſe the Emperor made any difficulty to give ſuch Paſſports, he would make a general Declaration for the ſafety of all thoſe whom the Parties intereſted in this War ſhould ſend to the Aſſembly, with the aforeſaid privilege of ſending and receiving Courriers. The Emperor made anſwer, that there was no difference between the Paſſports to be given to the Miniſters of *the Proteſtant Princes, Subjects of the Empire*, where the Quality of Miniſter ſhould be expreſs'd, and thoſe where it was not; and that it was ſufficient that the Princes duly inform'd the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, before they came to the Place appointed, and before they enter'd upon Buſineſs.

The King of *Poland* ſeconded the Inſtances of the King of *France*, in favour of the Proteſtant Princes; but the Emperor was angry thereat, and ask'd the Miniſter of *Poland*, what would be ſaid in *France*, *if the King his Maſter ſhould deſire Paſſports for the Count* de Soiſſons, *or for the Duke* d'Eſpernon? That if the Rebel-Princes of *Germany* demanded Securities, they might find 'em in the Peace of *Prague*, by virtue of which they might lay themſelves at his Feet, and obtain by their Submiſſions, not only the Reſtitution of their Eſtates, but alſo the Emperor's Favour and their own Quiet. But, ſaid he, they deſpiſe the ample ſafe Conduct that the Treaty of *Prague* provides for 'em, and would have one that ſhould warrant their ſtay in a neutral Place, where they might make their Pretenſions, and diſpute with the Emperor as with their Companion; to the end that Rebel-Subjects drawing their moſt merciful Lord and their Sovereign before a foreign Tribunal, might be able to treat with him as with their Equal, inſtead of having recourſe to his Goodneſs, by Supplications and Remonſtrances.

But as this jarring put a ſtop to the Negotiation of the Preliminaries, or at leaſt ſerv'd for a Pretext to delay the ſame, the Emperor thought it adviſable at laſt on the 21ſt of *April* 1638, to make a Declaration, by which he authoriz'd the Plenipotentiaries, who were on his part at *Cologn*, to iſſue out Paſſports for thoſe whom the Princes and States that were not yet reconcil'd to him, ſhould think fit to ſend to the Aſſembly, *where they ſhould be conſider'd as Attendants of the Embaſſadors of* France.

Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was not over forward to diſpatch theſe, requir'd Paſſports in particular for the Miniſters of Duke *Bernard de Weimar*, and thoſe of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, becauſe they had ſhewn a particular Inclination to the Intereſt of *France*; tho' he at the ſame time proteſted, *That it was not the King's Intention thoſe Princes ſhould ſend their Plenipotentiaries to the Congreſs, and did not ſcruple to own they had no right to ſend any*. The Emperor's Declaration before mention'd had a Clauſe in it to this effect, that the Paſſports of his Plenipotentiaries ſhould be valid, even to thoſe that ſhould be guilty of High Treaſon. Now as this Crime can be committed only with reſpect to a Sovereign; the Emperor ſuppos'd that he was Sovereign, and that the Princes of *Germany* were his Subjects. But the Emperor's declining Condition having ſhaken his Reſolution, and *France* being willing to make uſe of its then Proſperity; the King requir'd other Paſſports for the Elector *Palatin*, for the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* as Guardian and Regent, for the Elector of *Triers*, and for the Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, who he ſaid were not leſs conſiderable than the Duke of *Weimar*, and the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; and the Emperor not being able to reſiſt ſo many preſſing Inſtances, granted at laſt all the Paſſports that were requir'd of him.

Theſe rude and improper Expreſſions furniſh *France* with a ſpecious Pretext, to refuſe to the Princes of *Germany* that Honour which they pretend to be their due; and it may be ſaid, that if we add thereto the different Uſage the Emperor deals to the Miniſters of foreign Princes, and to thoſe of the Princes of *Germany*, they muſt be own'd to be the true Cauſe thereof. But this is what the King ought not to mind, and perhaps he would not really mind it in another Juncture of Affairs. We muſt dive to the bottom and ſearch the Truth, and lay aſide all outward Appearances. *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, and the ſame Landgrave of *Heſſe*, of whom we ſpoke heretofore, put out a Manifeſto in the Year 1546, before the Battel of *Roglitz*, for the Juſtification of their Arms, wherein they take notice, that as Princes of the Empire, *they can make Leagues defenſive, as well with the other Princes of* Germany, *as with Strangers; and that they have Power to reform the Profeſſion of Religion in their own Country*. *France* is ſenſible, that the Emperor is the Head, tho' not the Sovereign of the Empire, where his Authority is much leſs abſolute than that of the King's is in *Poland*. And indeed the Plenipotentiaries of *France* being at *Munſter* in the Year 1644, wrote on the 6th of *April*, a circular Letter to the Princes of *Germany*, and concluded it in theſe Terms; *In fine, your Highneſs may aſſure your ſelf, as well as all the other Princes of* Germany, *that it is here, and no where elſe, that they ought to recover their antient Dignity, their Rights and their Liberty, and where they will enjoy that Proſperity which they ought to promiſe themſelves, when they communicate their Advice with ours, in the preſent Aſſembly of this Place*. The whole Letter is fill'd with nothing but Proteſtations from *France*, that it only took Arms to reſtore to the Empire, and its Princes, their ancient Liberty; ſo that upon this Foundation *France* cannot conſider them as the Emperor's Subjects, and can-

not refuse 'em the same Honours, of which she is so prodigal to the Princes of *Italy*, who are Vassals and Feudataries of the Empire, and who are not more Sovereign than those of *Germany*. *France* it self cannot dispute this, after the Declaration of its Ministers on the following Occasion. In the Month of *October* 1644, there happen'd a mighty Contest at *Munster* about the Powers; and at last it was agreed, that the Ministers of the Emperor and of the other Crown'd Heads should prepare an Instrument, which they should cause to be accepted and sign'd in their respective Courts. The *French* having communicated theirs to the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, were told by these, that it was not their Master's Intention to treat with all the Princes, and all the Towns, that were engag'd in Alliance with a King, who was his Imperial Majesty's Enemy, because that would be a lessening to his Dignity. But the Ministers of *France* obstinately maintain'd, *that the Princes of* Germany *might make Alliances with Strangers, without the Emperor's Consent*, and that his Approbation was not necessary, to make that lawful and valid, which they had contracted with *France*. And in the Month of *June* or *July* 1646, the Counts *de Trautmansdorf* and *d'Avaux*, Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and *France*, discoursing about the Treaty of Guaranty for the Observation of the Peace, that was negotiating at *Munster*, the first said, that the States of the Empire could not enter into this Guaranty without the Emperor's Consent, no more than *France* would suffer the Estates of that Kingdom to be Guarantees for it. But *d'Avaux* made answer, that there was a great deal of difference between the two Estates, *because the one consisted of Sovereigns, and the other of Subjects*.

It is true there are two things that derogate in some measure from the Sovereignty of the Princes of *Germany*, viz. The Appeals from their Sentences to the Chamber of *Spires*, or to the *Aulick* Council; and the Subsidies they pay to the Emperor; to the Payment whereof they may be compell'd, after they have consented thereto. But then as much may be said of the United Provinces. There is no Body so ignorant, as not to know that they are all Sovereign and Independent one of the other; and nevertheless that of *Zeeland* has no Court of Judicature, where Appeals are determin'd in *dernier ressort*, but only in that which is establish'd at the *Hague*; which however is no Prejudice to the Sovereignty of this Province; as well because that this Submission is made by virtue of a Contract with *Holland*, as because this Court, as well as the Great Council, is compos'd of *Assessors* nominated by both Provinces. So that the Princes of *Germany* are not less Sovereigns, because the Sentence of their Judges may be either amended or annul'd by the Chamber of *Spires*, or by the *Aulick* Council; since that is done by virtue of the Constitutions and Ordinances made in the Diets, with the Princes Consent; as also because the Princes nominate the Counsellors and Assessors, of which these Courts are compos'd. As for the Subsidies, the same may be said which I just took notice of with respect to the judicial part, *viz.* That the United Provinces are liable to Executions, and may be compell'd to the Payment of those Subsidies to which they have consented: and that by virtue of the Union of *Utrecht*, without the least Prejudice to their Sovereignty.

However I shall say something still more to the purpose, and which regards *France* in a more particular manner. In the Month of *April* 1646, it was debated in the Council at *Paris*, whether a Peace should be endeavour'd with the Emperor, tho' at the same time it could not be effected with *Spain*. Cardinal *Mazarine*, after having handled the Question problematically, as he was us'd to do, concluded in the affirmative; and the whole Council with one unanimous Consent, resolv'd, amongst other things, that if *Alsace* were left to the King, on the same Conditions that *Sweden* pretended to have *Pomerania*, *it would be more advantageous than prejudicial, to contribute to the Necessities of the Empire*, provided they gave the King a Rank and deliberating Vote in the Diet, and that his Quota, for all that *France* should possess in the Empire, did not exceed that of one of the Electors. From whence we must necessarily conclude, that *France* it self is of Opinion, that the Subsidies, which are not levy'd in *Germany* but with the Consent of the Princes, and by way of Agreement made between the Emperor and the States, do not prejudice the latter. And indeed, *France* it self, by making Treaties with the Princes of *Germany*, does acknowledge them to be *Sovereigns*.

If the Princes of *Germany* knew themselves, and had Resolution enough to cause Justice to be done 'em, they would make themselves be consider'd, and would take possession of a Right, that is their due by the very same Reasons that give it to the Electors: but it is with great grief that I find my self oblig'd to say, that if there be something disobliging in the King's Procedure, there is also something very irregular in that of the Princes. They cannot complain, without being at the same time liable to be reproach'd, and that with the greatest Justice too; that they do not do all they can and ought to do to support their Right, by making it appear that they deserve to have Embassadors, and that they are able to protect their Ministers.

But however, as the Weakness of some cannot be imputed as a Crime to 'em all, it must be hop'd, that there will again be Princes, who will oppose with Vigour those, who shall dispute the Rank and Honour that cannot be refus'd to their Dignity. The Duke of *Bavaria* refus'd to give place to the Republick of *Venice* at the Council of *Trent*, notwithstanding she carries it upon the level with Crown'd-Heads. And in the Year 1620, he refus'd to visit the Embassadors whom *France* had sent into *Germany*. The Embassador of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, would not suffer the Embassador of *Venice* to be preferr'd to him at *London*, at the Marriage of the Elector *Palatine*: and the Duke of *Neuburg* told the Minister of the United Provinces, that in his own House he gave place to none but the *Spanish* Embassador. He was in the right of it in my Opinion, because he both could and ought to lay Claim to the same Respect that the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorain*, and even those of *Mantua* and *Parma* challenge in their own Houses. I am not insensible that that *Boischot*, *Albert*'s Embassador, was for making his Master be consider'd on the account

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of the Provinces of the Low Countreys, which he poſſeſs'd in Sovereignty, and becauſe he pretended to the Prerogatives of the ancient Dukes of *Burgundy:* But as he had not ſucceeded to their Grandeur, ſo it muſt be confeſs'd, that his chiefeſt Quality was that of Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, which made him the firſt Prince of *Germany* after the Electors.

I alſo think I may here affirm, that it is not the Right, but the Poſſeſſion, that *France* diſputes with the Princes of *Germany:* and for as much as it is certain, that it is only ſince the Congreſs at *Munſter*, that the Civilities and Ceremonies that are ſhewn to the Miniſters of the Electors have been regulated, one cannot maintain that thoſe of the Princes enjoy'd the Quality and the Honours they pretend to at preſent before that time. All that can be ſaid to their Advantage is, that the Qualities and Ceremonies were not ſo very well regulated in *Germany* a hundred Years ago, nor even in the beginning of this Century; and that the Titles of *Legatus* and *Ablegatus* have been frequently confounded, and apply'd without diſtinction, ſometimes to Embaſſadors, and ſometimes to Miniſters of the Second Order: of which an infinite Number of Examples may be drawn from Hiſtory and the Archives. So that the Princes of *Germany*, who had but little Commerce with the Court of *France*, and none at all with thoſe of *Italy*, were contented to entitle their Miniſters to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, under what publick Quality ſoever. But for as much as the Condition of the Electors was not much better than theirs at that time, I do not ſee why that of the Princes ſhould be worſe in this. I remember to have read, in the Relation that has been printed of the Travels of *William* Duke of *Saxe Weimar*, the Eldeſt of eight Brothers, that he cover'd himſelf in the Audience he had of King *Lewis* XIII, and of the Queen Mother. Duke *Bernard*, who was the Youngeſt of the eight Brothers, and who, tho' he wanted the Eſtate, had yet the Spirit of a Prince, ſeeing that the King ſuffer'd the Duke of *Parma* to be cover'd, made no difficulty to cover himſelf too, at the firſt Audience that the King gave him. The Court, that did not dream he would have Aſſurance enough to do it, did not give him any hint of the Matter, for fear of ſuggeſting to him a Thought, which perhaps he might not otherwiſe have, and ſo did not dare to article with him. However he ſurpris'd it, and reap'd thereby an Advantage, to which he had not the leaſt Pretenſion, if it had not been granted to a Prince, to whom he thought he ow'd no Preference. If all the Princes of *Germany* would act with this Reſolution, and if they were always aſſiſted with vigorous Counſels, they would not for a conſiderable time paſt, have been refus'd thoſe Honours which the Electors have obtain'd. But there are ſome who are perſuaded, that Eaſineſs and Complaiſance are more neceſſary for the Princes, than Generoſity and Firmneſs; and that a lowly Weakneſs ſhall be more for their purpoſe, than that Elevation and Nobility of Soul, without which they have nothing of the Prince, but the bare Name and their Birth. It is about thirty Years ſince, that a certain Prince (who might be the firſt in all *Germany* if he would, and one of the moſt conſiderable in all *Europe*) being in *France*, where he was as it were *incognito*, would nevertheleſs ſee the King, who gave him Audience, and receiv'd him with great Civility, remaining in a ſtanding Poſture and uncover'd all the while the Prince ſpoke. But inſtead of ſtopping there, and carrying that Satisfaction home with him, he muſt needs viſit the Duke of *Orleans*, notwithſtanding the Declaration he caus'd to be made to him, that he would not ſuffer him to be cover'd before him. There was nothing could oblige this Prince to pay this Civility to the Duke of *Orleans*, (who had ſuffer'd the Duke of *Weimar*, and even a younger Son of the Houſe of *Wirtemberg*, and the Duke *de la Trimouille* to be cover'd before him: and who though he was the Son and Brother of a King, was ſtill a Subject:) to receive from him thoſe Incivilities that the Emperor himſelf would not have offer'd him, and the King had forborn. He had notice of it, but he was willing to receive an Affront; as I believe alſo, that the Miniſters of the other Princes voluntarily neglected the Advantages which they might have obtain'd at *Munſter*, where *France* ſtood in no leſs need of them than of the Electors. If the Meanneſſes, and ſo did Acts that are committed, could be as eaſily excus'd or repair'd as done, it might be ſaid, that this young Prince, who at that time had only a Penſion of twelve or fifteen thouſand Crowns, believ'd he riſqu'd nothing: But I cannot juſtifie the Behaviour of the Marquis of *Baden Dourlach*. This Prince, who was the Head of his Family, and who ſtruck into the Intereſts of *France* againſt the Emperor, when he came to Court in the Year 1635, was conducted to Audience by a Marſhal of *France*, and by one of the Introductors of Embaſſadors; but he did not ſo much as pretend to cover himſelf in ſpeaking to the King. All that can be ſaid to it is, that this particular Action of a Prince, who ſtood in need of the King's Protection, cannot be any Prejudice to thoſe who know themſelves better, and who would not do that Wrong to their illuſtrious Houſes, whoſe Antiquity may at leaſt equal that of the firſt in *Europe*. I dare farther ſay, that they would not have been refus'd when they enter'd into the Alliance of the *Rhine*, nor even immediately before the War, which amongſt other Inconveniencies gave alſo birth to this Difficulty; inſtead of carrying it Sword in Hand, and putting themſelves in a Condition to extort with ſome Violence, what can only be hop'd for from an Accommodation. Moreover it will be requiſite that the Emperor do, as he formerly did, with reſpect to the Electors, and that he exact of the Princes but only what they pay to the King of *France*, and by his Example to other Kings, who ſhall do them the ſame Honour. That the Princes on their part, cauſe that Reſpect to be paid them in the Empire, which is their due; and that they have no longer that Complaiſance for the Emperor that is ſo prejudicial to their Sovereignty. A Cardinal Landgrave may enter into the particular Service of the Emperor; but it cannot be deny'd, that the Elector of *Triers*, the Biſhop of *Strasbourg*, and the Marquis of *Baden*, who as Princes of the Empire had Seats in the Diets, did themſelves a great deal of Prejudice, in taking

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king upon them in the Year 1570, to conduct the Queen of *France*, who was Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian* II; and that the Biſhop of *Osnaburg*, who as Prince might ſend his Miniſters to the Aſſembly of *Munſter*, did a great deal of Wrong to the whole Order, in appearing there as Plenipotentiary of the Electoral College.

The Letter that is publiſh'd under the Title of *The Diſintereſted*, although it be nothing leſs, would make us believe that the Electors are the chief Oppoſers herein. Before I make the Reflections it deſerves, I ſhall take notice, that in a Remonſtrance printed in the Year 1673, wherein are repreſented to the Eſtates of *Germany*, the Dangers with which the Empire is threaten'd, with the Remedies that might be made uſe of to prevent the ſame; The Author ſays, That one of the things that diſconcerts moſt the Union of the Princes, is the Superiority ſome of 'em pretend to have over the others: That the Electors diſtinguiſhing themſelves from the other Princes, caus'd their Miniſters to be treated with the Quality of Excellency: That the Electors themſelves, giving Audience to the Miniſters of the Princes, would be cover'd, and would not ſuffer theſe to be ſo: That at the laſt Diet of *Ratisbon* the Elector of *Cologn* behav'd himſelf after this manner, but that few Miniſters viſited him, and that ſome of thoſe who did, cover'd themſelves as ſoon as they ſaw the Elector cover'd; which oblig'd him to act after another manner, and to remain uncover'd during the Audience. The Emperor himſelf complain'd in the ſame Diet, of the exceſſive Honours which had been ſhewn to the Miniſters of the Electors at *Munſter*: and at the ſame time that he ſuffer'd 'em to be treated as Embaſſadors at the Congreſs, he would not acknowledge them in that Quality at *Vienna*. In the Year 1646, the Elector of *Bavaria* ſent thither the Count *de Terri*, to make the Complements of Condolence for the Death of the Empereſs He had the Quality of Embaſſador, yet they made him no Entry. The Emperor did not ſend him his Coach, and there was but one Gentleman to conduct him to Audience; not in the uſual Hall, but in his Chamber, where the Emperor being always uncover'd, affected this Circumſtance to oblige the Embaſſador to remain in the ſame State. The Miniſters of the Elector of *Saxony*, contenting themſelves with their Quality of *Ablegati*, rejected the Title of Excellency, which thoſe of the Princes refus'd to give to the Plenipotentiaries of the Electors, tho' at the ſame time, theſe offer'd to do the like by them.

Wherefore after the Electoral College had taken a Reſolution, which forbid their Embaſſadors to give place to thoſe of *Venice*, the Princes came to one alſo in theirs, by which they ordain'd, that their firſt Plenipotentiaries ſhould not give place to the ſecond Plenipotentiaries of the Electors; to ſhew, that all the Advantage theſe have over thoſe, is what the firſt has over the ſecond, the ſecond over the third, *&c.* And indeed, if the College of Electors conſtitutes the firſt Order of the States of the Empire, the Princes make the ſecond; not as the free Cities make the third, of which thoſe who are not altogether Strangers to the Affairs of *Germany* cannot doubt, but as a Body as powerful, and compos'd of Princes as Sovereign as the firſt.

This is not the Place to ſpeak of the Origin of the Electoral Dignity; and it is not neceſſary to ſhew, that it is not from their firſt Inſtitution that they hold the Advantage they take over the other Princes; but then again they ought not to take it ill, that theſe are zealous for the Preſervation of their Rights, and of the Prerogatives that are inſeparable from their Dignity, in order to hand 'em down to their Poſterity, as entire as they receiv'd 'em from their Anceſtors. By virtue of this Reſolution of the Princes, the Plenipotentiaries of *Saltzburg* and of *Hildeſheim*, who were at *Munſter*, refus'd to give place in the publick Ceremonies, to the ſecond Plenipotentiaries of *Mayence*, *Triers* and *Cologn*, and rather choſe to quit their pontifical Habits and leave the Church, than to ſuffer the leaſt Advantage to be taken over them.

The Letter of *The Diſintereſted* ſays, That the Pretenſion of the Princes is injurious to the Electors; that it is at the Inſtigation of *France* that they purſue it; and that it is the King's Intention to ſet the Electors and Princes at variance with the Emperor, by caſting on him the Fault, of the Refuſal that is made to acknowledge their Miniſters as Embaſſadors. I agree with this Author, that the Electors have very eminent Rights, and that they have great Advantages over the other Princes, which have been confirm'd to them by the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*. And in truth one cannot ſpeak with too much Reſpect of their auguſt College; but they do not pretend themſelves to be more Sovereign in their Countreys, than the others are in their Territories; ſo that there is nothing to weaken the Pretenſions of theſe, or hinder 'em from aſſerting thoſe Honours, which are due to them in the Rank they hold immediately after the Electors.

I muſt own, I cannot well comprehend how it is at the Inſtigation of *France*, that the Princes form theſe Pretenſions, ſince it is ſhe that oppoſes them moſt. I am willing to believe, that M. *Gravel*, who has been at leiſure to ſtudy the Affairs of *Germany*, and has apply'd himſelf thereto, has perhaps ſtrengthen'd the Pretenſions of the Princes, and has repreſented to them, that they may aſſert to themſelves, all the Honours that are due to Sovereigns, as well as the Electors, who enjoy the ſame as Princes and Sovereigns, and not as Electors; but that is all.

I have ſo much Reſpect for them, that I would not here repeat what has been written and publiſh'd on this Occaſion, upon ſolid Principles enough, and convincing Proofs; but there ſeems to be ſomething ſo oppoſite in what the Letter ſays of the Intention of *France*, to what is perceivable in the Actions of her Miniſters, that I have ſome difficulty to adjuſt it in my Mind. If ſhe looks upon the Pretenſions of the Princes to be well grounded, and if ſhe backs them againſt thoſe of the Electors, how is it poſſible for her to elude them? and how can ſhe refuſe the Princes an Honour, which ſhe her ſelf thinks their due? It is ſaid to be with a deſign to ſet 'em at variance with the Emperor; becauſe ſhe has a mind that the Court at *Vienna* ſhould ſerve her as an Example. The

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King has no need of me to juſtifie his Intentions; but I cannot forbear ſaying, that thoſe Intentions are not very ſincere, that give an evil Interpretation to thoſe that will admit of a very favourable one, and that upon Reaſons, if not altogether demonſtrable, at leaſt very probable. When the Miniſters of the Electors began to ſpeak of their Pretenſions at *Munſter*, *France*, that could not hope to gain its Ends without their Conſent, offer'd to do them the ſame Honours which are done to the Embaſſadors of *Venice* and *Holland*; upon this expreſs Condition, That therein the King ſhould do no more nor no leſs than what the Emperor would do in their behalf. This was look'd upon to be very juſt at that time; but now that the King holds the ſame Language, and will have the Princes have the ſame Conſideration for him which they have for the Emperor, to whom the King pretends to owe nothing, he does it to ſet the Princes at variance with the Empire.

To conclude this Chapter, I ſhall lay down as a certain Truth, that the Princes of *Germany* are in Poſſeſſion of the Right of ſending publick Miniſters to all the Courts of *Europe*; which they could not do, if they were not Sovereigns; and ſince with the Right they have alſo the Poſſeſſion, they cannot be hinder'd from giving them what Character they pleaſe; and they who refuſe 'em the Honours which are their due, do not only fail in point of Civility, but alſo in what is a juſt Debt to the *Law of Nations*.

This is without doubt what the King will reflect upon, if he pleaſes to be put in mind, *that the late King acknowledg'd the Embaſſador of Duke* Charles *of* Lorrain, who had the Honour to be cover'd when he ſpoke to the King; and above all, that he ſuffer'd the Commanders, *de Formigeres* and *de Forbin*, his Subjects and Officers, Embaſſadors from the great Maſter of *Maltha*, to be cover'd in the Audiences he gave them. So that the Princes of *Germany*, who ought to be conſider'd after a clear different manner than the great Maſter of an Order, have reaſon to be offended at the refuſal that is made 'em, of a thing that is ſo lawfully their due.

Notwithſtanding which, the other Princes make ſo good a Uſe of the Example of *France*, that they refuſe to thoſe of *Germany* the Honours they do to the Embaſſador of *Venice*, and to Sovereigns who cannot come in Competition with them. *Clement* VIII. caus'd a ſolemn Entry to be made for the great Maſter of *Maltha*, to whom he gave Audience, making him ſit above the laſt Cardinal Deacon. But one of the firſt Princes of *Germany*, after the Electors, being at *Rome* in the Year 1665, *Alexander* VII. ſaid, *He would not ſuffer him either to ſit, or be cover'd at the Audience.*

There remains only to add here a Word or two, with reference to the Duke of *Lorrain* in particular, becauſe it was upon his account that the Quality of Embaſſador was refus'd to the Miniſters of the Princes of *Germany*. That the Marquis *de Ville*, the late Duke of *Lorrain*'s Miniſter, had that Quality, and was cover'd in ſpeaking to the King, is what cannot be deny'd. He might do it as well for the Reaſon alledg'd in the beginning of the preſent Chapter, as becauſe his Sovereignty is much leſs to be conteſted than that of the Princes of *Italy*. *Charles* IX. King of *France*, oblig'd himſelf after a manner extraordinary enough, before two Notaries of the *Chaſtelet* of *Paris*, to yield to the Duke of *Lorrain* all the Rights of Sovereignty that the Kings his Predeceſſors had had over the Dutchy of *Bar*; which King *Henry* III. confirm'd immediately after his return from *Poland*, and caus'd it to be ratify'd in Parliament. It was long before that, that *Anthony* had obtain'd of King *Francis* I. the Rights of the *Regalia*, for himſelf and his Son; and by the Agreement made at *Nuremberg*, between the Emperor *Charles* V. and the Eſtates of the Empire on the one part, and *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain* on the other, the ſaid Dutchy was declar'd a free Principality, exempt from Homage to the Emperor, and from the Sovereignty of the Empire, except in certain Caſes. Since which time the Dukes of *Lorrain* have been conſider'd as Sovereigns: They have been acknowledg'd as ſuch in the Treaties the Crowns have made between themſelves; and, as ſuch, they have made Treaties with Crowns. So that their Sovereignty being indiſputable, the Right of ſending Embaſſadors ought to be ſo likewiſe.

CHAP. V.

Of the Miniſters of the Second Order.

ALL that have written of the publick Right unanimouſly agree, That the Miniſters of the ſecond Order, being compris'd under the Denomination of *Legati*, enjoy without any Contradiction all the Advantages that the *Law of Nations* beſtows upon them. And the Declaration of the States of *Holland* the 29th of *March* 1651, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, is ſo expreſs in this Point, that even if one would doubt of it elſewhere, it would be impoſſible to do it in a Countrey where the Law ſpeaks ſo clearly. It names *Embaſſadors*, *Reſidents*, *Agents*, and comprehends all thoſe that have the Quality of *publick Miniſters* on the part of what King, Prince, or Republick ſoever they are employ'd; that is to ſay, *Internuncios*, *Envoys Extraordinary*, *Plenipotentiaries*, *Commiſſioners*, *Secretaries of Embaſſies*, &c. thereby condemning the Sentiments of the Court of Juſtice of the ſame Province, which in a Controverſy it had in the Year 1644 with *Spiring*, Reſident of *Sweden*, maintain'd that the *Law of Nations* protected only Embaſſadors, and does not reach the Miniſters of the ſecond Order. The Conſent of Nations is the ground of the Declaration of the States of *Holland*,

and renders this Protection by ſo much the more neceſſary, as Princes would be more inconvenienc'd from the want of theſe Miniſters, than from that of Embaſſadors. The Electors and Princes of *Germany*, who have not yet been able to get the Character of Repreſentative acknowledg'd in their Miniſters, can have no other. The King of *France* himſelf, who cannot oblige the Court at *Vienna*, to give his Embaſſador the Rank which he holds every where elſe, ſends thither only a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, as well as to ſeveral other Places, whither his Dignity will not ſuffer him to ſend a Perſon characteris'd; as for inſtance, to *Liege*, *Hamburgh*, and even to the Diets, where an Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France* would be ſubject to be ſometimes made uneaſy. Others make uſe of 'em, either out of good Husbandry, or becauſe the Affairs they have to negotiate are not of ſufficient Importance to employ an Embaſſador. It is out of this Conſideration that the Republick of *Venice* has a Reſident with the *Swiſs Cantons*, and that the States of the United Provinces have Miniſters of the ſame Quality in *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Vienna*, *Bruſſels*, and other Places; as alſo in the Armies of their Allies. The Emperor has only a Secretary or an Agent at *Venice*. *La Tuillerie*, Embaſſador from *France*, going from the *Hague* after the Peace of *Munſter*, *Braſſet* was left there in the Quality of Reſident, as he had left *Chanut* in the ſame Quality at *Stockholm*; and *Chanut* left *Piques* there, who having for ſome time negotiated the Affairs of *France* as *Agent*, had at laſt the Quality of *Reſident*.

Beſides this, Princes frequently chuſe to make uſe of this kind of Miniſter, rather than of the ſplendid Quality of the other, as being more proper to carry on an Intrigue with Safety, where the Secret it more neceſſary than Pomp. They negotiate alſo with leſs trouble and more Succeſs; they can go and come without much to do: They have no need to be ſo choice in their Steps, the Irregularity whereof does no Injury to the Dignity of their Maſter, provided they are neither falſe nor ridiculous. Now the Embaſſador is oblig'd to meaſure 'em, to concert all his Actions, to act according to Forms, and to preſerve the Reputation of his Prince as well as his Intereſts. He muſt therefore demand his Audiences as well of the Sovereign as of the Miniſters; whereas the Reſident takes 'em of theſe when he finds an Opportunity; and being leſs incommodious and leſs formal than the Embaſſador, he finds a more eaſy acceſs, and his Buſineſs diſpatch'd with much more Expedition. I'll give here ſome Inſtances of what I ſay. The Victory gain'd by the Arms of the Emperor *Charles* V, before *Pavia*, in the Year 1524, ſo alarm'd all *Italy*, that Pope *Clement* VII, thinking himſelf ſure of the Republick of *Florence*, made a League defenſive with that of *Venice:* into which the Allies pretended to bring *France* and *England*; the one being oppreſs'd by the Emperor, and the other jealous of his Power. The Allies had but juſt concluded it, when they underſtood that King *Francis* I. had made the Treaty of *Madrid* for the recovery of his Liberty. They were much ſurpriz'd thereat; but being ſoon inform'd that the King was not at all ſatisfy'd with the Emperor, as well on account of the ill Treatment he had receiv'd during his detention, as becauſe he could not digeſt the ſevere Conditions of the Treaty, they reſolv'd to perfect their Deſign of bringing him in with them. The *Venetians* intended to ſend two of their principal Senators into *France*, who, under the colour of complementing the King on the ſcore of his Misfortunes and recover'd Liberty, ſhould negotiate Affairs of much greater Conſequence; but then, conſidering that ſome time muſt be giv'n to the Embaſſadors to prepare their Equipage, and judging that a ſubaltern Miniſter would do his Work with much leſs noiſe, and more effectually, they ſent thither *Andrew Roſſe*, Secretary of the Council *de* * *Pregadi*. The Pope following their Example, diſpatch'd thither *Paul Vettori*; and theſe two Miniſters of the ſecond Order happily concluded the Treaty, to the Satisfaction of the Parties concern'd. The Republick employ'd *Gaſpar Spinelli* in *England*, at the ſame time, and for the ſame purpoſe: He was Secretary to *Laurence Orio*, their Embaſſador, who was dead at *London* ſome time before.

In the Year 1537, the ſame Republick ſeeing that *Francis* I, being diſguſted at the Alliance and Aſſiſtance of the Great *Turk*, which made him odious to *Chriſtendome*, and which had produc'd nothing under *Barberoſſa*, began to think of Peace; ſent into *France*, *Francis Juſtiniani*, not in the Quality of Embaſſador, but as an Envoy: And *Lewis Badoüere* went to *Madrid* with the ſame Quality, notwithſtanding there was an Embaſſador in Ordinary there on the part of the ſaid Republick. Theſe two Miniſters without Character, diſpos'd the two Monarchs to ſend their Plenipotentiaries to *Narbonne*; where the King of *France*, who firſt ſent thither the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, caus'd him to be joyn'd by the King of *Navarr* his Brother-in-law.

I willingly make uſe of the Examples of this powerful and wiſe Republick, becauſe there is Safety in following her; for which reaſon I ſhall take one or two more out of the Hiſtory of that time. In the Year 1538, ſhe employ'd at *Conſtantinople Laurence Gritti*, the natural Son of *Andrew*, altho' at the ſame time there was a *Bailo* or *Agent* at the Port. His Buſineſs was to negotiate a general Truce between the Emperor of the *Turks* and the Allies, who were Pope *Paul* III, the Emperor *Charles* V, and the Republick of *Venice*; but all he could obtain was a Suſpenſion of Arms for three Months. *Jacomo Ragazzoni*, whom the Senate ſent to *Conſtantinople* during the *Cyprian* War, had no Quality at all. *Selim* II. having reſolv'd to conquer this Iſland, and being inform'd that the *Chiaoux Cubat*, whom he had ſent to *Venice* to demand it, had brought back an abſolute Refuſal, with a fix'd Reſolution of the Senate to oppoſe any Violence that ſhould be offer'd; ſet a guard upon the Agent *Mark Anthony Barbaro*, and caus'd the Conſuls of *Alexandria* and *Aleppo* to be confin'd; but theſe laſt were ſoon ſet at liberty. This War was carry'd on contrary to the Advice, and againſt the Inclination

* *Certain Chief Senators of great Authority in* Venice.

of

of the first Vifier *Mehemet*; and the Republick, on her part, did not find its Intereſt in the Continuation of a Quarrel, in which the Chriſtian Princes, her Allies, contributed nothing towards the eaſing of her; ſo that it was no very difficult Task to diſpoſe both the one and the other to a Peace. The *Turks* fearing leſt a powerful League ſhould be form'd amongſt the Chriſtians, which ſhould hinder them from making a thorough Conqueſt of the Kingdom, after that of *Nicoſia*, caus'd the *Bailo* or Agent to be ſounded, whether he had not Orders to propoſe an Accommodation: And the firſt Vifier, finding his Conſtancy, did not diſdain making the firſt Overtures of one to him. He took for Pretext the Complaints of ſome particular Perſons, who had been taken, and whoſe Goods had been ſeiz'd ſince the Rupture; and caus'd the *Bailo* or Agent to uſe his Endeavours with the Senate, that the ſaid Goods might be reſtor'd and the Priſoners ſet at liberty; ſince the *Venetian* Merchants contin-nu'd to carry on their Commerce without any lett or hindrance, throughout all the Countreys belonging to the Grand Seigneur. He gave him leave, and at the ſame time exhorted him to write and ſend an Expreſs about it; giving him to underſtand by *Ibrahim Bey*, firſt Interpreter of the *Divan*, that he ſhould be glad if the Senate would diſpatch ſome Perſon to the Port, who, in ſpeaking about the Commerce, ſhould make ſome Propoſals of Peace. The Agent diſpatch'd his Steward and one of his Interpreters; and the Senate had ſo much the leſs Difficulty to comply therewith, becauſe the *Turks* made the firſt Advances in the Matter. *Jacomo Ragazzoni*, who, being a Merchant, had an Intereſt in the Commerce, and who moreover had all the Qualities neceſſary for the Negotiation of an Affair of this nature, was ſent to *Conſtantinople*. The Council of Ten gave him, with his Commiſſion, a private Inſtruction to the *Bailo* or Agent, not to be ſhy, or keep off, if the Propoſals the *Turks* ſhould make to him were honourable, and any way conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Republick; and gave the ſame Power to *Ragazzoni*, in caſe the *Turks* ſhould make any Difficulty to treat with the *Bailo* or Agent, on the account of his Confinement. But the *Divan* pretending to gain by the Treaty, what their Arms had not yet conquer'd in the Iſland; the *Bailo* or Agent, who could not conſent thereto without exceeding his Orders, broke off the Negotiation, and ſent back *Ragazzoni* to *Venice*, leaving even the Treaty of Commerce unfiniſh'd. In fine, the Senate ſeeing the whole Iſland loſt, follow'd the Advice of *France* (which counſell'd her to put an end to the War by ſome good Accommodation) and gave the *Bailo* to underſtand its Intention. The *Turks* were as well inclin'd thereto as the *Venetians*; and nevertheleſs when the *Bailo* ſpoke to them of it, they doubled the Severities of his Priſon, they darken'd the Windows of his Chamber, increas'd his Guards, and depriv'd him of the ſmall Communication he had till then. This was done as well to oblige him to diſcover his laſt Orders, as to hinder him from conferring with the the Biſhop of *Acs*, who was then come to *Conſtantinople* from *Charles* IX. King of *France*, and of whom the *Barbarians* had entertain'd ſome Jealouſy. But the firſt Vifier being well aſſur'd that this Miniſter did not know the Senate's Intention, and being apprehenſive leſt *France* ſhould intermeddle in the matter, in order to make it ſelf neceſſary, let him alone, and continu'd and concluded the Negotiation with the *Bailo*, by the Mediation of *Ibrahim Bey*, and by a *Jewiſh Phiſician* nam'd *Solomon*, who made an end of it the 15th of *March* 1573.

Francis I. often made uſe of this kind of Miniſters. He ſent to *Conſtantinople Cæſar Cantelmo*, a *Neapolitan*, who was baniſh'd for having follow'd the *French* Intereſt. *He there had Audience of* Soliman, *and negotiated with the* Divan, not as an Embaſſador, but as a Gentleman of the King's Houſhold, becauſe at that time the Quality of *Envoy Extraordinary* was not yet known. *Merveille*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the Tenth Chapter, was employ'd by the ſame King to the Duke of *Milan*; and it may be ſaid, that the moſt important Affairs have been tranſacted by thoſe *Philip de Commines* calls Embaſſadors or ſecret Miniſters. *Franci'co Bernardo*, a *Venetian* Gentleman, who reſided at *London* on account of his own private Affairs, paſs'd the Seas ſeveral times under that Pretext, and yet that did not hinder him from negotiating in *France*, on the part of *Henry* VIII. King of *England*. *Paul Paruta* ſays, that it was *Bernardo* that contributed moſt to the Treaty, that was concluded between *Henry* II. and *Edward* VI, in the Year 1547. It was not *Francis de Montmorancy* Lord of *Rochepot*, Governor of *Picardy*, *Gaſpar de Coligny*, Collonel of a Regiment of *French* Foot, nor the other Deputies of *France*, who made the Treaty with the Earl of *Bedford*, *William Paget*, and *William Peters*, by which *Boulogne* was reſtor'd to the *French* in the Year 1550; but it was *Anthony Guidotti*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, who, while he carry'd on his own Buſineſs in the two Kingdoms, tranſacted another that was not known, and yet was of great Importance; ſince it was he that adjuſted in *Paris* the greateſt Difficulties on the part of the ſame *Edward* VI. It was likewiſe *Guy Cavalcanti*, who in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign had the greateſt ſhare in the Treaty which was made between *France* and *England*, after the Treaty of *Chateau Cambreſis*. The Marſhal *Deſtrades* knows, that one of the greateſt Difficulties that hinder'd the Concluſion of the Treaty, which the States of the United Provinces were negotiating in *France* in the Years 1661, and 1662, was remov'd by a private Perſon, who does not boaſt of it, though the State is at the ſame time oblig'd to him. *Hugh de Lionne*, Secretary to the Queen of *France*, was ſent to *Madrid* in the Year 1656, aud had there diſpos'd Matters ſo well, that if *Don Lewis de Haro* would at that time have comply'd a little with reſpect to the Prince of *Condé*'s Intereſt, he had tranſacted before he went away what *Anthony Pimentel* finiſh'd ſince at *Paris*; where he concluded the Treaty which the King of *Spain* ratify'd before the two Miniſters came upon the Frontiers, where it receiv'd its laſt Perfection. Some Years before it had been twice diſcours'd of, that Cardinal *Mazarin* and Count *de Pegnaranda* were to have an Interview: The Cardinal made the

Overture

Overture the first time; but the Count not doubting but it was the Intention of this first Minister, who was the most dextrous Negotiator in his time, to draw from it some great Advantage for the King his Master, caus'd him to be sounded by *Friquet*; who talking with the Cardinal, soon found out that their conferring would be to no purpose. On the other side, when the Count desir'd to meet the Cardinal, when the Troubles of the Kingdom were at their height, *Lionne*, who went to the Count at *Cambray*, discover'd in the very first Conference, that his Intentions were not better than the Cardinals had been, and that if *France* would have Peace, she must purchase it at the Expence of some part of her Conquests. These subaltern Ministers prevented, by their Dexterity, the Scandal which the Cardinal and the Count would inevitably have incurr'd, if they had parted displeas'd, and notoriously dissatisfy'd after a publick Conference.

Of these Ministers of the second Order, some have a publick Quality, as that of *Envoy*, *Resident*, *Commissioner*, &c. and the others have not, as those I lately mention'd; but however the *Law of Nations* protects them all alike. The Emperor *Charles* V, to excuse the violent Execution that had been done in the Person of *Merveille*, said, that a Minister could not enjoy the Privilege of the Ministry unless his Quality appear'd publickly. It is true, he that offends an Embassador or Minister, whose Character is not conspicuous, does not violate the *Law of Nations*; but it cannot be deny'd, that the Prince (who has acknowledg'd the Minister in that Quality, and has negotiated with him) violates the same *Law of Nations*, if he uses violence to him, or suffers any to be done him. *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, had allow'd of *Merveille*, and had negotiated with him as with the King of *France*'s Minister; for which Reason he was oblig'd to secure him that Safety, which his Letters of Credence entitl'd him to. *Lionne* and *Pimentel* had no Quality; but they had a formal Power. *Destrades* had only the Quality of a Military Officer in *Holland*, when he negotiated the most important Affairs that the United Provinces had with *France*: But the *Law of Nations* protected both the one and the other.

We must however make some Distinction between the *Minister* and the *Negotiator*; because every *Negotiator* is not a *Minister*. The Duke of *Longueville* being Prisoner of War in *England*, and *Andrew Gritti* being the same in *France*, negotiated there: But they were not Ministers, because they only made Overtures for a Negotiation, and did not in effect negotiate. The same ought to be said of *Bernardo*, *Guidotti*, and some others: and I don't know if the same ought not to be said of *John Francis Valerio*. This *Venetian* Gentleman, having made some stay in *France*, had got there such good Acquaintance, that the first Lords of the Kingdom made no difficulty to communicate to him the most important Affairs. He acquainted the Senate therewith from time to time; and depending on his own Knowlege of things, he did not scruple to assure it, that the King would cause the Interest of the Republick to be sollicited at *Constantinople*; and that if *Cantelmo*'s Negotiation had not the Success that was expected, he would send thither other Ministers. He exhorted the Senate to confide in the King's Word, and to be assur'd of the Inclination his Majesty expres'd for the Good of the Republick, to bring it off with Reputation. *Valerio* was a Subject of the Republick, and was not employ'd from it. The Republick at that time had no Union with *France*, tho' it had with the Emperor. It is also well known, that there is no State in the World more jealous of its Interests than that of *Venice*; notwithstanding which, it approv'd of *Valerio*'s holding a Correspondence with the chief Lords of the Court of *France*, for the Service of his Country.

To enter into a Detail of these Ministers of the second Order, we must begin with the *Residents*. Embassadors in Ordinary were formerly call'd *Residents* to distinguish them from the Extraordinaries: and it is after this manner the Quality of Resident, which is found in the Title of the Negotiations of *Francis Walsingham*, who was Embassador in Ordinary in *France*, must be understood. This Word has a particular Signification within about fourscore Years; and denotes a Minister who has not properly the representing Character in the first Degree; but who notwithstanding has a Quality that makes him enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, and makes him be consider'd as a publick Minister on the Sovereign's Account that employs him. The Declaration of the States of *Holland*, of which we shall often make mention in this Treatise, puts Residents in the Number of publick Ministers; and there is not any Court where this Quality is known, that does not grant 'em all the Advantages the *Law of Nations* secures to Ministers, or that does not pay them all the Civilities, that do not partake of the Ceremonies properly belonging to Embassadors. These are scarcely possess'd of any Right that the *Residents* do not enjoy in common with them; and particularly the most eminent of all, which is that of exercising in their own House, a Religion prohibited by the Laws of the State where they reside. We shall bring some Examples hereof in Chapter XXXVII; wherefore I shall say no more here, but that even in those Places where the Inquisition has erected its Tribunal this Liberty is not refus'd them; neither are they depriv'd of the other Rights, the *Law of Nations* gives to the Quality of publick Minister and Representative. I know very well that he is this, in a Degree much inferior to that of an Embassador; but it is after the same manner as mitred Abbots are nevertheless Prelates, tho' constituted in a Dignity much inferior to that of Bishop, and at a far greater distance from that of Archbishops, Patriarchs and Cardinals.

The Quality of *Envoy Extraordinary* is still more modern than that of *Resident*. It had its Origin from this, That Princes sometimes sent to foreign Courts Gentlemen of their Houshold, in Affairs, the Negotiation whereof was neither long nor knotty, nor of that Importance as to employ an Embassador; so that the *Envoy* is as it were a *Resident Extraordinary*. In reality it is nothing else; and the Princes, that first employ'd 'em, can have had no other Intention; notwithstanding that within some time,

time, the Miniſters who have had this Quality, have been for raiſing themſelves to ſomething more, and making themſelves be conſider'd as little Embaſſadors. Never any body aim'd at this in a more haughty manner, nor with ſuch ill Succeſs, as the Marquis *Juſtiniani*, the firſt Miniſter in Ordinary that I know of, who has had the Quality of Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of *France* ſince the Honours have been regulated. He had the Aſſurance to hope he ſhould be ſuffer'd to be cover'd when he ſpoke to the King, and he was preparing to enter the *Louvre* in his Coach. The Guards at the Gate, who were inform'd of his Intention, preſented the Points of their Halberts to the Coach-man, and ſtop'd and put back his Horſes in the View of the Publick. He had alſo the Mortification to find himſelf oblig'd to give place to to the Reſident of *Brandenburg*; or at leaſt to abſent from the publick Aſſemblies, where they might have come in competition. The Maſter of the Ceremonies and the Introductors of Embaſſadors, know no Quality between the firſt Repreſentative and the Reſident, conformably to the Intention of the moſt Chriſtian King; who obſerving that theſe new Pretenſions might produce others, declar'd about ten or twelve Years ſince, that he did not pretend his Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of *Vienna*, ſhould be conſider'd after any other manner than as Reſident in Ordinary: And as he did not require any other Honours ſhould be ſhewn him, than what are uſually done to thoſe of this Quality, ſo he was likewiſe reſolv'd to treat them both alike. Formerly *France* did Honours to Envoys, and they had the King's and Queen's Coaches to conduct them to their Audience; but in the Qear 1638, the King of *England* being inform'd that this Honour had been done to *S. Ravy* and to *Jermin*, whom the Queen and himſelf had ſent to *France*, on occaſion of the Dauphin's Birth, he complain'd thereof. He ſaid that if the King of *France* did ſo, he ſhould be likewiſe oblig'd to do the ſame to thoſe Gentlemen ſhould be ſent him; but that it would be neceſſary firſt to agree upon the whole, and make a particular Regulation upon that account. Whereupon it was reſolv'd in *France*, that for the future, to begin with the Year 1639, no Honours ſhould be done to this kind of Miniſters, and accordingly none have been done ſince.

M. Trevor was Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of *France* in the Year 1668, for the Affairs of the Low Countreys; *Conrad Van Beuningnen* was there at the ſame time, and on the ſame account, in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Holland*. There is no Competitorſhip between *England* and the United Provinces, but the Quality of Envoy gave place without any diſpute, to the Character of Embaſſador; as it would alſo yield to that of Reſident, if this was veſted in the Perſon of a Miniſter from a crown'd Head, and that in the Miniſter of a Republick, or ſome other Prince. *Campriget*, the Emperor's Reſident, took place, without oppoſition, of the Envoys of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and of thoſe of all the other Princes, who could not pretend to take this advantage of him, without making a new Ceremonial. There is no place where the matter of Ceremony is leſs regulated than at the *Hague*, becauſe no body there makes it his Study; and it is for that Reaſon, that this ſort of Miniſters have there obtain'd Advantages which are not their due. *George Downing*, having procur'd the King's Confirmation in the Employ *Cromwel* had conferr'd upon him in *Holland*, requir'd to be receiv'd at his Coach Door, that is to ſay, that he ſhould receive the ſame Honours, that are done to Embaſſadors in Ordinary when they receive Audience: and he was back'd in his Pretenſions by thoſe who ſought a Pretext for a Rupture. Upon advice at *Stockholm* in the Year 1652, that *Anthony Pimentel* was arriv'd at the *Dales* on the part of the King of *Spain*, the Count *de la Garde*, who had Orders to take care of his Reception in the Queen's Abſence, ſent two Coaches with ſix Horſes each to meet him, as alſo ſome Officers of the Houſhold to defray his Charges, and bring him to the Queen Mother's Palace which was fitted up for him. The Queen, being return'd to *Stockholm*, underſtanding that *Pimentel* had only the Quality of *Envoy*, was not well pleas'd with the Honours which had been done him. She ſaid, that ſince he had only the Character of the ſecond Order, they ought not to have ſent to meet him, nor defray his Expences: however ſince the thing was begun it ought to be purſu'd; and he was treated to the third Day after his firſt Audience. The Queen's Intention was to defray him all the time he ſhould ſtay in *Sweden*, if he had had the Character of Embaſſador. This *Spaniſh* Miniſter got ſo great an Aſcendant over the Mind of this Princeſs, that he even blotted out the very Remembrance of the Friendſhip ſhe had promis'd, and really ow'd to *France*. She lodg'd him in the Caſtle, under her own Appartment, and beſtow'd whole Nights upon his Converſation. At the Entry of the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, his Coach immediately follow'd the Queens, and preceded that of the Senators and Officers of the Crown. When he took his Audience of Leave, he inſiſted upon having the Coaches of the Crown, tho' at the ſame time he had ſo little way to go, that the Heads of the Poſtilion's Horſes reach'd as far as the great Staircaſe, before the Coach began to move. *Pimentel* was a Man of Merit, but here was a little Oſtentation on this Occaſion, and we muſt think he had a mind to ſhew, that if *France* made Conqueſts in *Flanders*, *Spain* alſo made conſiderable ones in *Sweden*. Theſe exceſſive Honours are not due to Miniſters of the ſecond Order; and cannot be pleaſing to their Maſters, who ought to deſire there ſhould be ſomething reſerv'd to the repreſenting Character. In the Year 1633, Cardinal *de Richelieu* ſent a Perſon whoſe Name was *la Grange aux Ormes*, the Son of a Phyſitian at *Metz*, to ſome of the Princes of *Germany*. He was but a bare Carrier of Letters, wherein the King complemented 'em on the Death of the King of *Sweden*: He was treated according to this Quality almoſt every where; but the Elector of *Saxony* made him waſh firſt, plac'd him at the upper end of the Table, and did him the ſame Honours he would have been able to have ſhewn him, if he had had the Quality of Embaſſador. The Court of *France* was very angry hereat, and the Cardinal reproach'd *la Grange* with his Pride and Imprudence, baniſh'd

him from Court, and remov'd him from all Employment. Whatever exceeds the ordinary Civilities, does not regard the Princes who make uſe of Miniſters of the ſecond Order; ſo that theſe Civilities cannot be made Precedents of, becauſe they are either done out of a particular Conſideration to the Perſon of the Miniſter, or elſe by ſuch as do not underſtand the Ceremonial.

Sabran, Reſident from *France* at *London*, having Letters of Credence for the Parliament, met with a great many Difficulties on account of the Honours he pretended to have done him, when he receiv'd Audience: But they were at laſt regulated after this manner, that the Parliament ſhould appoint Deputies who ſhould enter into Conference with him, and ſhould at home do him the Honours of the Houſe. The Parliament nam'd for this purpoſe, ſix Lords and twelve Deputies of the Houſe of Commons, who in thoſe Conferences that were held at their Houſes, gave him an arm'd Chair at the upper End of the Table; and always ſent two Deputies to him at home, to communicate to him the Reſolutions the Parliament took upon their Deliberations and Reports. The Deputies of the States General have at the *Hague*, repair'd to the Houſe of the Miniſters of *Lunenburg*, in order to confer with 'em, and that more than once; a thing however of ſo much the greater Conſequence, that it was an Act of poſſeſſion to theſe, and that afterwards the Envoys and Reſidents of crown'd Heads might lay Claim to the ſame Advantage. Both the one and the other have neglected the Benefit they might have reap'd therefrom, and the Deputies of the States have maintain'd themſelves in the poſſeſſion of holding the Conferences in one of the Chambers of their Apartment. I cannot tell out of what Motive they have renounc'd that which they alſo had, of taking there the place of Honour of the Miniſters of the ſecond Order. They firſt yielded it to thoſe of crown'd Heads, and ſince have granted the Civility entire to all the reſt. I have my ſelf been there at ſeveral Conferences: But I muſt own I was much ſurpris'd to ſee (in the beginning of the Year 1675, when the Treaty with the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg* was ſign'd) three of that Princes Miniſters take the place of Honour. The loſs of this kind of Advantages not being recoverable, the Sovereign ought never to conſent thereto, and they who repreſent him cannot do it without a Crime; eſpecially when it may be look'd upon as a Token of Weakneſs rather than of Generoſity. Civility ought not to oblige a Sovereign State to renounce its Right, and to yield up a Poſſeſſion it enjoy'd peaceably, and with Juſtice. The Prince *Palatine*, *Charles Guſtavus*, being arriv'd at *Stockholm* a few Days before Queen *Chriſtina*'s Abdication, to whom he was going to ſucceed, all the foreign Miniſters paid him Civility. *Piques*, the *French* Reſident, was conducted to Audience by the Introductor of Embaſſadors in one of the Queen's Coaches, attended by ſeveral of the Prince's Footmen. The Marſhal of the ſaid Prince's Court receiv'd him at the top of the Staircaſe, and the Prince himſelf, paſſing through the Antichamber, receiv'd him in the middle of the Hall, and led him into the Chamber. The Audience being over, he reconducted the Reſident to the ſame place where he had receiv'd him, and the Marſhal and the Introductor accompany'd him likewiſe, the firſt to the top of the Staircaſe, and the other to his Lodgings. But here it may be ſaid, that the Prince not being as yet Sovereign, he was not ty'd up to any Rules or Meaſures in the Diſpenſation of his Civilities. The ſame *Piques*, while he was only *Agent* in the Year 1651, went to viſit the ſame Prince *Palatine*, who receiv'd him at the Entrance of the Hall, and conducted him into his Cloſet, where he offer'd him a Chair; but *Piques* excus'd himſelf, and refus'd to ſit. He deſir'd the Prince to take his Conveniency, while he read to him a Relation, that the Court of *France* had ſent him, of the Retreat of the Prince of *Conde*; but the Prince kept ſtanding and uncover'd. He had been declar'd preſumptive Heir to the Crown, and as ſuch he did not owe all theſe Civilities to the *Agent*; who on his ſide had not much, in deſiring the Prince to ſit, while he oblig'd him (by a rude Refuſal of the Seat that was offer'd him) to be ſtanding and uncover'd.

There are *Envoys*, and even *Reſidents*, who making no diſtinction between the *repreſenting Character*, and the Quality of a ſubaltern Miniſter, affect being on the level with Perſons of the firſt Quality, and are very forward to take all the Advantages imaginable over Earls and other Lords of very noble Birth. When M. *de la Tuillerie*, Embaſſador from *France*, made his Entry at the *Hague*, in *November* 1640, there was a great ſtruggle for the Rank of their Coaches, between the Coachmen of M. *de Brederode*, Camp Marſhal of the United Provinces, and of M. *Spiring*, Reſident of *Sweden*. *Brederode*'s Coachman having let the Embaſſador's Coach go by, advanc'd with a deſign to prevent *Spiring*'s Coachman; and the better to affect it, the Poſtilion alighted and cut *Spiring*'s Harneſs. This Miniſter ſeeing his Horſes come back in this Condition, commanded other Harneſs to be put on, and ſent his Coachman back with poſitive Orders to take advantage of the other, at any rate; but he did not ſucceed in it. *Spiring* complain'd to the Prince of *Orange* about it, who not being willing to meddle in the Matter, becauſe M. *de Brederode* was his Brother-in-Law, ſent him to the States-General, who regulated it after ſuch a manner that the Reſident was not very well ſatisfy'd with. When *Pimentel*'s Coach follow'd the *Queen*'s immediately, as I ſaid before, the *Senators* proteſted, that they ſuffer'd it only out of obedience to the Queen's abſolute Will; ſo that *Spiring* was in the wrong to diſpute a Rank with a Lord, who beſides his Place of *Marſhal de Camp*, which gave him the Title of Excellency, was the firſt Gentleman in *Holland*, where he was as much conſider'd as a Senator is in *Sweden*. We ſhall inſtance elſewhere in a more powerful Example on the like Occaſion. The Miniſter of the ſecond Order ought not to enter into Conteſts, the end whereof is not advantageous to his Maſter, but may very well do him harm. It is what he ought to avoid, and decline all Encounters that may embroil him.

An *Agent* is not, properly ſpeaking, a publick Miniſter, and yet it is an hundred and fifty

Years

Years since no other Minister was known, after an Embassador, than the Agent. *Henry Stephanus* says, *There is also another Word come from* Italy, *relating to him, to whom only one half of the Honour due to an Embassador is shewn; for he is called* Agent, *and especially if he be sent to a Prince who is less than a King.* At this time the Quality of *Resident* is much above that, because he has also the *representing Character*, tho' not in the first Degree. The Signification of the word *Agent* declares, that he is only one that does Business. M. *Piques*, who is now a Counsellor in the *Court of Aids* in *Paris*, being *Agent* in *Sweden*, after *Chanut* was gone from thence, begg'd of the *Queen* that she would give him leave to entertain a Priest, that he might have Mass said in his House; by reason that since there was no Embassador from *France* nor *Portugal*, at *Stockholm*, neither his Domesticks, nor the *French* and *Italians* that were in the Queen's Service, had that Consolation. The Queen said, *That* Piques *had no Qualification that gave him that Authority:* But if the King his Master would write a Line to her, she assur'd him even then, that she would consent to it. The Baron *de Rorté* and *Chanut*; being but *Residents* in *Sweden*, had caus'd Mass to be said there, even without the Queen's Permission; and that so publickly, that when she caus'd 'em to be spoke to about it, they did not scruple to make answer, *That their House being the King's House, they could protect the Exercise of their Religion.* This *Agent* was not establish'd by any *Letter of Credence*, but only by *Chanut*, who in taking his Audience of Leave, told the Queen, *That he left* Piques, *who should manage Affairs till such time as the King should send a Minister.* Some time after, *Piques* having deliver'd the Letters, by which the King gave him the Quality of *Resident*, the Queen told him, *She was glad to find that the King thought fit to entertain a Minister near her*; because it was a token of his Affection, and of his Inclination to hold a good Correspondence between the two Crowns. It is not to say at the same time, that those Princes, to whom *Agents* are employ'd, ought not to have some Consideration for them, as the Declaration of the States of *Holland* Ranks 'em amongst those who ought to enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations:* But it is necessary also, that they who employ 'em should not make choice of People, who by their sordid and abject way of living bring Shame and Discredit on their Masters. There have been *Agents* at *Paris* and the *Hague*, who kept publick Houses and that lodg'd in Chambers ready furnish'd. Those Princes that suffer these meannesses, can have no reason to complain, if no Consideration be had for their *Agents*, and if they are not distinguish'd from others of the same Profession.

The Quality of *Plenipotentiary* does not give a new Character to a Minister; it only denotes the extent of his Power and Authority. If he has no other Character, he can be consider'd but as the Bearer of an Ample Procuration. The Ministers who negotiated the Treaty of *Quierasque* on the part of the Emperor, and that of the Preliminaries of *Westphalia*, had the Quality of *Commissioners*, and had a Full Power. *Saavedra* and *le Brun* had only that of *Plenipotentiaries*, when they arriv'd at *Munster*. *D'avaux*, who had treated with the Emperor's Plenipotentiary at *Hamburgh*, and who had done him the same Honours he had receiv'd, maintain'd that *Saavedra* and *le Brun* ought to be treated and consider'd as Embassadors, notwithstanding this Qualification was not taken notice of in their Powers. *Servien*, who had brought the Court of *France* into his Sentiments, said on the contrary, that the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, by not giving the Quality of *Embassador* to their Ministers, might draw great Advantages therefrom; because they might be prodigal of their Civilities to the Embassadors from *France*, thereby to receive Honours to which they had no Claim, and by that means put the Ministers of the second Order, that is to say, *Residents* and *Agents*, to whom Full Power may be given without the *characterizing Quality*, in possession of Rights that belong only to *Representatives*. That the Emperor often gave the Quality of *Plenipotentiary* to Ministers who assist the Embassadors, and who are like Counsellors to them; whom for all that he will not have consider'd as his Embassadors, because they are not of a Quality eminent enough to represent his Person. That the Full Power had regard only to the Authority to treat; that it had nothing in common with the representing Quality; and that the Prince might make use of what Person he thought fit to treat; but that every Body was not proper for the Character. That *Spain* had reserv'd to it self the Power of giving the Character of Embassador to *Don Francisco de Melo*, or to the Marquess *de Castelrodrigo*, or else to the Duke of *Medina de las Torres*, leaving the Quality of Plenipotentiary to *Saavedra* and *le Brun*, who far from pretending to the Honours of the *Character*, did not dare to give one another the Stile of Excellency among themselves. And as the Ministers of *France* made no difficulty to give place to those of the Emperor, who were vested with the same Quality, *so he of the Ministers of* France, *who together with the Quality of Plenipotentiary, should have also that of Embassador Extraordinary, pretended a precedency to a Commissioner, Plenipotentiary of the same Emperor*, who had it not. This was one of the strongest Reasons for the altering of the Powers, to add to them the Quality of *Embassador Extraordinary*. Those Princes who did not give the Quality of *Embassador* to their Ministers on the score of the Difficulties I made mention of in the preceding Chapter, gave them that of Plenipotentiary. *Clinquenberg* and *Carissius* to whom the King of *Denmark* did not think fit to give the representing Character, had the Quality of Plenipotentiaries at the Assembly at *Breda*, in the Year 1667; they had that of *Envoys Extraordinary* at the *Hague*, and it was that which made 'em be consider'd by the Embassadors of Crown'd Heads, who treated them as Ministers of the second Order. Cardinal *Mazarin* and *Don Lewis de Haro*, had only the Quality of Plenipotentiaries at the *Pyrenean* Congress; but then they had another, which being much more eminent than that of Embassador, they could not acquire a new Lustre by the *Character*. Even in the Year 1639, while the Preliminaries were a treating, the United Provinces met with some Difficulties relating to the Passports the *Spaniards* were to give them; and the States agreeing

ing with the Cardinal Infant, they were very much offended at the word *Deputy-Plenipotentiaries*, which was inſerted inſtead of that of *Embaſſadors*. But the *Spaniſh* Miniſters ſaid, That the States Pretenſions were by ſo much the more ſtrange, as this Quality was not to be found in the Paſſports which the Emperor and the King of *Spain* had order'd for their own Miniſters: And that the Quality of Embaſſador preſuppos'd a Sovereignty, which as yet was not allow'd them, and which could be regulated only at *Munſter*, as it has been already ſaid in the firſt Chapter of this Book. The Commiſſioners, whom I lately mention'd, and who were at *Queraſque* and *Hamburgh*, on the part of the Emperor, were publick Miniſters beyond all diſpute, and would have been ſo even without their Quality of Plenipotentiaries. *Servien* and *D'avaux*, who had treated with them, had conſider'd them as ſuch, and had paid 'em the ſame Honours they would have done to the *repreſenting Character*; upon which however I muſt obſerve a very conſiderable thing. In this Aſſembly at *Queraſque*, *Matthias* Baron *de Galas* had the Quality of *Commiſſioner* and *Plenipotentiary* from the Emperor *Ferdinand:* And the Count *de la Roque*, who had the Character of Embaſſador from *Spain*, pretended in this Quality to have the precedency of the Emperor's Miniſter. And in effect in the viſit they made to M. *Servien*, the Count took the Hand of the Baron, and for this reaſon the Marſhal *de Toiras* and *Servien* pretended alſo to precede *Galas*, who had yielded to the Count *de la Roque*, who ought to yield to them. This Pretenſion of the *French* Embaſſadors oblig'd the Emperor's Miniſters, and thoſe of *Spain*, to come to this Agreement among themſelves, That for this once the Embaſſador from *Spain* ſhould give the Hand to the Emperor's Commiſſioner, to the End that the *French* Embaſſador's might do ſo too; which was done. In their Conferences they were ſeated in this Order. The Nuncio *Pancirole* was ſeated at the upper end of the Table, having next to him on his left *Galas*; and after him on the ſide of the Table *Servien*. The *Marſhal* was on the Right, and had next to him the Preſident *de Rauis*, and the Secretary *Guichardi* was at the lower end of the Table. The *French* Embaſſadors made here a groſs Overſight, even according to *Servien*'s own Maxim, who on another Occaſion maintain'd that the Quality of Plenipotentiary did not give the repreſenting Character, which however carry'd it, as I juſt now ſaid.

The two Northern Kings give alſo this Quality to the Miniſters they ſend upon the Frontiers, for the Affairs of the two Kingdoms: And the Republick of *Venice* employs likewiſe *Commiſſioners* in the Controverſies it ſometimes has with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, about their common Frontiers on the ſide of *Frioul* and *Dalmatia:* And there is no doubt to be made but theſe *Commiſſioners* are publick Miniſters.

The Emperor frequently appoints *Commiſſioners* for the Affairs which relate to the Empire, as has been ſeen in thoſe of *Juliers*, *Mantua* and others. In the Year 1574, the Emperor *Maximilian* ſent two Counſellors to *Genoa*, upon the Occaſion of the Miſunderſtandings that divided the ancient and new Nobility, and gave them the Quality of *Commiſſioners*. The Senate repreſented to him, that they could not acknowledge them in this Quality, *Becauſe*, ſaid they, *it is given to thoſe whom Sovereigns employ to their Subjects.* It is true, this is ſometimes done; but the Emperor conſider'd this Republick as being dependent on the Empire, and as an *Arriere Fief* of the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Eſtates of the United Provinces give ſometimes the Quality of *Commiſſioners* to thoſe they employ in foreign Courts; but then to judge whether they are publick Miniſters we muſt conſider the nature of the Affairs they have to manage. The Sieur *Heuſt*, who reſided thirty Years in this Quality at *Paris*, and there receiv'd the Subſidies, in order to remit the ſame, was a good Banker and Partiſan, who far from being conſider'd as a publick Miniſter, could not hinder his Succeſſion from being tax'd, as well as that of all the Financers or Receivers, who had made their advantage of the diſorder of the Times, and of the diſſipation of the King's Money. He was properly ſpeaking, a Factor and Commiſſioner; and the ſame Name may be given to thoſe Merchants, who at *Amſterdam* and *Hamburg* make intereſt for this Quality with the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, that thereby they may carry on their little Commerce with more eaſe. They have no Affairs of State to manage, neither do they reſide near the Sovereign, who is he that can make 'em enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. It ſeems alſo as if they laid no claim to it, any further than to be exempted from the extraordinary Subſidies which are raiſed upon the other Subjects.

This is what ought to be underſtood alſo with relation to *Conſuls*, and that for the ſame reaſon. The Princes who employ them protect them, as Perſons concern'd in their Service; and as every good Maſter protects his Servants and Domeſticks, but not as publick Miniſters. The Governor of *Cadiz*, having within ſeven or eight Months affronted and confin'd the *Dutch* Conſul, the Eſtates of the United Provinces complain'd thereof to the Court of *Madrid*, as of a Violence done to the *Law of Nations*; inſtead of complaining of the Non-Execution of thoſe Treaties, wherein they ought to find Safety and Security for their pretended Miniſter, and not elſewhere. Some Years ſince they were for making the Conſul (who reſided on their part at *Genoa*) paſs for a publick Miniſter; but the Senate wrote them word, that they did not acknowledge him for a publick Miniſter, and that all that could be expected from them, was the peaceable Fruition of thoſe Rights and Privileges which Cuſtom has beſtow'd on this kind of Employment. Conſuls are only Merchants, who notwithſtanding their Office of *Judge in the Controverſies* that may ariſe among thoſe of their own Nation, carry on at the ſame time their own Traffick, and are liable to the Juſtice of the Place where they reſide, as well in civil as criminal Matters; which is altogether inconſiſtent with the Quality of publick Miniſter. In the Year 1634, the Republick of *Venice* had like to have come to a Rupture with Pope *Urban* VIII, on account of the Violence the Governor of *Ancona* had offer'd to the Conſul, who reſided there on the part of the Senate.

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The Conſul's name was *Michael Oberti*, and he was a Native of *Bergamo*; his Family had diſcharg'd that Office for many years. The Governor, who ſuſpected him to have given ſome Advices, upon which the Gallies of the Republick had taken ſome ſmall veſſels belonging to *Raguſa*, for having ſmugl'd the Duties that are paid in the Gulf; perſecuted the Conſul after ſuch a manner, that he was forc'd to go to *Venice*, to acquaint the Senate therewith. He was no ſooner gone, than the Governour put a Garriſon into his Houſe, and carry'd off his Furniture and Papers, even thoſe which related to the Functions of his Employment. The Senate complain'd hereof, and demanded reparation with ſo much heat, that the *French* Embaſſador apprehending leſt they ſhould proceed to an open Rupture with the Pope, endeavour'd to adjuſt the Difference, ſo as the Republick ſhould be ſatisfy'd therewith. But before the Accommodation could be perfected, the Governor caus'd the Conſul to be ſummon'd, and for Contumacy condemn'd him to Baniſhment, under the Pretext, that during the Contagion he had unladed Goods contrary to the Prohibition. There was more of Paſſion than Juſtice in this Sentence, ſince *Oberti* could prove, that he had done nothing without the Approbation of the Magiſtrate. So that the Senate was more offended at this laſt piece of Injuſtice, than at the firſt; and the *French* Embaſſador was forc'd to repeat his good Offices, to diſpoſe the Minds of the Parties to an Accommodation. However he accompliſh'd it at laſt, upon Condition, *that the Governor ſhould repeal the Outlawry, and ſhould ſuffer* Oberti *to be re-eſtabliſh'd; and that the Senate, who ſhould recall* Oberti, *ſhould ſubſtitute in his Place whomſoever it pleas'd. Michael* dying before all this could be executed, the Senate put his Brother in his room; but this laſt was no ſooner arriv'd at *Ancona*, than the Governor caus'd him to be put in Priſon, and would not releaſe him till he had given Security for his leaving the Town, and that he ſhould not return. The *French* Miniſters who had labour'd in the Reconciliation, and had engag'd their Words for the Execution of the Conditions, which allow'd the *Venetians* to nominate any other they ſhould think fit, for Conſul, were very much ſcandaliz'd at this Proceeding; and the Senate, to ſhew its Indignation, refus'd Audience to the Nuncio, and forbad its Embaſſador to take it of the Pope, till ſuch time as they had receiv'd Satisfaction; which the Governor was forc'd to give. The Judges, Conſuls of the Merchants at *Paris*, at *Lions*, and elſewhere, are quite a different thing.

As the Commiſſioner is a *Deputy*, employ'd by the Prince to his Subjects, ſo the *Deputy* may be ſaid to be a Commiſſioner whom the Subjects employ to their Prince; and in this Signification he is no publick Miniſter, not within the Protection of the *Law of Nations*; which has no room where the Civil Laws have a free Liberty to act. The ſame Word has a Signification more extenſive, and denotes a Miniſter who has no other particular Quality; and then he may be a publick Miniſter, whether he be ſent to a Congreſs, or to ſome Prince or Republick.

The Preſident *Jeannin*, who does not triſle with Words, but goes directly to the ſolid part, gives this Quality to all the Miniſters who were at the *Hague*, on the Negotiation of the Truce; tho' at the ſame time he confounds it with that of Embaſſador, in the Perſon of thoſe who really had the repreſenting Character. The Arch-Duke's Miniſters, namely, the Marquis *Spinola*, Preſident *Richardot*, Secretary *Mancidor*, Auditor *Verreyken*, and the Commiſſary General of the *Cordeliers*, had no Quality. Care was taken not to give 'em that of Embaſſador, becauſe the Arch-Duke conſider'd the Eſtates of the United Provinces as Subjects and Rebels; and theſe Lords were not mean enough to paſs for Miniſters of the ſecond Order. Yet it cannot be deny'd but they were publick Miniſters, and that as ſuch they had a Title to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*.

Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, accompany'd by Count *Henry* his Brother, Count *William* of *Naſſaw* Governor of *Friſe*, and two other Lords of the ſame Houſe, and follow'd by a great train of Officers, *French* and *Engliſh*, went out to receive them at half a League's diſtance from the *Hague*; and they receiv'd the ſame Honours that would have been paid to the Character.

It is but within theſe few Years that mention has been made of *Deputies Extraordinary*, as of a new Species of Miniſters; but then it is known only in *Holland*: And as they have met with a thouſand Rubs, with reference to the Civilities they pretended to inſiſt upon in foreign Courts, which do not eaſily ſtrike into Novelties, there is no likelihood theſe Miniſters ſhould ſucceed under this new Quality. It will never be acknowledg'd in thoſe Courts where the Ceremonies are regulated; and there is no Embaſſador who knows what is his due, that will make the leaſt Difference between the *Deputy Extraordinary* and another *Envoy* or *Reſident*. *Shering Roſenhan*, who had been a Miniſter at the Congreſſes of *Weſtphalia* and *Lubeck*, (where the Quality of the Repreſentatives had been nicely examin'd) and Embaſſador in *France*; and who was, in the Year 1654, Embaſſador Plenipotentiary from *Sweden* to *Germany*, made *Conrad Van Beuningen*, & *Epo Bootima*, *Deputies Extraordinary from the United Provinces*, ſenſible he had learn'd enough, to know, that there was no publick Quality betwixt the Embaſſador and the Miniſters of the ſecond Order. To ſpeak the truth, it was what they were not ignorant of themſelves; ſince being arriv'd at *Stade*, inſtead of expecting the firſt Viſit, they ſent their *Letters of Credence* to *Roſenhan*, and paid him the Civility he ow'd them, if they had been any thing more than Miniſters of the ſecond Order. He ſent 'em back the *Letter of Credence*, and caus'd 'em to be told, That he could not accept it; That the States, when they wrote to the Crown of *Sweden*, were accuſtom'd to make uſe of the *Latin* Tongue, and not of the *Flemiſh*; That it was moreover full of Cancellings, and unworthy to be preſented to a perſon of Quality; and That he did not know the meaning of theſe two Characters V. L. in a Letter, where the Title of Excellency could not be refus'd to the Embaſſador of a crown'd Head. The Deputies extraordinary had no great Task

to remove these Difficulties; but then they met with many others of greater Consequence, as well with reference to their Negotiation, as to the manner of their Reception.

Rosenhan receiv'd them in the middle of the Lobby, which serv'd him also for an Antechamber; took both the Hand and the Step of 'em, and being come into his Chamber, *he plac'd himself in the most honourable part thereof, next to an arm'd Chair; desiring the Deputies to sit down on Chairs with Backs, which were opposite to him; and in reconducting them back, he left them at the Door, before they were got into their Coach.* They were so much offended at this Procedure, that after they had din'd they sent him word by their Secretary, That, to prevent any Prejudice happening to the Dignity and Grandeur of their Principals, they were oblig'd to let him understand, That they could not be satisfy'd with the Reception they had had in the Morning: That they were Deputies at the Assembly of the States General; and that the Members of that Body, when they are deputed, although it be but verbally, to confer with Embassadors from crown'd Heads, are receiv'd at their alighting from their Coach, and reconducted back again to the Coach Door, and that this was the Practice even at the *Hague:* That upon much stronger Reasons was this Honour due to those, whom the States employ'd out of their Countrey in the Quality of *Deputies Extraordinary*, and provided with *Letters of Credence;* That for this Reason they hop'd his Excellency would make no Difficulty to consider them in that Quality; unless his Intention was to break off the Negotiation. *Rosenhan* made answer, That it was not his Intention to do any Prejudice to them, nor to their Principals: That he knew very well what he ow'd to the States Embassadors, but that *he did not understand what the Quality of Deputy Extraordinary meant: That he thought he ought to distinguish between the Character of Embassador and the Quality of Deputy*; and that if the Deputies requir'd to be us'd otherwise by him, they should have had the Quality of Embassadors in their Credentials. He sent 'em the same Message by his Secretary, when he desir'd to know what Hour they would be at leisure to receive the Visit he design'd to return 'em. The Deputies reply'd, that the Word *Deputy Extraordinary* was not new; and that the States of the United Provinces had employ'd that kind of Minister to the Northern Crowns, to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, to the Duke of *Neuburg*, and elsewhere; and that he, *Van Beuningen*, being in the same Quality in *Sweden*, the Embassadors had made no Difficulty to receive him at, and reconduct him to, the Coach. *Rosenhan* took no notice to them of it in his Visit; but only told them, they would do well to procure themselves the Quality of *Legati*. The Deputies made answer, That it did not depend on them, but on their Masters, to give them what Quality they thought convenient. They were in the right; and so was *Rosenhan* too, to maintain the Advantage his Character gave him over Ministers of the second Order. There is no Prince nor State that can, without the Consent of the other Potentates, introduce or set up a Quality (relating to mutual Correspondence) which is not known any where else; nor that can prescribe to the Embassadors of crown'd Heads, after what manner they ought to treat those Ministers, who have not the same Quality they themselves have. If in *Sweden* they did any thing beyond what they ought to *Van Beuningen*, they did it through Ignorance, or else out of some personal Consideration; which cannot oblige Embassadors to follow their Example. It is necessary also to observe, with reference to what these Gentlemen say concerning the Deputies whom the Estates send to those Embassadors that are at the *Hague*, that they are of the Body of the Assembly, and represent it when they go on these Commissions; whereas the *Deputies Extraordinary* who are sent out of the Country, are no longer of it after they have taken the Oath upon their Employ; and they become Ministers, who no longer make a part of the State, nor have any Seat in the Assembly, till after they have made a Report of their Employ. To which we must add, that this Quality of Deputy to the Assembly of the States General, is by so much the less considerable, that it is found in the Commission and Credentials of all the Embassadors; tho' there are some that do not appear there, but when they receive their Commission, and are sworn before their departure, and make a Report thereof at their return. This Quality is giv'n 'em, as the Republick of *Venice* gives to its Embassadors the Quality of *Grand Sage*, or *Sage of Terra firma.*

The Ceremonial was never very well settl'd in *Poland*; and yet they knew how to distinguish between the Embassador, and Minister of the second Order, by giving it to be understood, that nothing was due to the Quality of *Deputy Extraordinary*. *John van den Honart*, Magistrate of *Dort*, being vested therewith in the Year 1659, and being arriv'd near *Warsaw*, sent Advice thereof to the Chancellor. The Messenger was led to a sorry little House, which was design'd for his Lodgings; and answer was made him, that he might come when he pleas'd; for they did not intend to do him any Civilities. Accordingly he made his Entry without Ceremony; and after the Compliment, which the Chancellor sent to make him the next Day, he visited the Chancellor. He discours'd with him on the Subject of his Commission; desired him to procure him an Audience; and parted from him well enough satisfy'd, because the Chancellor had receiv'd him at, and reconducted him to, his Coach. The 2d of *July* the Chancellor signify'd to him by one of his Clerks, that the Day following the King and Queen would give him Audience about three of the Clock in the Afternoon: to which the *Deputy Extraordinary* made answer, that he would take care to be ready to be conducted to it after the usual Manner. The Clerk reporting these last Words, was sent back again, to learn of his Domesticks after what manner he pretended to be conducted; the Quality that his Letters gave him not being known in that Court. The *Deputy* sent him word, that the Character of *Deputy Extraordinary* was not a new thing; that his Masters the States had made use of them, for many Years past, to the *Northern* Kings, who treated 'em much after the rate of *Embassadors.*

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The next day following, the ſame Clerk came and told him, that the Chancellor ſent him thither, by the King's Order, to accompany him to his Audience; and he accordingly did accompany him to the Ante-chamber, which was full of all ſorts of People, not one of whom paid him the leaſt Civility, except the barely asking him if he would not reſt himſelf upon a Bench, which had been plac'd there for the firſt Comer. After he had waited there ſome time, one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber uſher'd him into the place of Audience. Every body was put out, to give him the greater liberty to make his Complement: After which the King told him, he was much oblig'd to his Maſters the States, as well on the account of the *Embaſſy M. Tibrants* had diſcharg'd there for ſome time, as for this preſent *Deputation:* The King ſtood all the while, and uncover'd. The Queen did not ſhew him more Honour, to whom he was introduc'd by the ſame Clerk; and at his going out, the ſecond Secretary accompany'd him to the middle of the Chamber. The Chancellor, who viſited him the next Day, told him, that they could not give him any other Reception, *becauſe that Quality of Deputy Extraordinary was altogether unknown at that Court*, where only one had been ſeen on the part of the King of *Denmark*; and to whom they had not done more Honour than they did to himſelf, altho' he had with that Quality, that of Plenipotentiary. *Van den Honart* could make no other anſwer, but that this Quality was not new in *Holland*. But then it did not belong to *Holland*, nor the States, to eſtabliſh a new Character, and oblige the other Courts to acquieſce in a Novelty. They themſelves make no Entries to *Envoys Extraordinary*, who are conducted to their firſt Audience only with two Coaches. However they order'd *Van den Honart* to have no more Conferences with the Miniſters of *Poland*, unleſs they made Reparation for what was paſs'd. It was repair'd in ſome meaſure within a few Days after his firſt Audience, before this Order came to his hands; and that by the Queen's Advice; who was oblig'd frequently to redreſs what was irregular in the King's Conduct. On the 27th of *July*, a Coach with two Gentlemen and four Footmen, was ſent to conduct *Van den Honart* to Court; and at his departure from thence to go to *Dantzick*, he was brought to Court again in a Coach with ſix Horſes, attended by two Gentlemen and four Footmen. When he came to the Caſtle, he was met by the Count *de Donhof*, one of the King's Chamberlains; and when he came into the Chamber, he found there two Arm'd Chairs of red Velvet, in the one of which the King ſeated himſelf, and invited the *Deputy Extraordinary* to ſit down in the other, and to be cover'd. The Queen receiv'd him after the ſame manner: But then they went too far this ſecond time, and not far enough the firſt. The King ought not to have made him be cover'd; and an Officer of the Court, who had underſtood his Buſineſs well, would not have adviſ'd the King to offer him an Arm'd Chair. On theſe Occaſions recourſe ſhould be had, as I ſhall be often oblig'd to have, to what the Duke of *Newburg* us'd to ſay, that in thoſe Courts that are remote from *France* and *Italy*, the Ceremonial is not ſo well regulated.

In the Year 1656, *M. Van Ommeren*, who was a Perſon of very great Merit and of an exemplary Probity, was ſent to the *Swiſs Cantons* in the ſame Quality, about the Affairs of the Valleys of *Piedmont:* but when he deſign'd to viſit *M. de la Barde*, the *French* Embaſſador to thoſe Parts, this laſt did not ſcruple to tell him, that he could not receive a *Deputy Extraordinary* with the ſame Honours he would ſhew to an Embaſſador. The *French* Embaſſador is expreſſly forbid to do it; and there is no doubt to be made, but the other Kings will follow his Example. The Embaſſador from *Savoy*, who was at that time employ'd to the Cantons, did not fail to do it. He gave *Van Ommeren* to underſtand, that he could not ſee him till he had ſeen the *French* Embaſſador; becauſe he would inform himſelf of the manner of his Reception there. However they met in a third place, where the Deputy might give Precedency to the Embaſſador without ſcruple. Amongſt all the Catholick Cantons, there was only that of *Uri* that caus'd Civilities to be done him; but the Proteſtants receiv'd him in a Body at the Gate of the Town Houſe; made him go firſt, and gave him the place of Honour and the Title of Excellency; that is to ſay, they did all they could have done to the *repreſenting Character*. I can't believe there is in that Republick, any more than in *Holland*, an *Academy*, where Youth may apply themſelves to the ſtudy of the Rules of Ceremonies; notwithſtanding that the *Hague* is always adorn'd with a great Number of Miniſters; and that there are ſeveral great Perſonages, who have diſcharg'd that Function in foreign Courts.

The *Secretary of the Embaſſy* has likewiſe a repreſenting Quality. The *Roman Ceremonial*, which is the Rule of all Ceremonies, declares it poſitively; and moreover adds, that the Cardinals allow both Seat and Covering to thoſe of the Embaſſies from crown'd Heads, and that of *Venice*; and do them the ſame Civilities they ſhew to the Reſidents of thoſe Princes, to whom the Title of Moſt Serene is given. But if the Rule of Ceremonies did not explain it ſelf ſo clearly, the Quality it ſelf ſufficiently intimates, that as the Secretary diſcharges part of the Embaſſador's Function, he is alſo a part of the Embaſſy: not as a Domeſtick Servant and Secretary to the Embaſſador; but as a Miniſter who depends on the Prince, and acts immediately by his Orders. It is true, he receives 'em ſometimes from the Embaſſador; but then he does not receive them them as from his Maſter; but as from a Miniſter of whom his Maſter makes uſe, as an Inſtrument, to let him know his Intention. And in reality there is a great deal of difference, between *the Secretary of an Embaſſy, and that of an Embaſſador*. The one is a domeſtick Officer, as I before took notice; whereas the other is a Miniſter of their common Prince, and his Repreſentative in ſome meaſure. The Embaſſador chuſes the one, and the Prince nominates the other. The one takes his Oath to, and receives his Wages from, the Embaſſador; the other ſwears to the Prince, and has his Salary from him. The one writes only

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what his Master dictates; while the other gives his Master Advice of whatever he thinks beneficial to his Service; and that even without the participation of the Embassador. The one is the Embassador's menial Servant; whereas the other is in a manner his Controuler. There is only the Republick of *Venice* that makes no distinction in the matter; and that because the Secretary of the Embassador is also Secretary of the Embassy; and is present at the Audiences, and at all the Embassador's publick Acts: but then he stands behind his Chair. In the Year 1641, there arriv'd at *London* two Embassadors from *Portugal*; who making their Visit to Prince *William* of *Orange*, who was there upon his Marriage, brought their Secretary with them, and made him sit down by them. This was very incongruous in point of Civility; which does not allow the Servant to sit in the Presence of his Master. The Prince indeed might have made him sit, if he had receiv'd any Message by him, on the part of his Masters; but in a Visit of Ceremony, where every Chair ought to be dispos'd in its proper place before the arrival of the Embassadors, the Number could neither be augmented, nor the Order chang'd, without confusion. *France* has no Secretaries to the Embassy, but only at *Rome* and *Constantinople*. She had one at *Munster*; and in all Congresses where she employs more Embassadors than one, there is a Secretary that serves them all in general, besides him that each Embassador has in private. The late *M. Brasset*, after he had discharg'd the Office of Secretary to several Embassadors, had at last that of the Embassy; which serv'd him as a Recompence for his Merit, and he was made Resident in the beginning of the Assembly at *Munster*. There was one along with *M. de Thou*, while he was Embassador in *Holland*; but he did not discharge the Functions thereof. He was a Priest; and Cardinal *Mazarine*, who esteem'd him for his Learning, procur'd this Employment for him, with a Pension of twelve hundred Livres, as being one of the greatest Mathematicians of those Times. On the contrary *M. Richard*, who at the *Hague* was Secretary of the Embassy from *Spain*, under *Don Estevan de Gamara*, was at the same time Secretary to the Embassador, and was within a little of discharging even the Function of Embassador.

The Secretary, who is left by Embassadors at any Court, upon their Departure from thence, or that stays there after the Death of an Embassador, cannot be consider'd as a publick Minister unless he has Letters of Credence: which if he has, he then becomes *Agent* or Secretary of the *Embassy*. *M. de Foix*, Embassador from *France*, being dead at *Rome*, *M. de Villeroy* sent Orders to *Arnaud Dossat*, who was Secretary to the Deceased, to be vigilant in the King's Interest, till such time as an other Embassador was sent. It happen'd that none at all was sent, by reason of the Civil-Wars, the Decease of *Henry* III, and the little Consideration that *Rome* had at that time for *Henry* IV, it being before his Absolution: yet for all that *Dossat* manag'd Affairs with admirable Success, but without any Quality. He had none neither, even when he was joyn'd in the Commission which was given to *Du Perron*, to make the Submissions and receive the Penances. Neither the one nor the other had any of the Qualities which have been spoken of in this Chapter: which notwithstanding they were publick Ministers, and enjoy'd the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. They were but *Procurators*; but being so to a very great King, and for a very extraordinary and solemn Action, and being themselves Prelates, they could not be consider'd as private Persons. They had with their *Procuration*, Letters of Credence, which made them *publick Ministers*, tho' they had no Quality: so that it is my Opinion, that this *Species* of *Procurators*, may be rank'd amongst the Ministers of the second Order.

CHAP. VI.

To whom Embassadors are sent.

THE Right of *Embassy* being inseparable from *Sovereignty*, and this sort of *Correspondence* being held only among *Sovereigns*, we must from thence conclude, that the *Prince* or *State* that receives the *Embassador* ought to be *Sovereign*, as well as *he* that sends *him*. When I made mention in the second Chapter of those Princes who have a Right to send Embassadors, I also took notice of those to whom they send 'em; so that it will be a difficult matter to say any thing new on that Subject in this. I shall avoid also making Repetitions; and shall content my self with laying down as a simple Position, that Sovereigns neither send Embassadors to their own Subjects, nor to those of other Potentates, nor to the rebellious Subjects of a Prince whose Friendship they are chary of. They send 'em to *Usurpers* when they have gain'd Possession, and to those Viceroys and Governors that have an absolute Authority. Nay there are some Sovereigns, to whom they only send Ministers of the second Order. *Charles Paschal*, who form'd his Embassador in the Mountains of the *Grisons*, upon the common Topick of *Legatus*, honours with that *Character* all Persons employ'd in any *Deputation* whatsoever. But as we don't allow so great a Latitude either to the *Embassador*, nor even to the *modern publick Minister*, we shall not hinder him from diverting himself with his *Greek* and his *Latin*, while we shall (in treating of the Embassador and his Functions) deliver our selves in a Language that is commonly spoke at this time. The King of *France* has his Embassadors in Ordinary at *Rome*, at *Venice* and at *Turin*; and upon certain Occasions he honours the Great Duke of *Tuscany with Embassies Extraordinary*,

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as also the Dukes of Mantua, Parma *and* Modena. The King of *Spain* on the contrary, employs none but Envoys or subaltern Ministers with the three last; who go to them with Letters from the Viceroy of *Naples*, or Governor of *Milan*. Neither *France* nor *Spain* have any Embassadors in Ordinary at *Genoa*, altho' the Embassadors of this Republick are receiv'd in *France*: and that, as well because it is but a very modern Sovereignty, as for this Reason, that she is not so absolute but *France* would dispute it with her, if she was in possession of the Dutchy of *Milan*, on which the City of *Genoa* formerly depended. The Consideration that they are oblig'd to have there for *Spain*, as well on account of the Interest of the most powerful of its Inhabitants, as by reason of its Vicinity to *Milan* and *Final*, is the Cause that *France* neglects her. I have elsewhere given the Reason why *France* has only a Minister of the second Order at *Vienna*, and it is only since the Peace at *Munster*, that she has there one in Ordinary, and another at the Diets of the Empire, on the score of the Interest *Alsace*, *Lorrain* and *Brisack*, make her have in the Affairs of *Germany*. While the War of the Empire lasted, she had continually a Minister with the General of the *Swedish* Army: And there is not any Court nor Assembly in all *Germany*, where she had not either her Ministers or Emissaries, ever since Cardinal *Richelieu* was at the head of Affairs.

Those *Embassadors* who are sent to Assemblies compos'd of several *representing Ministers*, are in reality sent to the *Sovereigns* those Ministers represent. Those who are sent to the *Diets* of *Germany*, are employ'd to the *Emperor*, and to the *States* of the *Empire*. The *Diets of the Cantons, and the Assembly of the States-General*, represent the *Sovereignty* of those two *Republicks*. When *M. d'Avaux* treated at *Hamburgh* with the Imperial Commissioner, he treated with the *Emperor* himself in a neutral Place. Hitherto crown'd Heads have not honour'd with their *Embassies* the Electors or particular Princes; but they have made no difficulty to send their *Embassadors* to the States of the Empire in general, and even to the *Electoral College* in a Body, as also to the Assemblies of some Princes united or joyn'd in Confederacy together: the Duke *D'Engoulesme*, the Count *de Bethune*, and *M. de Chasteauneuf*, to the Assembly at *Ulm*: *Fenquieres*, to that at *Hailbron*: the Duke *de Grammont*, and *Hugh de Lionne*, to *Francfort*.

The same Reasons which hinder the King of *France* from receiving *Embassadors* from the Electors and Princes of *Germany*, hinder him also from sending any to them: so that as soon as that Difficulty is taken off on the one side, it will be likewise so on the other; and *Embassadors* will be seen in the Courts of the one as well as of the other, though at this time there be only Ministers of the second Order. The King of *Great Britain*, who has admitted at *London* the Embassadors of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, has not yet sent any that I know of to the Court at *Berlin*; and that, as I take it, for this Reason; that he will not make any step therein, which he does not see made by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. If he has done otherwise, in acknowledging the *Ministers* of *Brandenburg* in this Quality, it is because he thought, he could not commit an Error by an excessive Civility; whereas by sending *Embassadors*, it would look like a sort of Submission.

The *Northern Kings* are not so shy: but then again, they are not so exact and regular in the Point of Ceremonies, and they do not always distinguish, betwixt a *Minister* of the first, and one of the second Order: that is to say, between the *Legatus* and the *Ablegatus*, or the *Embassador* and the *Envoy*. Those whom they make use of commonly in the Courts of the Princes of *Germany* are not *Embassadors*; whatever Qualities they give themselves, and whatever Honours are done them; they are but *Envoys*, who ought to be contented with the common Civilities. In the Year 1647, the Elector of *Brandenburg* sent *Conrad de Burgstorf*, his High Chamberlain and first Minister, to the Elector of *Saxony*, and the other *Princes* of the House of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*. He was a Gentleman, who with all his other Qualifications, had not one single one of those, that form a great Minister; and I dare be bold to say, that he did not know how to distinguish between the Embassador and the Envoy. He had with him the Retinue of a Prince, and he had the same Honours done him, as could have been shewn to the Elector himself. At his Arrival at *Wolfembuttel* he was saluted by the Cannons: The Duke gave him the Place of Honour at Table, in the Coach, and every where else; which sufficiently surpris'd me when I saw it; but I was still more surpris'd, when I understood that he had receiv'd the same Honours at *Dresden*. But as in those Courts the Rules of Ceremony are not well understood, they cannot be Precedents for what will be said in the sequel of this Work.

Sovereigns send their *Embassadors* only to *Sovereigns*; but as they are not link'd by Commerce nor Interest, to them all indifferently, so neither have they their Ministers, but with those with whom they have Affairs to negotiate. It is for this Reason, that no Prince whatever entertains a Minister with the great Master of *Malta*, neither do they send any *Extraordinaries*. As he is the Head of a religious Order, the Pope, who treats him in other things as he treats the Princes who have not the Title of *Most Serene*, sends only a Commissioner to *Malta*. On the other side, Sovereigns send Ministers sometimes to those Places where their Interest requires it, notwithstanding there is no Sovereign there for them to consider.

France has had a Resident at *Hamburgh*, not for any Affairs it had to adjust with the Magistrate, nor to facilitate the Correspondence it had with *Sweden*, but upon other particular Considerations. The Emperor has also a Resident there, who being employ'd to the Circle of the lower *Saxony*, has made choice of that City, as the most commodious Place, and not upon the score of the Affairs he has to negotiate, as with a Hanse Town, with which the Emperor has no Correspondence in this Quality.

Yet nevertheless these two Residents are publick Ministers; since they enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, and have the free

Exercise of their Religion in their own Houses; which they would not have, had they not *Letters of Credence*. The Minister who is there from the States of the United Provinces, resides in that, as in a Town which almost alone supports the Remains of the Reputation of the *German* Free-Towns: And if he resides there rather than at *Lubeck* or *Bremen*, it is on the account of the great Commerce those Provinces have with it, beyond what they have with the other Towns; and because it serves as a Line of Communication with the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. It is for this Reason also that they have a Commissioner at *Dantzick*; altho' this Town is not free, any more than that of *Hamburgh*, whatever Privileges it may have. The Commissioner is a kind of Consul, who not having any *Letters of Credence* for the King, nor for the Senate of *Poland*, cannot be consider'd as a publick Minister. The Resident that is employ'd by the said Estates at *Francfort* is the same; as is also the Resident the King of *France* entertains at *Strasburg*: tho' it may be said, that this sort of Ministers are better supported by the Regard that is had for their Masters, than by any paid to their Character. The King of *England* has a Minister at *Hamburgh*, to whom he gives the Quality of Resident, altho' he be in reality but a Commissioner or Consul; since he is establish'd there, only for the sake of the *English* Merchant Adventurers, who there carry on their Traffick under the Protection of the Court of *England*. The Crown of *Sweden* had also one there till the last Rupture, who always enjoy'd the Benefit of the *Law of Nations*, and was consider'd and respected as a Minister, notwithstanding he was in his own Countrey, and was Brother to one of the Burgermasters of the same Town. This is what I think my self oblig'd to take notice of, to the Confusion of our new and false Politicians, who have dar'd of their own private Authority, to abolish what has been introduced, and always inviolably observ'd, with the Consent of all the Nations of the Earth. The Town of *Leige* is immediately subject to the Bishop, notwithstanding which, the King of *France* has frequently a Minister there, as he has at this present time.

The Count *de Warfuse*, of the House of *Reneffe*, when he caus'd the Burgermaster *Ruelle*, whom he had invited to Dinner to be murder'd, did not dare to violate the *Law of Nations*, tho' he had violated that of Hospitality which ought not to be less Sacred; notwithstanding it was no less his Interest to rid himself of the Abbot *de Monson* the *French* Minister, than of the other, who having been of the Feast ought to have tasted the Desert. The Count did this black and perfidious Action to gratify the *Spaniards*, who being then at variance with *France* did not much regard its Minister: but however, the Count respected his Character and sav'd him. *Charles* IX, King of *France*, in the Year 1573 sent *Nicholas d'Angennes de Rambouillet* to the Senate of *Poland*, to thank it for the Choice it had made (on his Recommendation) of his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*. But the Senate represents the Republick, that is to say, a Body, of which the King may be reckon'd the Head, tho' not the Sovereign.

The Embassador then being the Minister of one Sovereign to another Sovereign, and between two Princes or States that are really Sovereigns, or at least carry the Figure of being so; a Prince is not oblig'd to give the Protection of the *Law of Nations* to a Minister, that is sent by another Prince to his Subjects in Rebellion, to foment their Faction and Revolt. Certainly there never was a more pernicious one, than that of the over-zealous Catholicks, or the League towards the end of the Reign of *Henry* III, King of *France*. After his Decease, *Henry* IV. was call'd to the Crown, by Laws which have been inviolably observ'd for many Ages. *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, who could not be ignorant thereof; who had no business to meddle with other People's Affairs, and who meddled with 'em only to ruin his own in the Low Countreys, had notwithstanding his three *Embassadors* at *Paris*; the Duke *de Feria*, *Don Diego d'Ibarra*, and *John Baptist Taxis*. The Inhabitants of *Paris* had drove out *Henry* III, and did not acknowledge *Henry* IV, as those *Spanish* Ministers did not acknowledge him neither, even after his Absolution and Coronation. On the contrary, they employ'd all the Money, Forces, or Artifice, *Spain* could furnish, to confirm the *French* in their Fellony and Rebellion. There is no doubt but the King might have treated them as declar'd Enemies, because these pretended Ministers, not having any *Letters of Credence* for himself, nor Orders to negotiate with his Council, he was not oblig'd to consider them as Embassadors. I say the same of the *Legate*, and other Emissaries that the Pope had there at that time, and who did the King no better Service. Yet nevertheless *Henry* suffer'd 'em to retire into *Italy* or to *Brussels*; and after the reducing of *Paris* caus'd Civilities to be be shewn to the Legate. But besides the excellent Nature of that good and great Prince, he had allow'd, that in the private Capitulation which was made with *M. de Brissack*, some Articles should be inserted that gave 'em this Security, notwithstanding the Agreement was made without their Participation.

During the last Commotions in *England*, most of the neighbouring Potentates had their Ministers there; but those that were there during the King's Life, had no other Object but the Reconciliation of the Subjects with their Sovereign: and after his Decease, there appear'd but one Party which was powerful enough to oblige all the Neighbours to court its Friendship. It is a thing most certain, that an Embassador ought to acknowledge no other Authority in the State where he negotiates, than that of the Sovereign, for whom he has *Letters of Credence*.

La Ferté Imbault, who has been since known under the Quality of Marshal *Destampes*, being Embassador in *England* in the Year 1642, had been inform'd that *Roe*, who was at *Ratisbon* on the part of the King of *England*, had there offer'd to make a League Offensive and Defensive with the House of *Austria*, if the Emperor would make Satisfaction to the King his Master with reference to the *Palatinate*, and the Electoral Dignity; *of which he complain'd to the Parliament* by means of the Earl of *Holland*. The Parliament had never taken cogni-

cognizance of that kind of Affairs, and it was not to this Aſſembly that Embaſſadors were us'd to addreſs themſelves. The King therefore caus'd a Letter to be writ to *La Ferté* by one of his Secretaries of State, that the Embaſſador who had not been rightly inform'd of *Roe*'s Negotiation in *Germany*, had too eaſily believ'd and publiſh'd what he had heard. He likewiſe made him be ask'd, whether it was by the King his Maſter's Orders, that he had addreſs'd himſelf to the Parliament, or *whether this Innovation was his own proper Act and Deed: and alſo what had oblig'd him thus to inſult his Sovereignty.* *La Ferté* made anſwer, that he had executed the Commands of the King his Maſter. It was very imprudent in this Miniſter to expoſe his Prince after this manner; and thereby render him the Object of the King of *Great Britain*'s Averſion, to whom a groſſer Affront could not be offer'd. And accordingly he wrote into *France*, that if that Embaſſador was not immediately recall'd, he would take ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think proper for his Honour, and the Good of his Service. Hereupon he was recall'd, and after a manner that ſufficiently declar'd he was look'd upon to be better qualify'd for War than Negotiations. In the Month of *May* 1665, the King of *France* caus'd the *Pope's Bull* to be regiſter'd, by which he condemn'd what the *Janſeniſts* had written againſt his Infallibility. The *Nuncio* printed it of his own Authority, and therein took the Quality of *Nuncio* to the King and Kingdom of *France*; which was taken ſo ill, that the Parliament paſs'd an Order againſt the Printer, and ſeiz'd all his Goods. The Parliament ſaid, that if the *Nuncio* had been ſent to the Kingdom, it would have been to exerciſe a *Juriſdiction*; whereas he had none: and that he was only ſent to the King; that is to ſay, *to the Sovereign of the State.*

CHAP. VII.

Of the Birth and Learning of an Embaſſador.

IN whatſoever Senſe the Word Birth is taken, it is a great Ornament to the *Embaſſador*, if it be any thing conſiderable. If he derives it from an illuſtrious Houſe, or a noble Family, it gives a great Luſtre to the Embaſſy; and if it be accompany'd by natural Parts that ſet it off, theſe render the Embaſſador ſo much the more proper for this eminent Employ. The one caſts a bright Reflection on him; and the other is abſolutely neceſſary, and gives him an Ability, without which it is impoſſible for him to ſucceed.

The Providence of God, which appears ſo manifeſtly in the whole Oeconomy of the Univerſe, is admirable in the Diſtribution of his Favours. The greateſt part of thoſe who poſſeſs Riches are not capable of acquiring any: and all that they can do by the means of their Wealth, is to raiſe themſelves above the Condition of a Porter or Hackney-Coach-Man. There are but few Men that do Honour to the Dignity their Birth or Fortune has beſtow'd upon them. Inſtead of making uſe of it to make themſelves reſpected and lov'd, it only ſerves to make 'em deſpis'd and loath'd. If Virtue was Hereditary, there is no Employment but what would be preferably due to the Nobility. Would to God it was ſo; and that Gentlemen did not make their chiefeſt Virtue of that Bravery, which ever took delight in drowning in a Deluge of Blood, the Inhabitants of Towns and Provinces that have been deſtroy'd and laid waſte by Fire; which has buried an infinite Number of Caſtles and Houſes in their Ruins; which ſtill reduces every Day ſo many Families, and ſo many Perſons of all Ages and Sexes, to that Extremity of Miſeries, that would ſtrike the moſt barbarous Nations with Horror. *Valour* is the principal, or rather the only Virtue of thoſe that are call'd Nobles, or Gentlemen, and who pretend to have mighty advantages over the Commonalty: and that by the Conceit of an imaginary Quality, that one or other of their Predeceſſors has procur'd to all his Poſterity, either by Favour or Merit. Their Inclination to War is neither acquir'd in the Academy nor in Hunting; but they there learn how it ought to be made, and by enuring themſelves to Fatigues, that Exerciſe they go through in their Apprenticeſhip, becomes a Diverſion to 'em when they know their Trade. There are but few of 'em who joyn Study thereto, and are happy enough to apply their Minds to that which can form 'em for the Management of Affairs, and is able to give 'em thoſe Qualifications, without which it is impoſſible to be a Great Man. Thoſe that do apply themſelves thereto, or at their coming into the World bring along with them ſuch natural Endowments, as can ſupply what they want in acquired Abilities, may ſucceed in either the one, or the other Profeſſion: But then this is what ſeldom happens; and there are but few great Captains, that are at the ſame time able Miniſters. The Count *de Dunois*, from whom the Dukes of *Longueville* are deſcended, whoſe Poſterity fail'd but a few Years ſince, was without doubt one of the greateſt Captains of his time; and he was alſo one of the moſt dextrous *Negotiators*. He was the natural Son of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, who was Brother to *Charles* VI, King of *France*; but I do not believe I wrong his Memory, when I ſay, that he made himſelf greater than he was by his Birth; and that even without the Advantage of the latter, he would have been one of the greateſt Men of his Age. The Marſhal *de Biron*, the Father, was as knowing as he was brave; and there is not any Countrey that has not produc'd this kind of Hero. Yet it is not the peculiar Lot of the Nobility. They are not all great Men: On the contrary, there are but few amongſt 'em

'em that are ſo, or indeed would be ſo, or that would rather chuſe to be virtuous and good Men, than bad Princes. I dare be bold to ſay, that there never was yet any King, that had ſuch ſublime and noble Sentiments; and that *Alfonſus* the *Magnanimous*, King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, was not really what he would fain have ſeem'd to be, when he ſaid, that he found thoſe Advantages in Learning, which Crowns could not beſtow.

The Marſhal *de Biron*, whom I juſt mention'd, expreſs'd the Character of the Princes of the Blood in his time after ſuch a manner, as plainly intimated, that if their Birth made them conſiderable, their Qualities made them contemptible. *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, was a very weak Prince; the Cardinals *de Bourbon* and *de Vendoſme*, were not very rational. The Princes of *Montpenſier*, *de la Rocheſuryon*, and of *Conty*, and the Count *de Soiſſons* were Princes of the Blood; but then that was all could be ſaid of 'em. There was only *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Lewis* Prince of *Condé*, that were really greater Men than they were Princes, and did full as much Honour to their Birth, as they receiv'd from it.

This is not to ſay, that great Lords cannot be employ'd in Embaſſies, and to Advantage; but then it muſt be in thoſe, where there is more of the Parade than of Negotiation. After the Death of *Henry* II, King of *France*, the Princes of *Condé*, and *de la Rocheſuryon*, were ſent to the King of *Spain*; the one to be preſent at the Oath, for the Obſervation of the Treaty of *Chateau Cambreſis*; and the other, to carry the Order of St. *Michael*. *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, and the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, conducted the Queen of *Spain* as far as the Frontiers. The Prince *Dauphin* was ſent into *England*, to negotiate the Duke of *Alançon*'s Marriage: The Duke *de Mayenne* into *Spain*, for the double Marriage; and the Duke *de Chevereuſe* after that into *England*. Princes, and thoſe of the firſt Rank after them, give a great Luſtre to Embaſſies of Ceremony, and are properer for them than more able Negotiators; becauſe they repreſent the *Sovereign* after a more natural and lively manner, in an Embaſſy of Obedience, at a Marriage, a Chriſtening, or at a Funeral, where there is ſomething more ſplendid and leſs ſolid than in Negotiations. The Duke of *Longueville* was employ'd in that of *Munſter*, not becauſe he had more Capacity than *d'Avaux* and *Servien*, but becauſe it had been agreed with *Spain*, that an illuſtrious Perſonage ſhould be at the Head of ſo illuſtrious an Embaſſy. He had good Seconds; which is the common Practice, when Princes are put at the Head of Negotiations. *Lewis* IX, when he ſent Count *d'Eu*, one of the Princes of the Blood, to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, joyn'd with him the Chancellor *Morvillers*, and the Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*: and to the Lord *de Cran*, who was a Man of the Sword, the Chancellor *Doriole*. *Philip* alſo on his ſide caus'd the Lord *de Crequy* to be accompany'd by the Biſhop of *Tournay*; and *Charles* ſent him his Chancellor *Hugonet*, with the Lord of *Imbercourt*. *Henry* II, in the Negotiation of the Treaty that was concluded at *Vaucelles* in the Year 1556, made uſe of *Sebaſtian de l'Aubepine* with the Admiral *de Coligny*; as *Charles* V, and *Philip* his Son, ſent along with *Charles* Count of *Lalain*, *Simon Renard*, *Charles Triſnaque*, *Philip de Bruxelles*, and *John Baptiſt Sticchi* a Lawyer. *Henry* III, when he ſent, in the Year 1581, the Prince *Dauphin* Embaſſador to *England*, made him be accompany'd by ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and among the reſt, by *Pinart*, Secretary of State, and ſome other Gentlemen of the Gown, who were as his Council. They had in hand one of the niceſt and moſt difficult Affairs, that can exerciſe the Mind and Induſtry of an Embaſſador; the Marriage of Queen *Elizabeth*.

It is not neceſſary to inſtance in Examples, after what has been ſeen at *Munſter*; unleſs we will ſay, that he who is at preſent at *Nimeguen* at the head of the *French* Embaſſy, has all the Sufficiency of a Man of the Gown.

The Duke of *Longueville* had many good Qualifications. But they were more proper for the Title of Highneſs, than that of Excellency. In the Year 1647, *Servien* being gone to the *Hague*, where he concluded I know not what Treaty of Guarranty: and *d'Avaux* being oblig'd to make ſome ſtay at *Oſnaburg*, for the ſettling the Affair of *Pomerania* between the *Swedes* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Duke, who was left alone at *Munſter*, was for negotiating like a great Lord; and being no longer under the *Ferula* of his Pedagogues, proceeded after ſuch a manner that Cardinal *Mazarine* began to apprehend the Conſequences thereof. *Servien*, who alone was acquainted with the firſt Miniſter's Intention, ſaid, that the Duke was going to ſpoil all: that *d'Avaux* trifled away his time at *Oſnaburg*, while his Preſence was altogether neceſſary at *Munſter*, where there was occaſion for a Man, who in diſcuſſing the Rights and Pretenſions of the Crowns, was well acquainted with the Propriety and Force of Words; and could dexterouſly make uſe of thoſe Subtilties of Grammar, which Princes and Noblemen are ignorant of, unleſs they learn 'em of their Secretaries. That it ought to be conſider'd, that one ſingle Perſon was not very proper for an Affair of that Nature; more eſpecially if his high Birth exempted him in ſome meaſure, from that ſubmiſſive and blind Obedience which Subalterns have for their Superiors. And in reality, when in the Year 1639, the Nuncio *Scotti* and *Angelo Cornaro*, Embaſſadors from *Venice*, preſs'd the King to nominate Plenipotentiaries for the Congreſs, which was to be held at *Cologn*, and was ſince transferr'd to *Munſter*; the King told them, that *Charnace* and *Fenquieres*, who were deſign'd for this Employ, being dead, there were but few Noblemen in his Kingdom, who were qualify'd for it: *That the greateſt part of thoſe who wear the Sword, follow rather their own Whims, than the Orders which are given them*; and that he was abſolutely reſolv'd to ſuffer it no longer, but to waſh away the Faults of ſuch Embaſſadors with their own Blood; ſo that ſome time was requiſite to make Choice of ſuch Perſons, as had the neceſſary Qualities for ſo weighty a Concern.

If theſe Reaſons hinder Kings and Sovereigns from entruſting their Affairs with Perſons, who either want Ability, or have not Obedience enough to ſucceed in their Negotiation; there are others, which oblige 'em to employ them

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on certain Occaſions, where they riſque nothing, and where theſe Perſons do more Honour to their Maſter, than can be done by thoſe of a meaner Condition; and indeed where there is an indiſpenſable Neceſſity for a great King to employ great Perſonages. The Kings of *France*, *Spain* and *Poland*, &c. when they cauſe their Obedience to be made to the Pope, give that Commiſſion to Dukes, and Peers, to Grandees of *Spain*, and to Lords of the firſt Quality in their Kingdoms; but then to make it evident, that they are only ſent to make a Figure, they have an *Orator* allow'd them, who makes the Speech for the Embaſſador, and pronounces it in his Preſence.

Altho' great Perſonages are not altogether ſo fit for the important Affairs of Embaſſy, yet there is not leſs Inconvenience in employing People of mean Extraction, to repreſent a Sovereign in a foreign Court. As an ordinary Dawber cannot draw an excellent Picture, nor make a good Copy of an exquiſite Original, ſo it is impoſſible for a Man of a vile Condition, duly to repreſent a great Prince, unleſs it be upon the Theatre, and to divert the People. It is what admits of no Contradiction nor Exception with reſpect to the Character, which ought not to be proſtituted: nay I could wiſh the ſame Conſideration took place, in relation to Miniſters of the ſecond Order.

Lewis XI. employ'd all ſorts of People: But beſides that Intereſt was the only Motive of all his Actions, it muſt not be believ'd, that *Olivier Daim*, his Barber, and Valet de Chambre, was an Embaſſador in the ſame Signification that is given at this time to the Character. In thoſe Days, Honours were done at the Entries and Audience of Embaſſadors, yet none at all were done to *Olivier*. On the contrary, he arriv'd at *Ghent* without Ceremony; he ſtaid there ſome time to carry on his Intrigues, and he did not ſpeak to the Princes till he was oblig'd to make his Appearance and to ſpeak. *Lewis*'s Intention was to make uſe of him to ſtir up the Inhabitants of *Ghent* to Rebellion; in which he ſucceeded ſo ill; as well as in all the other Parts of his Embaſſy, that it was with great Difficulty he got ſafe out of the Hands of the Townsmen. When *Philip de Comines* gives the Quality of Embaſſador, to the Merchant whom *Galeas Sforza* Duke of *Milan* ſent to *Lewis* XI, he talks in the Gibberiſh of thoſe Times. This pretended Embaſſador being arriv'd without noiſe at *Lions*, where the Court then was, the King order'd him to repair to *Comines*, who underſtanding that the Merchant had Orders to make the Duke's Peace (who had quitted the King his Brother-in-law to enter into Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*) and that he had a hundred thouſand Crowns of Gold to offer on that ſcore, made his Report thereof, and procur'd Audience to the Embaſſador. The King would not receive his Money; was contented with the Satisfaction the Duke caus'd to be made to him; conſented to the Reconciliation, and ſuffer'd it to be concluded, and publiſh'd the ſame Day. He told the Embaſſador, that he had three times the Revenues of the Duke, that he did not want his Money; and that if his Repentance was ſincere, he was willing to be his Friend, as he had been before.

The ſame King, who employ'd all ſorts of Perſons indifferently, made it plain, that he knew how to diſtinguiſh thoſe who were ſent to himſelf, in the *Deputation*, which the States of the Low Countreys made to him after the Death of *Charles* the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*. The Inhabitants of *Ghent* had ſeiz'd the Princeſs *Mary*, his Daughter, and pretended to have the whole Direction of Affairs put into their Hands, in conjunction with the Eſtates of *Flanders*, and the neighbouring Provinces. The Deputies had procur'd themſelves *Letters of Credence*, and believ'd they ſhould be very acceptable to the King, when they propos'd this Princeſs in Marriage to the *Dauphin*. In preſenting their Letters, they ſpoke very preſumptuouſly of the Authority they had in the Countrey; of the Share they had in the Management of Affairs; and of the Deference the Princeſs had for the Advice of the States. The King, to make them ſenſible of their Folly, or rather to convince 'em that the Princeſs made a Jeſt of 'em, ſhew'd them a Letter, wherein *Mary* declar'd, ſhe had entruſted *Margaret* her Mother-in-law, and Dowager of *Burgundy*, with the Direction of all her Affairs, with whom ſhe had joyn'd *Adolphus* of *Cleves*, Lord of *Raveſtein*, her near Relation; as alſo Chancellor *Hugonet* and the Lord *d'Imbercourt*; of whom the two laſt were with the King, having *Letters of Credence* with them from the Princeſs.

Comines here adds, that *Lewis*'s Intention was to create a Miſunderſtanding between the *Flemings* and the *Burgundians*, that he might make his Advantage of their Diviſions; and that as he look'd upon thoſe that negotiated with him to differ little from Brutes, and to have no Correſpondence but only with the Rabble and Scum of the People, he was reſolv'd to put them out of Countenance, and out of poſſibility of making any Reply; for which Reaſon he ſhew'd them the Letter, which deſtroy'd at once all they had ſaid of their Credit and Power.

Altho' it be not abſolutely neceſſary, that the Embaſſador ſhould be a Man of Birth, yet at the ſame time there muſt be nothing ſordid nor mean in him, unleſs there be ſomething that makes amends for that Imperfection, and ſupplies what commonly is wanting to the Education of thoſe who have not that Advantage; ſo that the Prince may be able to give to Merit, what he would not beſtow on Extraction. Cardinal *Doſſat* was ſo meanly born that his Parents were never known; but then this Obſcurity was illuſtrated by ſuch excellent Qualities, that King *Henry* the Great, who had a perfect Knowledge of Men, after having employ'd him in his moſt important Affairs at *Rome* and elſewhere, procur'd him the Eccleſiaſtical Dignity after that of Pope. He had not exercis'd any Trade nor Profeſſion that he could be upbraided with as ſcandalous; on the contrary, he had gone through his Studies, and quitted them only to apply himſelf to Buſineſs, in the Houſe of *Paul de Foix*, Archbiſhop of *Thouloufe*, and Embaſſador from *France* to *Rome*; and afterwards under the Cardinals *d'Eſté* and *Joyeuſe*.

Peter Paul Reubens was no Shame to the King of *Spain*, neither by his Birth nor Profeſſion. The one was neither vile nor abject; and the other ſerv'd only to repreſent on Canvaſe, much more naturally than on Paper,

the Knowledge he had of polite Learning, and to expreſs his rich Thought much more happily thereon, than he could have done it in a Book, I am therefore far from putting him in the Number of thoſe, whoſe Extraction ought to exclude 'em from this ſort of Employment. *Ragazzoni*, whom the Republick of *Venice* ſent to *Conſtantinople*, was a Merchant: but he was of the Body of thoſe Citizens, out of which the Senate uſually takes its Miniſters, and of thoſe whom it employs abroad in the Quality of Reſidents or Envoys; tho' commonly ſpeaking, Merchants are not very proper for that purpoſe. The *Florentines* apprehending leſt the Interview Pope *Clement* VII, and the Emperor *Charles* V, were to have at *Boulogne* ſhould terminate in the loſs of their Liberty, becauſe the Emperor had promis'd the Pope to lend him his Arms to reduce the Town, ſent thither *Lewis Soderin*, *Andrew Nicholini* and *Robert Benzy*, to whom the Republick gave the Quality of Embaſſadors. The Pope receiv'd them very ill, and treated them with ſo much the more Contempt, becauſe he ſaid, *the Republick, inſtead of Senators, had ſent him Merchants*, and not the moſt conſiderable amongſt them. Theſe Embaſſadors plainly diſcover'd that they were really Merchants, for they had hid amongſt their Baggage a great Quantity of Gold and Silver Thread, with a Deſign to ſmuggle the Cuſtoms thereof, that thereby they might be enabled to ſell their Goods at ſo much the lower Price; but the Officers having detected the Fraud, the Pope and the Emperor were diverted therewith, who ſent them back without any Anſwer. We have ſeen in our Time, *Michael Particelli d'Emery*, from a Merchant at *Lions* become Embaſſador from *France* to the Duke of *Savoy*, and afterwards Superintendent of the Finances: and one of the *Northern* Crowns has within theſe few Years had a Miniſter at the *Hague* who had been a Tapeſtry-maker: however theſe two were ſucceſsful, in a Profeſſion ſo very different from their firſt Calling. The Hiſtory of *France* ſpeaks much of one *James Cœur*, whom *Charles* VII, made his Cofferer. He was a Merchant, but after the ſame manner as the *Fuggres* were ſo at *Auſburg*; the *Wertmullers* and *Vidmans* at *Venice*; and a great many of the beſt Families are ſo ſtill at *Genoa*. The King employ'd him in Embaſſies of great Importance, and amongſt the reſt in that to *Rome*, whither he went with *Tanneguy du Chaſtel*, and labour'd with ſucceſs in ſuppreſſing the Schiſm between the Popes *Felix* and *Nicholas*, which very much incommoded the Church. Neither *James Cœur* nor *d'Emery* were any longer Merchants when they commenced Embaſſadors: and I do not believe there can be one ſingle Inſtance brought, where theſe two Qualifications have met at the ſame time, in the ſame Perſon. The Duke of *Milan*'s was ſo, but in a ſtrain'd Signification.

The late King of *England* made one *Auger* his Reſident in *France*; he was a *Frenchman* by Birth, and by Profeſſion a Player on the Lute; that is to ſay, of a Calling that border'd upon the Comedian: as this Miniſter had no extraordinary Merit to recommend him, ſo was he the firſt that plainly made known, what ought to be expected from that ſort of People, who have neither Honour to ſupport, nor Eſtate to loſe. This Wretch forſook the King, and ſerv'd the Parliament againſt his Benefactor.

I cannot tell whether the Men of Letters are fitter for Embaſſy than Tradeſmen: but I ſhall not ſcruple to ſay, that an *Embaſſador* is not better form'd in the College than in the Shop. If the one renders us Cowardly and Self-intereſted, the other makes us Clownish and Opiniated; and neither in the one nor in the other is learn'd what an Embaſſador ought to know. When I ſay Men of Letters, I would be underſtood to mean them, who have contracted too great a Familiarity with Books, who are too much wedded to the prejudicate Opinions of the Doctors, and have more Reading than good Senſe: in fine, to ſay all in one Word, who are either Pedants by Profeſſion, or have pedantick Sentiments. Before *Europe* beheld the Knowledge of the dead Languages revive, while Ignorance cover'd the face of the Earth; for the moſt part, the Clergy or Men of the Gown were employ'd in Embaſſies: or at leaſt, there were very few, but had one or other of thoſe they call'd Clerkes mix'd with them; and this becauſe *Latin* was taught no where but in the Cloiſters; and there were none but thoſe who came out of them, that underſtood it. Hither we muſt refer the Cuſtom, that ſtill obtains at *Rome*, where the Embaſſadors of Obedience have their Orators at ſet Salaries, who make their *Latin* Speeches for them. Some Embaſſadors carry them along with 'em, but there are alſo ſome Crowns, that allow for that purpoſe a certain Penſion to ſome eminent Perſon, who makes it his Profeſſion to declame in the Conſiſtory, and to make the Elogium of the Embaſſadors and Cardinals after their Deceaſe. *Marcus Antonius Muretus*, who ſpoke and wrote ſo elegantly in *Latin*, had hardly any other Subſiſtence than what *France* allow'd him on that Account. An Embaſſador who ſhould be as well ſkill'd in the *Latin* Tongue as *Muretus*, ought to conceal ſome part of that Perfection, for fear of falling into Pedantry, which is one of the moſt dangerous Rocks, againſt which his Reputation can ſplit. *Doſſat* was Learned, and Preſident *Jeannin* was a Man of Literature; and yet there is not one Word of *Latin* to be found in all their Diſpatches, which are fill'd with nothing but important Advices, ſtrong and judicious Reaſonings, and with a ſeries of Affairs, that ſhews they knew ſomething beyond what they had learn'd at School. *Walſingham* had ſtudy'd, as is plain to be ſeen by his Letters, tho' there is not any *Latin* mix'd with them, as there is in *Thomas Smith*'s, who was employ'd with him at the Court of *France*. *Charles Paſchal*, who has form'd the Idea of an Embaſſador in his Book, did not repreſent him very well in his Embaſſy to the *Griſons*. And even if *Philip Canaye*, Lord of *Freſne*, Embaſſador from *France* to *Venice*, did not ſpeak of him as he does; yet his Embaſſador, and his Embaſſy, which he has made publick, ought to make one judge, that he knew a great deal of *Latin* and *Greek*, but was at the ſame time but a very indifferent Miniſter. Cardinal *Beſſarion* was a very fit Man to fill a Profeſſor's Chair, to teach the *Greek* Tongue; as in reality he was one of thoſe, that reviv'd the primitive Knowledge of it in the moſt *Weſtern* Parts

Parts of *Europe*, in the fifteenth Century; but when he was put into another Profession, and was vested with the Quality of *Legate*, to negotiate with the first Princes of Christendom, he discover'd his Ignorance, and made it plain that he did not know the first Rudiments of it, by going to see the Duke of *Burgundy*, before he had visited the King of *France*.

Lewis XI. reproach'd him with it, in a very stinging Raillery; and refusing to negotiate with a Minister, that made no Distinction between the two Princes, he sent him back to the Pope, who found too late the Fault he had committed, in making choice of an impertinent and ridiculous Minister. *John Lascaris*, whom *Lewis* XII. sent Embassador to *Venice* in the Year 1503, was little better. He was descended from a Family that had given Great Princes to the Empire of *Constantinople*, and he was moreover very Learned; but then he had not the least Knowledge of the Affairs of the World: Besides which he made but a very indifferent Appearance, which together with his mean and sordid way of living was apt to make one believe, that instead of carrying it like an Embassador, and doing Honour to the King his Master, he affected to imitate the false Modesty of those, who abandon themselves entirely to contemplative Philosophy, and make profession of a study'd Poverty, partaking a little of the *Cynick*. His Commission was by so much the more difficult, that he had Orders to borrow Money, and to make an Alliance, at a time when the Inclinations of the Senate were not in the least dispos'd in favour of the *French*, because the King's Affairs in *Italy* were not in a very good State. *Laurence Suarez de Figueroa*, Embassador from *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and who did not fail to make his Advantage of the Republick's Dissatisfaction, which could not brook the King's sending a Pedant to them instead of an Embassador, said in the open Senate; That they might easily make a Judgment after what manner the King of *France* would treat them, if after the Conquest he pretended to make of *Naples*, he should see himself Master of his Affairs, and could tyrannize over *Italy* at his Pleasure; since in his ill Circumstances and Necessities, he shew'd such a Contempt for the Senate, *as to send them a* Greek *Philosopher newly come out of the College*.

I should not here make mention of the most learned and greatest Man of that Country, and of our Times; if I did not find my self oblig'd thereto by the Remarks that have been made at *Brussels*, upon what I have said relating to him in my Memoirs. I don't doubt but every body easily conceives, that it is *Hugh de Groot* I here speak of. I admire, with the rest of the World, the Wit, the Probity, and the Works of that great Personage: and moreover I have particular Reasons, that make me have a Veneration for his Memory; wherefore I was very cautious of saying any thing could in the least injure his high Reputation. So that the Remarker might very well have forbore reproaching me, with what I have written concerning his Application to Study. I know that such a Man as he could not take a more honourable, nor more solid Diversion; but I could have wish'd, with the rest of his Friends, that he had not made it his Business, especially in a Post that requir'd the whole Man. I am so far also from excluding all the Learned from this sort of Employment, that I could wish that all that enter upon it were learned; provided that with their Learning, they had also all the other necessary Qualifications. *William Budeus* knew as much *Greek* as Cardinal *Bessarion* and *Lascaris*, and indeed knew it better. He had even rummaged amongst the Dust of the College; but King *Francis* II. took him out of it, made him one of his Council, and since sent him Embassador to Pope *Leo* X; who being the Person to whom *Europe* is partly oblig'd for the Restoration of polite Litterature, receiv'd him as a Man who was not so learned as he was able and experienc'd. *John Jovian Pontan* had a polite Learning, which did not savour of the *Pedant*, and he was skill'd in a great many other things, besides those that are found in Books. He was Secretary of State, and Minister to *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, natural Son and Successor of *Alphonsus* the Magnanimous, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, who knew how to Reign, altho' he made his Government detested and abominated by his Cruelties and tyrannical Acts. This Prince employ'd him to Pope *Alexander* VI, who was another Species of Monster; but who for all that had a Value for Men of Learning, when they were withall, Men of Parts; and who shew'd him much Esteem, not so much on the account of his Scholarship, as because he consider'd him as one of the most dextrous Negotiators of his time; which was a Qualification he had acquir'd at Court, and in the Management of Affairs; not in the College, nor among Books.

I am willing the Embassador should have had some Study, because it supplies sometimes what is wanting to natural Capacity; but then I would not have him give himself up to it: as well because there is a Habit contracted in reading, which is directly opposite to the constant Activity of an Embassador, as because the School infects with a certain contradicting Humour, which is inconsistent with the Character of a well-bred Man. They who study only as much as is requisite to become such, and to make Learning subservient to their Profession, have thereby a great Advantage; tho' good Sense always relieves those who have not Study'd.

The Study of polite Literature ought to be a Foundation to all the Embassador's Knowledge: There true Morality is to be learn'd; not only in those Authors who make Profession of Philosophy, but also in those who teach it with more Efficacy than they do, who reduce it into Rules and Precepts. There is no Philosopher that teaches it more agreeably than *Horace*, nor that in a sporting manner declares better,

Quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius & melius Chrysippo & Crantore.

Provided we do not strike into Criticism nor Pedantry, we shall find there the Principles of Honesty, which ought to be the first Quality of the Embassador. The Knowledge of the Civil Law, if it be founded upon that of the History of the *Roman* Laws, is an admirable Ingredient for a Minister: But there are but few that ap-

ply

ply themſelve to it; becauſe to ſpeak the Truth, the major Part of the Doctors that teach it, do not underſtand it; or if they do underſtand it, they will not give themſelves the trouble to teach it their Scholars; who on their part, are contented to imbibe a very light Tincture thereof; that they may not loſe that time, they think better and more profitably employ'd on the Study of the wrangling part. There is nothing but the perfect Knowledge of the State of ancient *Rome*, and of the Occaſions upon which the Laws were enacted, that can give a right Judgment of the Intention of the *Legiſlators*; as well as of the Reaſons, upon which ſo many great Men have grounded the Opinions, that compoſe the *Digeſts* or *Pandects*; as the Decrees and Edicts of the Emperors make what is call'd the *Code*, and the *Authenticks*. I muſt add, that a Miniſter employ'd in Ordinary at the Court of *Rome*, ought not to be ignorant of the *Canon Law*; ſince he has not always Affairs of State to negotiate, and almoſt all the reſt relate only to the Diſpatch of Benefices, and to the Differences one may have with the Expeditionaries, for the Rights of the Officers of that Court, which are all regulated by the Decrees, Decretals, and other particular Conſtitutions, which are properly the Pope's Law.

But the chief Study of thoſe that deſign to be employ'd in Embaſſies, ought to be that of *Hiſtory*; I comprehend under that Name all that depends thereon, and is any way uſeful to it, as Memoirs, Inſtructions and Negotiations; and particularly Treaties, which make one of the moſt eſſential and moſt conſiderable Parts thereof. It may be ſaid of *Hiſtory*, that there is none ſo bad but ſomething uſeful ſhall be found in it. But beſides that Wrong that one does one's ſelf, as well as to the Publick, by waſting the time ſo unprofitably, there is nothing ſo irkſom, as to be forc'd to turn over a large Volume, perhaps to meet with one ſingle Paſſage that ſhall be rational. Wherefore one of the firſt Cares of him that propoſes to form an Embaſſador, ought to be to point out to him the *Hiſtorians* that are uſeful and even neceſſary for him to read. He will without doubt have learn'd the Names of the Ancients in the College, and will have made uſe of ſome of them to form his Style. This is the uſe that is made of them in this Age, and to fill and clog the Memory of young People, while their Judgment is ripening; not only when they do not underſtand the *Greek* and *Latin*, but alſo when they are forward enough to penetrate into the Sentiments of Authors, and can reaſon with them. All the ancient *Hiſtorians* are known, and we may ſay, that all thoſe whoſe Writings are ſtill preſerv'd, are good: altho' they are not all equally capable of contributing to the Perfection of an Embaſſador. *Thucidides*, *Xenophon* and *Polybius* amongſt the *Greeks*: *Titus Livius*, *Julius Cæſar*, *Salluſtius*, *Velleius Paterculus* and *Tacitus* amongſt the *Romans*, ought to be read and ſtudy'd. Thoſe that have writ ſince the Decay, or rather Ruin of the *Roman* Empire, cannot be put upon the level with the others: and ſcarce in many Ages, ſince the Invaſion of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations, to the fifteenth or ſixteenth Century, have there been one or two that can be rank'd amongſt the tolerable ones. *Lipſius* recommends *Lambert d'Aſchaffenburg*, and ſpeaks advantageouſly of *Saxo Grammaticus*: but all that can be ſaid of the laſt is, that there is ſome reaſon to wonder, he has written in a Stile that partakes ſo little of the Barbarian, in an Age where every body was ſo. Since Men have begun to imitate the Politeneſs and Elegancy of the Ancients, with more Succeſs than their Sculpture, there is hardly any Countrey but what has afforded ſome excellent Production on this matter. Let our Politicians give the firſt Place to *Tacitus* if they pleaſe, for my own part I ſhall be bold to ſay, that upon an equitable and impartial Judgment, *Philip de Comines*, Lord of *Argenton*, is nothing inferior to him in any reſpect whatever; being beyond Compariſon much more Faithful and more Judicious in what he writes of the Maſters he has ſerv'd, as well as of the Tranſactions and Negotiations, where he has been concern'd, and of which he has been able to have a perfect Knowledge. There is not any Book ſo uſeful to Princes and Miniſters as the *Memoirs of Comines*. His Diſintereſtedneſs appears every where, he does Juſtice to every Body; and there is not any remarkable Accident, of which he does not aſſign the firſt Cauſe to His Providence, who holds the Hearts of Kings in his Hand; that is to ſay, the God of Battles, who alone diſpoſes of Crowns and Monarchies.

Nicholas Matchiavel's Hiſtory of *Florence* is a compleat Work, and almoſt inimitable: that of *Genoa* by *Hubert Foglietta*: *George Buchanan*'s Hiſtory of *Scotland*: *Sleidan*'s State of Religion in *Germany*: *Fra. Paolo*'s Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, and thoſe of the Low Countreys by *Hugh de Groot*, and *Everard de Reyd*, are admirable Peices in their kinds. *Don Carlos Coloma* has written with great Exactneſs and Judgment, what paſs'd in the ſaid Low Countreys from the Year 1588 to that of 1600. What *Pompeo Juſtiniani* has written on that Subject is very good, altho' theſe two illuſtious Perſons hardly take notice of any other Affairs than what relate to their own Calling. *Paul Paruta* and *Baptiſta Nani*, both Procurators of St. *Mark*, make it appear, that they were as capable of writing the Hiſtory of their Countrey, as of ſerving it in the moſt important Junctures. They would doubtleſs ſtand in the firſt Rank, were it not for the too frequent Speeches, (not one whereof being authentick, they cannot but have been made on purpoſe to eſtabliſh Pieces of falſe Eloquence, which ought not to be admitted in Hiſtory) and the extreme Indulgence they ſhew for their Republick. *Hierome Conneſtaggio* and *Peter John Capriata* are very good Hiſtorians, and come very near the excellent manner of Writing, that recommends the two laſt Tomes of *Hieronymo Zurita*; tho' they are not ſo prolixe, nor ſo ſubject to Repetitions as this laſt. The Preſident *de Thou*'s Hiſtory is very well writ; as well as that of *Francis Mezeray*, who would excell all the *French* Hiſtorians, if he would but give us the Continuation of it, and beſtow on the Memory of *Henry* IV, and *Lewis* XIII, the ſame Pen he has ſo happily employ'd for their Predeceſſors. The Life of *Henry* IV, by the Biſhop *de Rhodez*, ſince Archbiſhop of *Paris*, is an extraordinary Work. That of *Henry* VII,

King

King of *England*, writ by *Bacon*, passes for a judicious Piece enough: and I might say the same of that of *Henry* VIII, if *Herbert* had not too much flatter'd the Memory of a Prince, who had very great Qualities, but a great many more bad ones than good. *Benjamin Priolo*, who has writ the History of the Minority of *Lewis* XIV, by copying *Tacitus* in many places, and imitating what is defective in him in others, has not acquir'd so great a Reputation as the Abbot *Vittorio Siri*, who under the Title of *Mercurius*, has oblig'd the Publick with several Volumes of the finest Memoirs that have yet appear'd. The History, or *Narrative of the Affairs of State and War*, which has been writ in *Holland* in fourteen or fifteen Volumes, contains several Treaties, Resolutions, and other authentick Pieces; so that it may serve for an Inventory to those who have not access to the *Archives* of the State: But then what the Author adds of his own, is even inferior to a *Gazette*, which way soever it be taken. He has no Stile, his Language is barbarous, and the whole Composition is a mere *Chaos*. He has this in common with the greatest part of those of that Countrey, who presume to write Histories without Authority or Leave, and almost always without Judgment and Veracity.

As for Negotiations, they may be all read; but there are some that he ought always to keep in view, as well before as during the Embassy. Those of Cardinal *Dossat*, and of President *Jeannin*, are alone sufficient to instruct him, and make him an accomplish'd Minister. *Francis Walsingham* was such, and has left in his Dispatches, the Idea of an Embassador worthy of the Queen he serv'd, and of the first Minister under whom he acted. I dare be bold to say, that there is not a single Letter in the two first, where there is not something of which the most able Minister may make his Advantage. I wish I could say the same of the Negotiations of Cardinal *du Perron*; and that *Dossat* had not had so much Modesty, when he writ to *M. de Villeroy*; that he had learn'd a great deal of the other, not only in relation to Piety, but also to the Affairs of State. To speak the truth, he was but a mere Braggadocio, that mock'd God Almighty, and had no solid Knowledge of the Affairs of the World. To Negotiations I must subjoyn Treaties, which instruct wonderfully; because the Embassador learns by them, not only the true State of Affairs, but also the distinct Interests of Princes: And if he has ever so little Genius, he will likewise there discover that of the Parties, and form to himself thereby those Securities and Precautions that are necessary to be taken in Negotiations.

There are also Relations of the Condition and Circumstances of Courts where Embassadors have negotiated, of which we shall take more particular Notice in the sixteenth Chapter of the second Book, wherefore I shall say no more at present, but that they give a great Insight to those who know how to make a right use thereof.

I would here make mention of other Books very useful to an *Embassador*, but that I suppose him to have seen some of them; and as he has not leisure to apply himself with Assiduity to Reading, he ought to make choice of the most necessary: I shall mark him down but one more, which is the admirable Treatise of Count *Balthasar de Castillon*; because as the *Embassador* ought to be not only an able, but also a well-bred Man, or at least carry the Appearance of one, it is impossible for him to be so, or act the Part, unless he forms himself by the Rules of Civility and Good-breeding, which that gallant Man lays down in his Book. I say nothing of the Book of *Reflections and moral Maxims*; because one cannot speak of it, nor of its incomparable Author, without injuring the Merit of both the one and the other. People will perhaps be scandaliz'd when I say, that all the Works of *Nicholas Machiavel* may be of mighty use to the *Embassador*. I do not pretend to apologize for that *Florentine Politician*; and I must own there are some Passages in him that are not very *Orthodox:* but then I shall not scruple to maintain, that there are some which are capable of a more favourable Explication, than what is commonly given them by *Pedants*. We must suppose him almost every where to say what Princes do, and not what they ought to do: and if he sometimes mingles Maxims that seem inconsistent with the Rules of the Christian Religion, it is to shew the Practice of *Usurpers* and *Tyrants*, and not how lawful Princes ought to behave themselves. I suppose the *Embassador* to have a Foundation of Honour, and that he is clear sighted enough to distinguish between Good and Evil, and that he has a sufficient Knowledge of both, to be able to embrace the first, and reject the latter.

CHAP. VIII.

What Age is proper for an Embassador.

THE Advantage of Birth, in the Signification I give it in the foregoing Chapter, is very different from that which Nature bestows on them that are not indebted to their Ancestors, and are really great Men, because they bring into the World with them the first Principles of Grandeur, which they are oblig'd to no body but themselves for. A noble Extraction is a singular Ornament to Embassy: however, Strength of Genius, and an excellent Nature, are incomparably more necessary to the Embassador. But neither Birth, in what Sense soever it be taken, nor Study, can form an accomplish'd *Embassador* without *Experience*; which consummates what the others only began. So that as this Employ cannot be safely committed, but to those Persons whose Years have ripen'd their Understand-

ings, I shall here say a word or two concerning the *Age requisite to an Embassador*.

The Republick of *Rome* had its particular Laws to regulate the Age of its Magistrates; and most Kingdoms to this Day have their own, with reference to those who are put into *Offices of Judicature*. At *Venice* none else are advanc'd to the most important Employments of the State, but *Senators* that have pass'd through the lesser, and have given Proof of their Zeal and Ability in a long Course of Years. So that notwithstanding there are no Rules in Politicks, nor Examples in History, on which one may ground a certain Maxim, in relation to the Age requisite to an *Embassador*, yet we may safely say, that it is in a mature Age only that a Man is qualified for *Embassy*; as being a Function of great Difficulty, as well with respect to the Sovereign that is serv'd, as to the Court where the Negotiations are perform'd. Aged Shepherds are rarely mistaken in the Judgment they make in the Morning, of the Weather the rest of the Day will produce. It is true, that Prudence, which must serve the *Embassador* as the *Needle* to guide him in all his Actions, is not always limited to a certain Age. Judgment and common Sense which form it, often perform in a young Man of five and twenty or thirty Years of Age, what sometimes the Experience of a long Life cannot effect in a thick Beard of threescore Years Growth. There are certain Climates, where the Mind ripens and attains sooner to Perfection than in others: nay there are some Constitutions of Body, where the Humours are so exactly mixt, that they form an admirable Temper; the Effects whereof are discoverable in the first *Juvenile* Years, and leave very fine Remains, even in a decrepit Age. It is commonly said, that the *Florentines* are cunninger and have more Wit than the *Venetians*; but that these have sounder and more solid Judgments than the *Florentines*, the Cause whereof is sought in the Subtility and Grossness of the Air of the two Countreys. It is certain that at *Venice* the Judgment is sooner form'd than elsewhere; and that generally speaking, they are wiser there at Thirty, than in other Places at Fifty: but it is needless to seek the Cause thereof in physical Reasonings, since there is so evident a one to be found in the moral. There is no Countrey where so many Persons have a Share in the Affairs of the Publick as at *Venice*. Every where else they are communicated but to very few Deputies or Ministers: and there is no Countrey whatever, where they apply themselves thereto so young. The Conversation of a great Number of thorough-pac'd *Sages*, forms 'em early; and the Fathers, who know but one Trade, not being able to instruct their Children in any other, it is not to be wonder'd at, if they are found capable of Business, almost as soon as they begin to know themselves. The Republick has its particular Interests, which have nothing in common with those of the other Princes of Christendom. If we except the *Port*, where she has Affairs of great moment to negotiate, and where she, for the most part, employs only such Ministers, who have pass'd through all the other Embassys; her Embassadors have hardly any other Function in the Courts where they reside, (when she is not at War, and that *Italy* is not in danger of any) than to observe the Intrigues, and the common Course of general Affairs. She makes it also her care, to place young Gentlemen with her *Embassadors*, who being of equal Quality with them, and aspiring in due time to the same Employment, make it their Endeavour to be capable thereof, by forming themselves early for Business.

The *Greeks* gave the Name of πρέσβυς, from whence that of *Presbyter* comes, which signifies Elder, to their Embassadors, to shew that these Employs ought not to be given to young Men. *Philip de Comines*, whose Authority I willingly borrow, is for having Princes make use on such Occasions, of Persons neither too old nor too young; and that for this Reason, that if these are subject to lash out, and be hurry'd away with Passion, those have their Weaknesses that are much more dangerous. He says, that old Men are always timorous, that they are easily alarm'd, and that they often make Reports, that are capable of disconcerting all the Measures of a Council. But then this must be understood of those Elders, in whom Age has so far extinguish'd natural Heat, that they are no longer qualify'd for Negotiations; in which a moderate Warmth is no less necessary than the Coolness of Phlegm. However, as this Deficiency discovers it self immediately; the Prince is not liable to be impos'd upon thereby, unless he be so voluntarily. He both may, and ought to know those he places in so eminent and important a Post. President *Jeannin* was upwards of sixty Years of Age, when he transacted that weighty and thorny Negotiation concerning the Truce of the Low Countreys, which was one of the most considerable and most knotty we any where read of; notwithstanding which, never any Minister shew'd greater Vigour, nor more Prudence in the Management thereof: in so much, that King *Henry* IV, and his Council, which was compos'd of the ablest Men of those Times, left the whole matter to his Conduct. Provided the Blood be not altogether frozen in the Veins, we may with Safety pursue the Maxim that says, *that cool Blood is the fittest for Counsel, and the warm for Execution*. The Senate of *Venice*, which is equally prudent and happy in the Choice of its Ministers, had in the Year 1539 appointed *Peter Zenon* Embassador to *Constantinople*, who dying by the way, *Thomas Contarini, who was a Nobleman of fourscore and four Years of Age*, was substituted in his Place. This ancient Gentleman perform'd the Journey, and had a very favourable Audience of the Great *Turk*: But the *Divan* having inform'd him, that the Republick should not have a Peace, if she did not yield up *Malvasia* and *Napoli de Romania* to the *Turks*; and adding thereto, that he would do well to go back to *Venice*, and acquaint the Senate with the Emperor's Intention; that he might there receive the Orders, which he said he had not, for the Concession of those two Towns: He immediately left *Constantinople*, and return'd no more. The said Senate, designing to compliment *Sultan Soliman*, at his return from the *Persian* Expedition in the Year 1550, charg'd *Catherino Zenon* with that Commission; who was fourscore and four Years of Age as well as *Contarini*, and

and altho' he had ſeveral weighty Matters to negotiate, after the Compliment perform'd, yet he did not refuſe that laborious and tedious Journey, and ſucceeded in it to admiration. *Soliman*, who was a mighty generous Prince, receiv'd him very well; did him ſeveral Favours, and conſented on his account, that there ſhould be no farther mention made of the Death of *Subba Rays*, which the *Turks* were very eager to revenge.

We have a Relation, tho' imperfect, of the *Embaſſy* that *Garcia de Silva Figueroa* perform'd in *Perſia* about ſixty Years ſince. He was not ſo old as *Zenon* nor *Contarini*, but he had their Eyeſores and Imperfections, to wit, Gray-Hairs, no Teeth, and was ſubject to Tranſports, that ſhew'd the greateſt Weakneſs imaginable; notwithſtanding which, *Philip* III's Council engag'd the good Man in that tedious Voyage, wherein he was oblig'd to double the *Cape of Good Hope*; to paſs and make ſome ſtay at *Ormus*, in the worſt Climate of all *Aſia*; to penetrate into the remoteſt Provinces of *Perſia*; and to negotiate with *Schach Abas*, the cunningeſt and moſt dexterous Prince of his time. Accordingly he perform'd nothing, except it was to condemn, by the iſſue of his Negotiation, the Choice the firſt Miniſter of *Spain* had made of the *Negotiator*. There are Laws, that not only exempt thoſe of that Age from that ſort of Employ, but alſo forbid 'em meddling with publick Affairs. At the ſame time, if Age has its Infirmities that render it incapable, it muſt be own'd, that Youth has its Failings, that are inconſiſtent with thoſe Qualities which the Embaſſador ought of neceſſity to have. I dare venture to ſay, that it is the peculiar Happineſs of *Venice*, to afford Subjects who may ſafely be entruſted with an Embaſſy in their green Years, and in the Extremity of old Age. The Noblemen there are both born and die Politicians; tho' at the ſame time this is not ſo univerſally true, but that there are Examples which make it plain, that it is much ſafer to employ the one than the other. In the Year 1605, a *Venetian Embaſſador* of the Houſe of *Soranzo*, in his Return from *Madrid*, quarrell'd at *Barcelona* with a Tradeſman or Leather Guilder, who wounded him very dangerouſly. *De Freſne Canaye* ſays, that the Gentlemen of that Family have the Character of being haughty, and free of their Blows: and this being young, it is reaſonable to think, that he muſt have been very outragious with the Tradeſman, to bring upon himſelf, by a Tranſport of Youth, a Diſgrace which he carry'd the Marks of as long as he liv'd. We do not ſay but other Climates may alſo produce Men, who by applying themſelves to Politicks in their Youth, may ſucceed therein; nay there is not any Countrey, that does not afford early Wits, that ripen even in the Spring of their Age; but then theſe are not very common. For the moſt part they have in their Studies more than one Object in view, or if they have but one, it is too vaſt and too extenſive. One would think however, that it might be laid down as a general Maxim, that a vigorous old Age ought to be preferr'd to too green a Youth, and that the moſt proper Age for Embaſſy, is from forty to threeſcore. We muſt moreover add, that ſome Diſtinction may be made in the Affairs which the *Embaſſador* has to negotiate; ſome whereof may be manag'd by an indifferent Capacity, whereas others ſhall require the conſummate Experience of a perfect Politician. The Prince has no reaſon to be over ſcrupulous in the Choice of an Embaſſador, who has only a Compliment to make; who barely aſſiſts at a Ceremony, or that has Orders to negotiate an Affair, which he cannot fail of concluding, if he keeps but within the Bounds of his Inſtructions. On theſe Occaſions all Ages are proper, and I ſhould be very deſirous to have young Men employ'd therein, that they might, as in an Apprenticeſhip, qualify themſelves for better things; ſo far am I from excluding them. There is not any Place where a young Miniſter can be better employ'd than at *Venice*; becauſe there is no Court where the Conduct of an *Embaſſador* is ſo well obſerv'd, and where he can better learn how to act with the utmoſt Circumſpection. The ableſt Miniſter in the World, might make an Embaſſy thither his *Maſterpiece*, if he had Affairs of Importance to negotiate; as ſhe is a proper School for a Novice, that has a mind to form himſelf for the Management of Matters of greater moment. Every where elſe the *Embaſſador* viſits the Miniſters of State, and is viſited by them; his Secretaries and Gentlemen have Opportunities of ſeeing the Clerks of the Secretaries of State; and he himſelf may contract Acquaintance that may give him a great Inſight into things, if he have but Skill enough to behave himſelf as he ought, and to make his Advantage of the indifferent Anſwers and Replys, of the Mien, and even of Silence it ſelf, which oftentimes is very declaratory in familiar Converſations. There are ſome Courts where an *Embaſſador* is oblig'd to viſit the Ladies, who very often have a great Share in Intrigues. But the Secrets of the Republick of *Venice* are almoſt impenetrable. Publick Miniſters have no manner of Commerce there, with thoſe that have the direction of Affairs, and are privy to the Secrets of State. They never make mention of 'em, but in the *Senate*, or in the Aſſemblies that repreſent *it*; ſo that it is impoſſible to learn its Intention, but when it explains it ſelf in its Reſolutions. All the *Embaſſador* can do, is to judge by outward Appearances, and to get acquainted with the Clergy, or others, who not being themſelves in great Offices, have either Friends or Relations that are, of whom they may perhaps learn ſomething. And even this it ſelf is ſo hard a matter to compaſs, that it is an extraordinary Happineſs to be ſucceſsful in it. *Francis* of *Carmagnole*, the *Venetian* General, being ſuſpected to hold Intelligence with the *Turks*, the *Senate* reſolv'd to put him to Death. Above a hundred and fifty Perſons, and amongſt the reſt ſome of *Carmagnole*'s Relations and Friends, were privy to the Deliberations and Reſolutions taken thereupon: and yet for all that *Carmagnole* got no Knowledge of the matter during the eight Months he delay'd going to *Venice*. We may infer from the Treaſons of the *Cavazzas* and *Abondio*, (the Particulars whereof ſhall be related in the 28th Chapter) that there are venal Souls at *Venice* as well as elſewhere: And that altho' it be no eaſie Task to penetrate there into the Secrets of the State, yet nevertheleſs it is not a thing abſolutely impoſſible.

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The Crown of *Sweden* employ'd in *France*, and in ſome other Courts, the Counts *Tott*, *Oxenſtiern*, *Spar*, *Koningſmark*, and *Magnus de la Garde*, who were all very young. But, beſides that the laſt was aſſiſted by the *Sieur Straſburg*, Son-in-law to *Camerarius*, who help'd him with his Counſel; It may be ſaid with reference to him and all the reſt, that in *Sweden* Employments are given to young Noblemen, becauſe thoſe that are in Years, and have a fix'd Settlement, will not quit their Poſt, nor load themſelves with an Expence that would ſit heavy upon them. The Count *de la Garde* had no other Commiſſion, but that of a Compliment on the Peace the *French* had effected between the two *Northern* Crowns, by the Mediation of *la Tuillerie*, while the *Groſs* of Affairs were diſcuſs'd between the *Miniſters* of the Allies at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*.

The Conduct of the young Cardinal *Hippolitus de Medicis*, of whom I ſhall ſay ſomething in the 10th Chapter, was ſo raſh and inconſiderate, that notwithſtanding he was *Clement* VII's *Legate*, the Emperor *Charles* V, confin'd him. That of *Charles Caraffa*, Nephew and Legate of *Paul* IV, was not much more prudent, neither in *France* nor *Spain*. It is three and fifty Years ſince Cardinal *Francis Barbarin*, who is at preſent Dean of the College, was *Legate* in thoſe two Kingdoms; and notwithſtanding he was directed by the Counſel of *Pamphilio*, Auditor of the Legation, and who has ſince been Pope under the Name of *Innocent* X, yet he was guilty of ſome youthful Slips. The Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* have within ſome Years ſeen a Miniſter, who had no more Hair upon his Face than in the Palm of his Hand: and the *Hague* has had the Diverſion of an Embaſſador, who being but a School-boy diſguis'd, let every body perceive what he was in reality, by ſtriking into thoſe Vanities that turn'd his Brain, and degenerated into Extravagancies that have caus'd him to be ſhut up in a Madhouſe.

Whatever the Advantages of Birth may be, and what other natural Qualities ſoever come along with us into the World, it is Age muſt ſupply and rectify what is ſtill wanting and imperfect: and indeed Youth ought not to be employ'd but with the greateſt Circumſpection imaginable. Its Slips and Inadvertencies are inſeparable from it, till Experience has render'd it capable of the Management of Affairs. It is for this Reaſon that the Republick of *Venice*, which for the moſt part has no great Intereſt to manage in the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, is not afraid of employing young Gentlemen there, that they may learn, and become capable of negotiating at *Rome*, and principally at *Conſtantinople*; where they employ only ſuch Miniſters as have given Proofs of their Ability in ſeveral other Embaſſies; whereof we have Examples in the Hiſtories of *Venice*, which are full of them. *France*, *England*, and almoſt all the other Potentates of Chriſtendom, except the Emperor, who as King of *Hungary*, is a Neighbour, and reconcil'd Enemy of the *Turk*, have hardly any thing elſe to negotiate at the *Port*, excepting a bare Intereſt of Commerce: for which Reaſon they ſometimes there make uſe of Perſons, whom they could not employ in other Courts, without proſtituting their Intereſt, who notwithſtanding make a good Figure in that. There are Princes that are very reſerv'd in this Point, and who fill that Poſt with ſuch Subjects only, as can do them Honour; but it is not in thoſe Countreys, where ſometimes Favour, often Chance, and always Intereſt, but never the Choice and Judgment of the Maſter, diſpoſes of the Embaſſies. *France* has not always been happy herein; altho' ſhe has had great Men there, who would have done her Honour in a Chriſtian Court, as well as in the *Turkiſh*. The Marquis *du Guaſt*, Governor of *Milan*, who could diſcern Merit perfectly well, ſaid of *Anthony Paulin*, Baron *de la Garde*, who in *Francis* I's time, was often employ'd to *Conſtantinople*, and was there reliev'd by *M. de Langey*, Governor of *Piedmont*, that he was the wiſeſt *French* Gentleman he had ever ſeen.

M. de Ceſis was ſo great a Miniſter, that after two and twenty Years Embaſſy at *Conſtantinople*, where he had made himſelf admir'd, he was entruſted with the Education of the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother to *Lewis* XII. The Character of *Achilles de Harley*, Baron *de Sancy*, Succeſſor and Kinſman of *M. de Ceſis*, is mention'd in the Relations of *Pietro della Valle*, who ſpeaks of him theſe Terms: "He was "a Nobleman of *about thirty Years of Age*, that "is to ſay, very young, and who at that Age "had gone through his Courſes of Philoſo- "phy, Divinity, and Law, as being deſign'd "for the Gown: but as he took to the Sword, "he apply'd himſelf to the Mathematicks, "wherein he made that Proficiency which got "him a very great Reputation, as he really "was one of the greateſt Men of this Profeſ- "ſion. He had moreover a perfect Know- "ledge of Simples, and had penetrated into "the moſt private Receſſes of Chymiſtry. As "for Languages, beſides the *French* which was "natural to him, he knew the *Italian*, *Spaniſh* "and *German*, both the ancient and modern "*Greek* as well as the *Latin*; and in a little "time, with ſmall Labour, he learn'd the *He- "brew* ſo well at *Conſtantinople*, that he un- "derſtood the *Rabbies*, and ſpoke it tolerably. "All this in conjunction with what he knew "of the Hiſtory of all Ages, and of all Nati- "ons, as well as of the ſeparate Intereſts of "Princes, form'd a complete Miniſter, at an "Age when others only begin to enter into "the Knowledge of Affairs. I'll joyn to this *Embaſſador* him that has lately left *Venice*, where he has been for the ſpace of ſome Years on the part of *France*. He is mighty young, yet at the ſame time he is prudent in the higheſt Degree, and of a Capacity hardly to be attain'd to. It is no indifferent Perfection that will procure the Approbation of *Lewis* XIV. And it is moſt certain, that ordinary Qualities would never have acquir'd him the Eſteem of the wiſeſt Senate in the World, to that degree as he poſſeſs'd it. His Memoirs and Diſcourſes expreſs ſo great a Juſtneſs; he gives ſo admirable a Turn to his Thoughts; and he ſerves the King his Maſter with ſo punctual an Exactneſs, that the Succeſs is much beyond what could be expected from a Miniſter of ſixty Years of Age. This will be leſs wonder'd at, when it is known, that he is the Son of a perfect Maſter, and that all

all these fine Qualities are hereditary to him. This is what cannot be said of *Julius Mazarine*. He had learn'd nothing of his Father, and yet at twenty Years of Age he commenc'd Minister, and at seven and twenty he was able to give Instructions in Matter of Negotiations; so that it would be a difficult Point to fix the proper Age for an *Embassador*, which ought not so much to be regarded as his Merit. Certainly if the Court may be look'd upon as a rough tempestuous Sea, full of Rocks and Shelves, and cover'd with Pirates and Rovers; it must be own'd to be requisite, that the Minister who engages himself in the one, and the Pilot who imbarks on the other, ought both to have, not only an undaunted Courage, but a consummate Experience, which is to be acquired only by Age.

CHAP. IX.

Whether Clergymen are proper for Embassies.

THE Author of the *Idea of the perfect Embassador*, declares for the Affirmative, and backs his Opinion with several Examples taken out of the Bible, and from History, which he would be glad to include entirely in his Book. I shall not enquire into the Justness of the Examples; but I think I may say, he alledges very few that square with his Intention. The Priests that slew the Victims and Sacrifices, and march'd at the head of the Armies of the People of *Israel*, were not Embassadors, neither did they do the Functions thereof. Those religious Men whom Popes formerly sent to the Emperors were not so neither; because they were only Subjects who begg'd to have their Election confirm'd, or implor'd the Protection and Justice of their Sovereign. I also very much question what the same Author says, that there is no Law, either Human or Divine, that forbids the Clergy being employ'd in Embassies. It is true, that since the spiritual Power has been confounded with the temporal Jurisdiction in the Person of the Pope: since Cardinals are put upon the level with Kings, and Bishops are at the same time both Princes and Prelates; all the Clergy follow their Example, and imitate the Liberty they take, to meddle with all sorts of Affairs without distinction; but there are some among them who look upon it to be against God's Commands, and contrary to the Precepts of Christianity. God would not allow the *Levites* to have any Share with the other Tribes; that their Assiduity and constant Attendance on the Service of the Altar, might not be interrupted by the Care they would be oblig'd to take to till their Lands, and preserve their Estates. It is for this Reason he also says, he will be their Portion and their Inheritance. Our Lord *Jesus Christ* says, his Kingdom is not of this World; that those who will follow him, must renounce all things, and cast off all Solicitude for temporal Goods, that they may with less Incumbrance travel on in the Path they are to follow during the whole Course of their Lives. That he who has once set his Hand to the Plough must not look back; and that he who has once dedicated himself to the spiritual Ministry, is no more to intermeddle with the Affairs of the World. There is no serving of two Masters, nor dividing the Heart, which has been once given and entirely devoted to God.

At *Venice* the Clergy have no share in the Management of State Affairs, and it is to be admir'd that Princes should still employ *Prelates* to the Court of *Rome*; as well because they cannot prosecute a *Bishop*, who is sworn to, and depends on the Jurisdiction of the See of *Rome*, as because Prelates have more to hope for from the *Pope*, than from their *Master*. A noble *Venetian*, whose Brother, Unkle or Nephew is a Cardinal, is excluded from all Deliberations relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs The Cardinals *d'Amboise* and *du Prat*, who were very disinterested *Prelates*, had a very great Hand in the Government; the one under *Lewis* XII, and the other under *Francis* I, but they would never be present at the Debates in Council on the Affairs relating to the *Pope*. The Cardinal *de Lorain*'s Insolence was too excessive, to permit him to use the same Modesty, under *Francis* II, and *Charles* IX. And the Cardinals *de la Rochefoucault*, *Richelieu*, and *Mazarine*, who were prime Ministers under *Lewis* XIII, and at the beginning of the present King's Reign, and had the absolute Disposal of Affairs, would also order such as related to the Pope, according as they were well or ill affected towards him. Cardinal *Mazarine* was perfectly the Aversion of *Innocent* X, and *Alexander* VII, so that he could not be suspected to have too much Friendship or Complaisance for 'em: and yet he was extraordinary careful to keep in with the Court of *Rome*. *Richelieu* had a great Regard for *Urban* VIII, because he was no less affected to the Court of *France*.

The Republick of *Venice*, which is admirable in all its Conduct, and in all its Maxims, is particularly so, *in not suffering Ecclesiasticks to enter the Senate*. It considers that they who live in the State of Celibacy, not being sensible of that Tenderness marry'd Men have for their Children and Families, cannot have that natural Affection for a Countrey, which they cannot be succeeded in by their Posterity, as having none; and that those who take to the *Church*, become as it were Strangers, and Subjects to a foreign Power. It is on this account that the *Venetians* will not allow their Gentry to accept of Benefices from the Pope, or to receive any Dignity from him, without the Consent or Recommendation of the *Senate*. When *Mark Anthony Amulio* was *Embassador* at *Rome* from the *Republick*, Pope *Pius* IV, gave him a Bishoprick in the State of *Venice*. The *Senate* was so offended at it, that Orders were immediately dispatch'd to the *Embassador*, to take his leave of the Court of *Rome*, and come away

to give an account of his Actions. The Pope, who lov'd *Amulio*, perceiving he was become the Cauſe, tho' innocently, of his Friend's Diſgrace, writ to the Senate, that *Amulio* was ſo far from asking the Biſhoprick he had given him, that he did not ſo much as know his Intention therein, when he beſtow'd it on him. To this he joyn'd ſuch vehement and lively Proteſtations, that the Senate, to oblige the Pope, ſent freſh Orders to *Amulio* to continue at *Rome*. He had already left that City upon his firſt Orders; but the Expreſs meeting him on the way, oblig'd him to return thither again. Afterwards the *Senate* particularly charg'd him, to ſollicit with the utmoſt Zeal and Diligence, the obtaining of a Cardinal's Cap for *John Grimani*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*; to which *Amulio* apply'd himſelf with all the Warmth and Affection imaginable; and the rather, becauſe he hop'd by that Service to blot out the Memory of the Diſpleaſure the Senate had expreſs'd at the Pope's Proceeding. But ſome few Days before the great Promotion, which was made in *February* 1561, *Pius* acquainted him with the Reluctancy the *Inquiſition* ſhew'd to the Promotion of *Grimani*, on account of his Sentiments touching Predeſtination, which were reported not to be very conformable to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*. Whilſt the Conſiſtory, wherein the Promotion was to be made, was held, the Pope, who had ſent for *Amulio*, caus'd him to be ſhut up in one of the Chambers of Cardinal *Boromeus*'s Apartment, till he had declar'd him Cardinal with the reſt. *Amulio* would have excus'd himſelf, and alledg'd, that beſides that Dignities being far above his Merit, he could not accept of it without leave from the Republick. But the Pope having commanded him to accept it, under pain of Diſobedience, he thought himſelf no longer oblig'd to reſiſt the gentle Compulſion; and anſwer'd, that being the Subject of a Republick, which profeſſes the moſt profound Obedience to the Holy See, he thought it his Duty no longer to defer obeying the Pope. The *Senate*, which had been refus'd *Grimani*, and which had ſhew'd it ſelf ſo highly diſpleas'd at the firſt Promotion of *Amulio*, had the leſs Reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with this, as being perſuaded, that the Diſcontent expreſs'd for the one, had drawn upon them the other. For this Reaſon, when the *Senate* ſent one of its Secretaries to *Rome*, to thank the Pope for the Promotion of *Navager*, who had been honour'd with the Purple in the ſame Conſiſtory, not one Word was ſaid of *Amulio*; and his Relations were forbid making any Bonfires, or other publick Rejoycings, which are cuſtomary on the like Occaſions.

There is ſtill another powerful Reaſon, which ought to hinder Princes from employing Prelates or Clergymen of any Rank whatſoever on their Embaſſies. It may be ſaid, that whatever Faults an Embaſſador commits, are in a manner criminous, and that they are not in reality always free from Guilt; and yet, the Prince who has no Juriſdiction over Eccleſiaſticks, can neither puniſh nor chaſtiſe them, except only by Seizure of their temporal Eſtate. At the ſame time that *Henry* III, King of *France*, caus'd the Duke of *Guiſe* to be kill'd during the meeting of the States at *Blois*, and afterwards the Cardinal, Brother to the Duke; he alſo confin'd *Peter d'Eſpinac* Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, who was one of the Heads of the League. Some of the Duke's Domeſticks had been alſo ſeiz'd at the ſame time, and upon their Depoſitions, the Archbiſhop was to have been examin'd by two Members of the Great Council; but he refus'd to anſwer. The King ſent Cardinal *Gondy* Archbiſhop of *Paris* to him to oblige him to anſwer; but he ſaid he would anſwer before the Pope, or ſuch Commiſſioners as the Pope ſhould appoint. However, if Cardinal *Moroſini*, who was then Legate in *France*, and he the Cardinal *Gondy* were of Opinion, that he ought to anſwer before the Commiſſioners of the Great Council, he would do it; but that then they would be the Perſons that infring'd the *Rights of the Church*, and that muſt be accountable for it to the Pope, and not he. The King's Council aſſerted, that in Caſes of Treaſon, and eſpecially thoſe of the higheſt Nature, a Biſhop was oblig'd to anſwer before the King's Judges: and ſeveral Precedents, as well Domeſtick as Foreign, were brought to warrant the ſame, which had been taken out of the Archives and Records of Parliament. Upon this Foundation, *Nicholas Fumée*, Biſhop of *Beauvais*, and *Beaulieu Ruſé*, Secretary of State, were ſent to diſpoſe him to ſubmit to be examin'd. But the Archbiſhop told *Fumée*, that if he pretended to examine, as being himſelf a Prelate, he ought to conſider, that as a Biſhop he had no Superiority over him, who was an Archbiſhop, and his Primate; and that if he pretended to do it as a Peer of *France*, *he could not be ignorant, that the Juriſdiction of the Peers did not extend to his Perſon.* This was all the *King* could get from him, ſo that he was oblig'd to let him alone.

In like manner, when the ſame King ſent the Biſhop of *Mans* to *Rome*, to juſtify his Proceedings with reſpect to the Death of the Cardinal *de Guiſe*, the Pope told him, that he had nothing to ſay to him on account of the Duke's Death, who being the King's Subject, he had a Right, as his Sovereign, to execute Juſtice upon him, provided it were done in due form; but that he expected Satisfaction ſhould be made him for the Death of the Cardinal, who was his Subject, and not the King's; *becauſe all Cardinals are exempted from the Juriſdiction of Secular Princes, and become the Pope's Subjects; as well as Archbiſhops and Biſhops, who take a particular Oath to that purpoſe:* That the King ought to have put the Cardinal into the Legate's Hands, who would have ſent him to *Rome*, where he ſhould have been try'd upon the Informations the King ſhould have ſent thither. Pope *Urban* VIII, ſaid, that the Biſhop of *Lamego* was his Subject, and having proceeded againſt him as ſuch, caus'd him to be condemn'd.

The Cardinal *de Balue* had been convicted of having conſpir'd with the Duke of *Guyenne*, Brother to *Lewis* XI, and with the Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, againſt the publick Tranquillity, and againſt the King's Perſon. He confeſs'd his Crime, and was ſent to the *Baſtille*, where he remain'd eleven Years; during which time, the Pope was continually making preſſing Inſtances to have him put into his Hands, *becauſe he was not under the King's Juriſdiction.* The King himſelf did not pretend to have a *Juriſ-*

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diction over the Perſon of the Cardinal; but he was for having the Pope to appoint Judges to try him within the Kingdom, and refus'd to ſend him to *Rome*. This Diſpute was the cauſe of the Cardinal's long Detention, and yet the King never durſt deliver him up to the ſecular Juſtice, nor indeed to the ordinary Judges of the Church. The Cardinal was born the King's Subject, beſides which he was bound to him by a particular Oath, on account of the Temporalities of his Biſhoprick; but only the Pope can appoint Judges to try a Biſhop, and none but himſelf can preſide at the Tryal of a Cardinal. The Cardinal *de Retz* was taken into Cuſtody at the *Louvre*, and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle at *Vincennes* about the end of the Year 1652. But Cardinal *Mazarine*, who was afraid of his Genius, and who had caus'd him to be apprehended out of a Jealouſy of State, becauſe he look'd upon him as the only Man in the whole Kingdom, who was moſt likely to diſpoſſeſs him of the Poſt of firſt Miniſter, durſt not nevertheleſs adviſe the King to appoint Judges to try him, tho' Pretexts are never wanting to thoſe who are in Power. The Emperor *Ferdinand* I, caus'd *George Martinuzzi*, Cardinal of *Hungary*, to be put to Death. And in the Year 1618, *Ferdinand*, King of *Bohemia*, and afterwards *Emperor*, concerted with *Maximilian*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, the ſeizing of Cardinal *Cleſel*, and caus'd him to be convey'd into *Tirol*: but Juſtice had no Share in thoſe two Acts of Violence, no more than in the Impriſonment of Cardinal *de Retz*: and the Pope, juſtifying *Cleſel*, adjudg'd the Authors of the Injuſtice that had been done him, to reſtore to him all that had been taken from him, under Pain of Excommunication; tho' it was ſix Months after the Fact, and upon a hearing of the Cauſe. Cardinal *Doſſat*, who was a good *Frenchman*, faithful, and very zealous for the Service of the King, his Prince and Maſter, in his Letter to King *Henry* IV, of the 10th of *February* 1601, on the Subject of his Promotion, for which he was oblig'd to his Majeſty, ſaid, he could never have believ'd, that he would have procur'd him that Honour; *ſince being thereby become the Pope's Subject*, his Majeſty might have reaſon to queſtion his ſerving him for the future with the ſame Fidelity as he had done till then. A Conſideration that worthy Man, and wiſe Politician, offer'd to the King, his Sovereign and Benefactor, to make him ſenſible, that the Oath the Cardinals take to the Pope, withdraws them from the Subjection they owe to their natural Princes on account of their Birth.

About the beginning of the Year 1645, Cardinal *de Valençay*, who had obtain'd the Purple without the King's Permiſſion, nay even againſt his Intention; having left *Rome* without the Pope's Conſent, in order to return to *France*, to uſe his Endeavours to make the Peace of the *Barberins*, who at that time were much out of favour at Court; the Queen Regent, who had been acquainted with his Journey by Cardinal *Bichi*, ſent a Gentleman to meet, and tell him he muſt turn back, without coming any farther; and that if he had any private Buſineſs in *France*, he might give the Charge thereof to ſome of his Relations. The Cardinal, who ſuſpected ſome ſuch Orders might be ſent him, declin'd meeting the Gentleman, embark'd on the River *Loire* at *Roane*, and came into *Paris* about Midnight As ſoon as the Queen knew it ſhe commanded him to leave the Town the ſame Day, and to depart the Kingdom in three Weeks: But the Perſon who carry'd the Order, not finding him very well diſpos'd to obey the ſame, ſhe reſolv'd to confine him. However, before it went ſo far ſhe ſent for *M. Bagny*, the Pope's Nuncio, to whom ſhe ſaid, *ſhe was ſorry to find her ſelf reduc'd to a Neceſſity of proceeding with rigor againſt Cardinal* Valençay, *to ſupport the King's Authority; but that before ſhe came to that Extremity, ſhe was willing to give the Nuncio a Proof of the Reſpect the King had for the See of* Rome, *by communicating her Reſolution to the Pope's Miniſter: which ſhe conceiv'd ſhe had ſufficiently comply'd with, ſince after having communicated her Deſign to the Nuncio, nothing could hinder the King from cauſing himſelf to be obey'd in his own Dominions.* *Bagny* confeſs'd, that the Cardinal had juſtly drawn upon himſelf the King's Indignation by his Obſtinacy; but he deſir'd the *Queen* to ſuſpend the Execution till he had ſpoken with *Valençay*. Accordingly he ſpoke to him, and having diſpos'd him to obey, obtain'd ſome few Days delay for his Return. He would not have been ſo poſitively preſs'd to depart *Paris*, had he ſhewn a little more Complaiſance. He went to *Villeroy*, whither *Lionne*, and afterwards Cardinal *Mazarine* himſelf went to viſit him, and concerted with him a Project of Reconciliation for the *Barberins*. *He was a* French-man, *born the King's Subject, and came to confer about a Matter, which at firſt was not very agreeable*, by reaſon of the Behaviour of the two Brothers, *Francis* and *Anthony*; and yet the *Queen* durſt not proceed with rigor againſt him, without acquainting the Pope, tho' ſhe knew *that his Negotiation could not be acceptable to his Holineſs*. It is true the ſame Regard was afterwards had for the Cardinal *de Retz*: but beſides that at that time, the Pope himſelf was not much regarded there, it concern'd the Peace of the firſt Miniſter, on whoſe Welfare, both the King and Kingdom then ſeem'd to depend.

Some Years ſince Cardinal *Imperiale*, being oblig'd to leave *Rome*, to make ſome Satisfaction to the King of *France*, who thought him an Accomplice in the Inſolence of the *Corſican* Guards, and in the Neglect of Pope *Alexander* VII, and of the *Chigis* who had not puniſh'd the ſame; retir'd to *Genoa*, his native Country. The Senate apprehending leſt his Reſidence there ſhould create them ſome Troubles with *France*, endeavour'd to diſpoſe him to a voluntary Retreat; and made uſe of the Mediation of his Brother *Carlo Imperiale* to that purpoſe. But the latter, who was himſelf a Senator, inſtead of going about it, told the Perſon who brought him the Meſſage from the Republick, that it was not in the Power of the Senate, to oblige a Citizen of that Quality, who had committed no Crime, either againſt the State, *or againſt the Pope, his Sovereign*, to depart the City. That it was with his Holineſs's Conſent, and even by his Orders, that the Cardinal his Brother was come to *Genoa*; and that he could not retire elſewhere, without another expreſs Order to that Effect. That beſides, *he*

was a Clergyman, and as ſuch, no way ſubject to the Orders of the Republick, which could not lay any Commands upon him. That his Brother would not withdraw, and that if he were neceſſitated to yield to violence, the Senate would be one day accountable for it. The Senate of *Genoa* by expelling the Cardinal, offended the Pope; but by ſuffering him to ſtay in their Town, they offended *France*, whoſe nearneſs and power they dreaded; and they knew that *France* would not fail to comprehend them in the accommodation that ſhould be made with the Court of *Rome*. They were not oblig'd to ſuffer a Subject in their Town, who was ſo no longer, and who being become ſuch to a foreign Prince, and yet no publick Miniſter, could no longer hope to be protected there; ſo that there was nothing to induce them to diſoblige the King, who had it but too much in his power to reſent the Retreat they ſhould give to a Cardinal, whom he had compell'd to leave *Rome*; which render'd their apprehenſion much more lawful, than that of ſome Princes, who being afraid of their own Shadow, dare not give their own Miniſter that Protection, which they owe him by all the Laws of Honour and Juſtice. Whereupon there is one neceſſary Remark to be made againſt the poſition of thoſe, who out of their Ignorance, judge, that nothing can free a Subject from the Juriſdiction of the Sovereign of the Country where he was born.

This exemption and independence of the Cardinals, together with the Rank they pretend to, and which they take above the firſt Princes after crown'd Heads, are the Cauſe why ſome Countries do not willingly ſuffer them. The King of *Poland* generally gives his nomination to Strangers; and the Republick of *Venice* think it enough barely to recommend thoſe Subjects it would have veſted with that Dignity. Neither does it take much pains to gain the friendſhip of the Cardinals, or to make Partiſans in their College, which might make it regarded in the Election of Popes; tho' it is not leſs its Intereſt than that of the other Potentates of *Italy*, to keep a good underſtanding with the Court of *Rome*. It has a thouſand ways to compaſs the ſame; but the Senate is of opinion that there are already but too many factions among the Cardinals; and being apprehenſive leſt thoſe it ſhould foment at *Rome*, might communicate their Contagion to *Venice*, and ſo infect the Republick, it has not thought fit to be concern'd therein; thus one of its firſt and graveſt Senators delivers himſelf on that Head. For the ſame Reaſon, *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, would not ſuffer Pope *Alexander* the Sixth to make a promotion of ſeveral Cardinals, who were moſt of 'em the King's Subjects, born in *Catalonia*, in *Arragon*, or in *Valencia*; and would not conſent to it, till the Pope had promis'd him a Cap for the Biſhop of *Albi*, who had contributed moſt towards diſpoſing *Charles* VIII. to reſtore *Rouſſillon*. Nay, even thoſe Kings who affect and think it behoves them to have many Partiſans in the College, are not for having it fill'd with their own Subjects, without their participation. *Henry* IV took it very ill, that *Clement* VIII had given a Cap to the Biſhop of *Liſieux*, afterwards call'd the Cardinal *de Givry*, who was not in his favour: And the Court was not at all pleas'd with the promotion of the Cardinals *de Marquemont*, and *Valençay*, under *Urban* VIII, tho' at laſt it conſented to that of the firſt of them.

What I ſaid above concerning the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, plainly ſhews, that the Cardinals are not the only Perſons who enjoy this Exemption, but that it alſo extends to other Prelates, and particularly to Biſhops. In the Year 1607, the Cantons of *Uri* and *Lucern*, ſent to repreſent to *Charles Paſchal*, the French Embaſſador, that it was a ſurpriſing thing to ſee *the Biſhop of* Coire, *who could acknowledge no other Judge than the Pope*, ſubject to the Juriſdiction of a Tribunal the *Griſons* had erected extraordinary. The Judges of that Tribunal, to whom they had given the name of *Straſgerigt*, according to the cuſtom of all Incompetent Judges, did not ſcruple to proceed farther, and condemn'd the Biſhop to pay the ſumm of twelve hundred Crowns, as well for Damages, as Fines and Charges. They made void and annull'd whatever he had done at *Milan*, except only what related to the Rights of his Biſhoprick; and ordain'd, that his Perſon and temporal Eſtate ſhould be ſubject to the three Leagues, with a prohibition to him not to meddle with the affairs of the State. On which Conditions, they promis'd to forget what was paſs'd, and on the contrary, threatned to diſpoſſeſs and to appoint him a Succeſſor, if he did not abide by the Sentence. But all Men may plainly ſee, that this whole proceeding was violent, and unjuſt, as an uſual conſequence of thoſe diſorders, which are but too frequent in a State, where a predominant Faction oppreſſes the other; eſpecially when Religion is concern'd, as it then happen'd amongſt the *Griſons*, where that *Straſgerigt*, and whatever it had ordain'd, was ſoon aboliſh'd. A Roman Catholick King, let him be ever ſo abſolute and deſpotick, can never cauſe a Biſhop to be try'd by Regal Judges; that is to ſay, by the common Juſtice, but muſt deſire the Pope to appoint Judges to try him.

When the Queen Mother *Mary de Medicis*, withdrew from *Compiegne*, to go into the Low Countries, ſhe made uſe of a Coach, which one of the Noblemen of her Attendance had borrow'd of the Biſhop of *Leon* in *Britany*. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who did not love that Prelate, and who was very revengeful, in the year 1632, obtain'd a Brief, *by which the Pope appointed four Biſhops, to Try all thoſe Eccleſiaſticks, of what Quality ſoever they might be, who ſhould be found to have done any thing againſt the King's Perſon, or diſturb'd the quiet of the Kingdom.* Thoſe four Biſhops diſpoſſeſs'd the Biſhop of *Leon*, and ſequeſter'd his Biſhoprick. But after the Cardinal's death, the Biſhop having made his Complaint to the General Aſſembly of the Clergy, where he repreſented the Irregularity of the four Biſhop's proceedings, *the King's Council thought fit that he ſhould appeal to the Court of Rome*; becauſe the Aſſembly was of opinion, that the Sentence was not Canonical. The Biſhop did ſo, and had the Sentence revers'd; the King and his Judges had no hand in it; on the contrary, his Majeſty recommended his Subject's Caſe to a foreign Judge. *Sebaſtian de Matos*, Archbiſhop of *Bra-*

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ga, was chief of the Conſpirators, who had undertaken to kill *John* IV King of *Portugal*, at the beginning of his Reign. He was taken into Cuſtody; *never was any Treaſon of the firſt Claſs better prov'd.* His Accomplices the Marquis *de Villareal*, the Duke *de Caminha*, the Count *d'Armamar*, and ſome others were executed; but the Archbiſhop, the Inquiſitor General, and ſome other Clergy-men of a leſſer Rank remain'd Priſoners, becauſe there was no competent Judge to try them, without a particular Commiſſion from the Pope for that purpoſe. This was afterwards one of the Cauſes, or Pretexts Pope *Urban* VIII. made uſe of, not to admit the Biſhop of *Lamego* Miniſter from *Portugal*, becauſe the King detain'd in his Priſons ſeveral Prelates and Clergymen, whom he ought to put into the Pope's hands.

Never any Subject ow'd greater obligations to his Sovereign, than *Thomas Becket* did to *Henry* III. King of *England*; the King had rais'd him from nothing, to the higheſt Dignities in his Kingdom, making him Chancellor, and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Primate of all *England*. Yet it may be ſaid, that never was any Subject more obſtinately rebellious, nor Prelate more inſupportably proud. He delighted in oppoſing the foreign and unjuſt power of the Pope, to the lawful and ſovereign Authority of his King; ſo that his Inſolence being become very troubleſom, the King proſecuted him with ſo much warmth, that he compell'd him to paſs the Sea to ſeek his protection, whoſe unlawful Authority he had ſo often aſſerted againſt the King his lawful Sovereign. *Henry*, who inſtead of putting his Subject into the hands of Juſtice, endeavour'd to bring him to his Duty by fair means, follow'd him into *France* (where the Archbiſhop had confer'd with the Pope) and allow'd the King of *France* to mediate an Accommodation ſo far, as that to overcome the obſtinacy of that Man, he conſented that the Clergy of *France* ſhould take cognizance of the difference, and adjuſt it. But the Archbiſhop, who would admit of no other Judge nor Arbitrator than the Pope, whoſe Intereſt was the ground of the quarrel, refus'd to ſubmit to it, and gave the King ſo much trouble, that he was oblig'd to let him return to his Dioceſe. This Clergyman was no ſooner arriv'd in *England*, than he excommunicated the Archbiſhop of *York*, and refus'd to reconcile the other Prelates, who had ſided with the King. So that *Henry* being out of patience, and not able to put him into the hands of Juſtice, grew at laſt ſo melancholy, that he could not forbear ſignifying in his familiar Converſations, that it would be a thing very acceptable to him, if any body would rid him of ſo vexatious and inſufferable a Man. Whereupon ſome Gentlemen kill'd the Archbiſhop in his Church: But the Pope proceeded againſt them with ſo much Rigour, that the King for fear of being accounted an Accomplice, or Author of the Murther, diſown'd it, and clear'd himſelf by Oath.

But to the end it may not be imagin'd, that none but Cardinals and Prelates enjoy the privilege of this Exemption, I lay it down as a Poſition, that they hold it in common with all other Clergymen; ſo that herein I compriſe not only *the Commanders and Knights of the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, or of Malta*, but alſo all Prieſts and Religious Perſons, of what Quality or Order ſoever they are. There needs no other proof for what I have here ſaid, than the Conteſt the Republick of *Venice* had with Pope *Paul* V. in the firſt years of his Pontificate, and of that *Century*. The *Venetians* had no very good underſtanding with the See of *Rome*, by reaſon that what was tranſacting at *Venice* for the better preſerving the Temporal Juriſdiction, was altogether ungrateful to the Pope. The Council of Ten, which judges ſovereignly there of Criminal Matters, had caus'd a Canon, whoſe Name was *Vincent Scipio Saraſin*, to be taken into Cuſtody, as alſo Count *Brandolin Valdemarino*, Abbot of *Nerveze*, whom they were preparing to try for enormous and heinous Crimes. The Priſoners deſir'd to be refer'd to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge; and the Nuncio interpoſing, the Pope declar'd, he would not ſuffer the Council of Ten to take cognizance of the Crimes of the Clergy: And foraſmuch as they continu'd at *Venice* to proceed on the Tryal of the Priſoners, the Pope had recourſe to *Cenſures*, and afterwards to Excommunication, and to an Interdict. The difference was warmly debated on each ſide, and with ſo much obſtinacy, that had it not been for the good offices *Henry* IV caus'd to be done by the Cardinals *Joyeuſe* and *Perron*, and by *Bethune* and *du Freſne*, his Embaſſadors in ordinary at *Rome* and at *Venice*, it would have been a hard matter to have extinguiſh'd the fire the War was about to kindle in *Italy*. It was indeed prevented, but the Senate of *Venice* was oblig'd to deliver up to the Pope the two Priſoners, who were for that purpoſe brought to the Doge's Palace, and there put into the hands of a Doctor, and one of the Pope's Commiſſioners, before witneſſes, of which a verbal Proceſs was made, before the Cenſures were taken off. It cannot be deny'd, but that by ſuch a ſolemn Act, after a Conteſt maintain'd with obſtinacy for ſome years, the Republick renounc'd any Juriſdiction it could pretend to have over the Clergy.

Now to the end it may not be ſaid that it was on account of the Dignity of the Abbot, and of the Canon, that the Pope would take cognizance of their Caſe, I ſhall here add that of a plain Monk. About the latter end of the year 1647, there was an Almanack ſold about *Turin*, which, among other things, contain'd ſeveral diſmal Predictions for the enſuing year, wherein the Prince's own Perſon was not ſpar'd. The Almanack was the product of a Monk of the Order of St. *Bernard*, whoſe Name was *Don John Gandolfo*, and who had formerly been of the Order of the Reform'd *Auguſtin*'s. That crafty Monk, who knew more than the making of Almanacks, finding his Conſcience trouble him, made his eſcape, but was ſeiz'd at *Ceva*, where he had hid himſelf in a Monaſtery, waiting for an opportunity to retire to *Savona*, which is in the Territory of *Genoa*. As ſoon as he was in Cuſtody, he writ to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, that he had things of very great moment to diſcover to her, wherein her own Life, and that of the Duke her Son were concern'd. The Monk being carry'd to *Turin*, preparations were ma-

king for his Tryal, *in the preſence of a Delegate from the Nuncio.* He Impeach'd two of his Accomplices, one whereof dy'd in Priſon, and the other was executed. But the Nuncio not being willing that the Secular Judge ſhould draw up his Indictment, had revok'd the power of his Commiſſioner, and the Pope making a difficulty to appoint another, *all proceedings againſt the Priſoner were ſuperſeded*, till the Nuncio had deſir'd the Biſhop of *Maurienne* to examine him, the Pope having conſented thereto. The Monk confeſs'd the Crime, and yet the Court of *Turin* thought fit to ſend the ſame Biſhop to *Rome*, *to deſire the Pope to appoint another Commiſſioner* to aſſiſt at the Tryal of the Criminal: But the Pope would not conſent, unleſs on ſuch Conditions as the Council of *Turin* could not accept of. However the Secular Judge proceeded to condemn the Criminal, as well on account of the nature of the Crime, which was of the utmoſt Conſequence, as of the eminent Perſons the Criminal would bring into it. It was neceſſary to put to death the Author of ſo dangerous a Conſpiracy; but as that could not be done according to the uſual forms, by reaſon of the Incompetency of the Judge, he was executed in the Priſon An infinite number of Inſtances of this ſort might be produc'd.

In *France* they have not the ſame regard for plain Prieſts and Religious Men in Caſes of high Treaſon. I take notice in another place, of Frier *Hilary*, a Capucin, who having left the Convent, in order to become a Secular Prieſt, conſpir'd againſt the Life of the Queen-Mother, and was broken on the Wheel at *Paris*. The Biſhop of *Mans*, and the Marquis *de Piſani*, talking to Pope *Sixtus* V. concerning the death of the Cardinal *de Guiſe*, gave him to underſtand, that in *France* the King can cauſe even Prelates to be try'd in Caſes of high Treaſon, but the Pope did not agree to it, tho' the Miniſters of *France* meant the Crime of high Treaſon in the firſt degree.

Theſe Examples do not properly belong to my Subject, and I have already ſaid much, but I think I could not ſay too much, to ſupport a Truth which I ſhall eſtabliſh in Chap. XI. concerning the Exemption of publick Miniſters. Let us now ſee whether the *Clergy*, who ought not to ſuffer themſelves to be employ'd on Embaſſies, are proper for them. It muſt be own'd, there are ſome Prelates who have very worthily diſcharg'd that Office, and are very capable of it: But theſe being two diſtinct Profeſſions, and this Employment not being natural to Eccleſiaſticks, it is but by mere chance that any of them make able Miniſters. Formerly almoſt all Embaſſies were beſtow'd on Men of the Gown; or at leaſt there were ſcarce any without a Prelate as chief, or ſome Monk as an aſſociate. It was generally thought that all Learning and Wiſdom was either confin'd within the Cloiſters, or elſe in the poſſeſſion of the Clergy; and even at this time moſt Princes make no difficulty to employ them in their Embaſſies and Intrigues, but not without diſtinction. All the Pope's Miniſters are Prelates, moſt of the *Legates* are Cardinals, and the *Nuncios* and *Internuncio*'s are Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, or Officers of the Court, or of the Pope's Houſhould. Princes themſelves ſometimes employ Cardinals in their Embaſſies. It is not very long ſince the Cardinal Landgrave of *Heſſe*, was Embaſſador from the Emperor at *Rome*. The Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, was ſo on the part of *Henry* IV, at *Rome* and *Venice*, upon the difference that was between Pope *Paul* V. and the Republick, in the Years 1606, and 1607. Cardinal *Bichi* in the Year 1643, had the ſame Function in *Italy*, on account of the War the ſaid Republick and ſome Princes of *Italy* made upon the *Barberins*. The Cardinal of *Lyons* had been nominated for the Aſſembly that was to be held at *Cologn*, and Cardinal *Mazarin* had been alſo nominated for that at *Munſter*. Cardinal *d'Eſtrée*, who is a very worthy and illuſtrious Prelate, ſtill negotiates for the King in *Italy* and *Germany*. Since they may be Vice-Roys and Governors of Provinces, as they have been in ſeveral Kingdoms of *Spain*; at *Naples*, in *Sicily*, at *Milan*, and in *Flanders*: Since they have preſided at the Diets in *Germany*, and at Councils in *Spain*, and that they are admitted to be prime Miniſters; of which we have ſuch great and ſucceſsful Inſtances in *France*, it is reaſonable to believe they have alſo the neceſſary qualifications for Embaſſies. If they have been unfortunate in thoſe eminent Poſts in *Spain*, *Germany*, *England*, *Hungary*, *Tranſilvania*, and other Parts, where the Cardinals *d'Eſpinoſa*, *Cleſel*, *Wolſey*, *Martinuzzi*, *Ballory*, &c. have either periſh'd, or been diſgrac'd, it has happen'd rather thro' their Princes faults, than thro' their own.

I cannot make mention of Archbiſhops and Biſhops, without refreſhing my memory with *M. de Marquemont*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, and ſince Cardinal. The chief Miniſter judg'd the King was well ſerv'd, becauſe this Prelate was very well with the Pope, and was for having him continu'd on at *Rome*. But *Marquemont* writ him word, *That it was not the Buſineſs of an Archbiſhop of Lions to ſpend his whole Life in a Court; and that what preſs'd him moſt to entreat his being recall'd, was the reproach his Conſcience daily made him, and the grief he had to ſee himſelf depriv'd of the Conſolations he ſhould receive from a due diſcharge of his Archiepiſcopal Functions.* *Doſſat* was no ſooner conſecrated Biſhop of *Rennes*, than he writ to *Villeroy*, that the Duty of his *new Character would oblige him to Reſidence*; and that at *Rome* an Edict was every Year publiſh'd, by which the Biſhops, and others, who have the Cure of Souls, were order'd to go and reſide at their reſpective Churches. Notwithſtanding which, moſt Princes have formerly employ'd both the one and the other in their moſt momentous Negotiations, and there are ſome, that ſtill do it at this time. Here we may obſerve, that formerly when all *Embaſſies* were *Extraordinary*, a *Prelate* might abſent himſelf from his Cure, during the little time that he employ'd in the Service of his King and Countrey, and might do the ſame without ſcandal. But I cannot conceive how they, and all the reſt, who have a charge of Souls, and who are oblig'd to Reſidence by the Divine Laws, can be allow'd any Diſpenſation to quit their Flocks, and be employ'd in *Embaſſies in Ordinary*, which take in ſeveral Years one after the other. There have been ſome of them, who have no ſooner perform'd

perform'd one *Embaſſie in Ordinary*, than they have enter'd upon another, and after that have been employ'd in a third. If they will live by the Altar, they ought to ſerve it, and if they do not feed the Flock that has been committed to their Conduct, they thereby become *Apoſtates*, and are oblig'd to account for it to the Almighty, unleſs they are employ'd for the ſervice of the Church in general, or that of their own in particular: or are deputed to a Council, a Synod, or an Aſſembly of the Clergy. They cannot anſwer the abandoning their Flocks, to beſtow themſelves on a Court, and to ſhare in the Vices that reign there, and are inſeparable therefrom. It may happen, that ſome occaſions may offer, wherein the good of the State (if not an abſolute neceſſity) may require the ſervice of a Prelate, either on account of his extraordinary Ability, or elſe by reaſon of the Acquaintance and Intereſt he has in the Court of the Prince to whom he may be ſent; and then it is not unwarrantable to make uſe of their ſervice in an *Embaſſie Extraordinary:* But it ſeems as if that in *Ordinary* were inconſiſtent with their Dignity, and with their *Eccleſiaſtical Functions*. It cannot be deny'd but that they who act otherwiſe, have more *Ambition* than *Piety*; and that it is altogether impoſſible, or at leaſt very difficult, to be at the ſame time an able and dextrous Miniſter, and a good and pious Biſhop. I do not here ſpeak of thoſe, who inſtead of being Miniſters of Peace, become the Inſtruments and Heralds of War. As that *Caraffa*, whoſe Legation was ſo pernicious to *France* under *Henry* II, who, at the requeſt of that Prelate broke the Truce, which he had juſt concluded at *Vaucelles*; but of thoſe, who intermeddle with Intrigues, that would be innocent, if they were but in the hands of skilful Perſons. One may ſay of the Biſhop of *Beziers*, at preſent Cardinal *de Bonzy*, that were it not for his quality of Prelate, and his Epiſcopal Dignity, the Character of *Embaſſador* could not be given to a more worthy Miniſter.

But after all, I cannot conceive how a Biſhop, who is able to make himſelf reſpected at the Court of a Chriſtian Potentate, can ſubmit to be employ'd in that of *Conſtantinople*, and that to an Infidel, who ought to be his abomination. *Francis* of *Noailles*, Biſhop of *Acs*, who was *Embaſſador* on the part of *Charles* IX. to *Selim* II, and *John* of *Monluc*, who was Protonotary when he was ſent thither, and was ſince promoted to the Archbiſhoprick of *Vienne* in *Dauſine*, have not been the only Eccleſiaſticks employ'd as *Embaſſadors* at the Port; ſince the Kings of *Hungary* have frequently ſent ſuch thither; and that *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* diſpatch'd thither the Biſhop of *Agria*, in the Year 1556. It may be objected perchance, that a Prelate may, without ſcruple, negotiate with a Prince, whoſe friendſhip the Pope himſelf Courts. But then I cannot tell whether that Reaſon will be ſatisfactory to thoſe, who do not approve of that correſpondence of the Pope; and who find ſomething ſo deteſtable in it, that it cannot be juſtify'd by the diſtinction that is made between the Temporal Prince, and the Head of the Church. The Great Turk himſelf has ſometimes employ'd Biſhops in his Embaſſies. In the Year 1565, *Soliman* ſent the Biſhop of *Harmſtadt* into *Tranſilvania*, to the Emperor *Maximilian* II, to exhort him not to make War againſt *John*, who being the Son of *John Zapoli*, took upon him the quality of King of *Hungary*, and Prince of *Tranſilvania*. There are ſeveral Examples of this kind in Hiſtory, and particularly in the *Byzantine*. But then theſe Biſhops, who are in effect Slaves, and who are under a neceſſity of obeying the Commands that are laid upon them, how tyrannical ſoever they may be, are by ſo much the more excuſable, as they are perſuaded that in thoſe Employments they labour for the good of Chriſtendom. However it muſt be own'd that the Pope does not perform a very Religious Act, in entertaining a Correſpondence with the Great Turk, to oblige him to make War againſt the Chriſtians, unleſs there be the utmoſt neceſſity to countenance ſuch procedure. Hiſtory bluſhes, when ſhe makes mention of the Embaſſie *Alexander* VI ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to impetrate Succour againſt *Charles* VIII, King of *France*. He gave this Commiſſion to *George Bouchard* of *Genoa*. *Bajazeth* ſent back with him the *Chiaoux Daut*, who had the charge of a good ſum of Money with him, and Orders to promiſe the augmentation of it to that of two hundred thouſand Crowns, if the Pope caus'd *Gemek* to be poiſon'd, who was Brother to *Bajazeth*, and was guarded at *Rome*, from the time that *Lewis* XI. King of *France* had ſent him to *Alexander*. Theſe two Miniſters of the Pope and the Turk, as they paſs'd from *Greece* into *Italy*, were taken at Sea by *John de la Rouere*, Brother to Cardinal of *St. Peter*, a declar'd Enemy of the Pope, and being plunder'd, were ſet on ſhore. The *Chiaoux* who had loſt his Money, and had not wherewith to defray his Charges home, nor for his preſent ſubſiſtence, bethought himſelf of ſeeking relief from the Marquis of *Mantua*, who liv'd in a good underſtanding with *Bajazeth*. The Marquis receiv'd him courteouſly, treated him handſomly, and ſent him back to his Maſter, who in his turn, made the Marquis ſenſible, that a well-plac'd Friendſhip can never be ſufficiently requited nor valu'd; For he being fallen into the hands of the *Venetians*, who hated him mortally, he had never got out of them had it not been for the powerful interceſſion of the Great *Turk*.

The other *Prelates*, and *Clergymen*, *who have not the Cure of Souls*, and who by conſequence are not oblig'd to Reſidence, nor by their vow to a recluſe Life, are at liberty to enter upon all kinds of Employments. For altho' there be not any Order, that by its firſt Inſtitution, does not oblige its Abbot to apply himſelf to any thing, rather than to the buſineſs of Negotiations; yet nevertheleſs, as theſe Primitive Rules have not been obſerv'd, and that moſt Courts are ſo peſter'd with this ſort of Prelates, that they are no longer diſtinguiſh'd from other Courtiers, I do not ſee why they may not be employ'd in Embaſſies. For ſince they are judg'd capable of all other Civil Offices and Functions, in the Council and every where elſe, they cannot be excluded thoſe more eminent Employments, if they have the neceſſary Qualifications to ſucceed in them.

As for the *Religious*, we muſt examine, firſt, Whether their Profeſſion ought not to exclude

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'em from the Management of all publick Affairs. Secondly, Whether they are fit for them. And in the third place, Whether they ought to be conſider'd as publick Miniſters, and enjoy the Protection of the the *Law of Nations*. I might here make a Diſtinction betwixt thoſe Monks who live upon the Funds and Revenues of their Convents, and the Mendicants, who ought not to have any other Income than that of their Wallet; did not their primitive Inſtitution exclude both the one and the other from Embaſſies and Negotiations. All the Religious, when they enter the Convent, bid adieu to the World, and make a Vow to renounce whatever can give them any attach to it; in like manner as the primitive Monks did, who in order to avoid the Cruelty of Perſecutions, or for ſome other Reaſon, retir'd into Deſerts, that they might ſhun all Commerce with Men. They cannot be employ'd in Embaſſies, but they muſt ſhake off the Obedience they owe to their Superiors, diſpenſe with their Vow of Poverty, and expoſe to the moſt violent Temptations, that Chaſtity, which makes 'em look upon Mariage it ſelf as a State of Impurity and Pollution. I don't think I need here repeat what the Abbot of *Urſperg* ſays of the Mendicant Monks, nor what *M. Camus*, Biſhop of *Bellay* (whoſe Zeal and Candor came near the Piety of the Biſhops of the primitive Church) has writ and publiſh'd in ſeveral Volumes on that Subject; but I content my ſelf to lay down this Poſition, that Monks do not only ſin againſt the Rules of their Order, when they meddle with worldly Affairs, which renders them incapable of the Character, but alſo that they are not at all fit for Negotiation. When I ſay of Negotiation, I uſe the Word in its natural Signification, for the Management of publick Affairs, founded on a perfect Knowledge thereof, and on a Prudence altogether remote from thoſe Artifices that degenerate often into a crafty Deceit and Treachery: of which there are but too many Examples.

The Catholick Kings *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, employ'd Religious almoſt in all their Affairs. Their Devotion was very intereſted, and ſavour'd ſtrongly of Bigottry. The better to ſet off their falſe Piety, they had none but Monks for their Attendants, and employ'd no other in the Intrigues they had in all the Courts of the neighbouring Princes. Frier *John de Mauleon* negotiated conſtantly with *Charles* VIII, and obtain'd of him at laſt the Reſtitution of the County of *Rouſſillon*. Some *Religious* of *Montſerrat* were employ'd there after the Revolution of the Affairs of *Naples*; and it was *John* of *Enguera*, a Monk of the Order of St. *Bernard*, and Inquiſitor of *Catalonia*, who made the firſt Propoſals of the Marriage of *Germain de Foix*, Niece of *Lewis* XII, with *Ferdinand*; and he did not leave the Court of *France*, till he had concluded the Marriage of that Princeſs, and a League with the King. Prelates were the Ornament of all his Embaſſies, and the Religious were that of all his Negotiations, and particularly when he had a mind to trick and deceive: which was no very extraordinary thing with him. I ſhould ſay no more, had not a certain Remarker of *Bruſſels*, Author of *The curious Treatiſe, concerning the carrying off Prince* G. *of* Furſtemberg, (being very much ſcandaliz'd at what I have ſaid elſewhere of the Infidelity of *Ferdinand* the Catholick) undertaken to vindicate his Memory; ſo that I cannot avoid adding here, that there is not any Hiſtory of that Time, that does not ſpeak of him, as of the moſt perfidious of all Princes. That of *Spain*, inſtead of juſtifying him, excuſes him, on the Neceſſity he found himſelf reduc'd to, (by the Infidelity of thoſe with whom he had to do) of preventing by his Treacheries, thoſe that were intended to himſelf. *Hier. Zurita*, who ſeems to have compos'd his Hiſtory, that is to ſay the two laſt Tomes of his Works, to no other end but to make it ſerve for a Panegyrick to *Ferdinand*, cannot forbear ſpeaking in theſe Terms. *Not only Foreigners but thoſe of the Countrey, have blam'd him very much for not keeping his Word nor Promiſes, and for always preferring the Conſideration of his own particular Intereſt, to what was juſt and honeſt; ſince the true Foundation of Juſtice conſiſts in the Conſtancy and Firmneſs of Words, and principally in that of Deeds. He that violates the good Faith, deſtroys all the univerſal Good of Men.* *Zurita*, to excuſe him, does not deny it to be true; but ſays, that it is not juſt to charge a ſingle Prince with a Fault, which all the Princes were guilty of. It is not my Intention to juſtify the other Princes. There is nothing that obliges me to it: but it is a matter to be wonder'd at that the Hiſtories of thoſe Times, do not ſpeak of theſe as they do of him, nor brand 'em with the ſame Infamy. *Ferdinand* could not brooke the Treachery of *Henry* VIII, King of *England*, his Son-in-law, yet nevertheleſs he deceiv'd him twice very villanouſly. But that I may not ingage my ſelf in too long a Digreſſion, I'll here draw his Picture with one Stroke of the Penſil, by relating the Story a *Spaniſh* Author tells of him, who has commented on the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*. He ſays, that *Ferdinand* had ſent his Secretary *Peter Quintana* to *Lewis* XII, King of *France*, to make ſome Overtures to him of an Alliance; but *Lewis* told him, that *Ferdinand*, who had deceiv'd him twice, ſhould not deceive him the third time, and ſo ſent him home. *Quintana*, when he gave an account of the ill Succeſs of his Negotiation, had ſome difficulty to tell the true Cauſe of *Lewis*'s Refuſal, and to take notice of the Reproach which had been made him of *Ferdinand*'s Infidelity: But finding himſelf preſs'd thereto by the King, he ſaid at laſt, that *Lewis* had declar'd to him, that *Ferdinand* having deceiv'd him twice, he was far from any Inclination to treat with him again, leſt he ſhould furniſh him with an Opportunity of doing it a third time. *Ferdinand* having paus'd a while on *Quintana*'s Report, ask'd him: how many times does *Lewis* ſay I have deceiv'd him? twice? *by God the Drunkard lies; for I have deceiv'd him above ten times.* The Author, who ſpeaks of it as of a pretty Repartee, adds; *by my Faith I believe* Ferdinand *ſpoke the truth.* I cannot tell whether after this I can be liable to ſtand a Tryal, for having maintain'd that true Piety and Sincerity were not the greateſt Virtues of the Catholick King.

Beſides that Monks are no longer look'd upon to make a part of the Civil Society, and that

that they are in a Republick, but only what the Waſps are in a Bee-hive, *Ignavum pecus*: Thoſe mean Souls, who can ſtoop ſo low as to ſhut themſelves up in a Convent, and wallow in Idleneſs, and in the Ordure and Filth of a *voluntary Mendicity*, cannot have that Elevation of Soul, that makes one of the moſt neceſſary and even conſtituent Parts of an Embaſſador. Their Prudence is made up only of Artifices and little Wiles, that do not find Admittance in the Dealings of honeſt People: Inſtead of that *noble Aſſurance* which ſo well becomes a publick Miniſter, they have a *Cynical Impudence*, which is proper in the utmoſt Degree to thoſe of their Profeſſion. They are moſt commonly vain, indiſcreet, imprudent and temerarious; and as ſuch, more capable of marring Affairs than concluding them. I am willing to believe that the *Capucins*, who are the moſt mortify'd of all the Religious, would not be guilty of a cheating Trick, nor of an Infidelity: and I am as willing to enhance all that is ſaid of the Ability of thoſe, who have been ſeen to run up and down *Italy*, *France* and *Germany* during the Wars which had their beginning in *Bohemia* and *Mantua*: But how is it poſſible not to have a very bad Opinion of a *Capucin*, who leaves his Convent to put himſelf at the Head of an Army of Rebels, as did Father *Ange de Joyeuſe*? or to take upon himſelf all kinds of Affairs, politick and military, as did Father *Joſeph*? or elſe to make ſuch Overtures, as a Miniſter and a Man of Honour would not nor could not do? as did that *Capucin* who went to the Prince of *Orange* at the Siege of *Hulſt*, of which I ſhall ſpeak by and by: or elſe again, to carry on other more dangerous Intrigues, as they did, who by their bloody Counſels have kindled and fomented a War in ſeveral Parts of *Europe*. It is not neceſſary to name 'em, for fear of ſcandalizing an Order that does not approve of the Irregularities of ſome particular Perſons, who like *Apoſtates*, would not ſubmit to its Diſcipline.

The *Capucin* whom I lately mention'd, was of one of the beſt Houſes in the Low Countries; and having formerly been a Trooper, he thought he might be able to do the King of *Spain* Service in his own Profeſſion. Having therefore diſguis'd himſelf, and receiv'd *Letters of Credence*, he went towards the end of the Year 1645 to the Prince of *Orange*'s Camp, who had beſieg'd *Hulſt*. He told him, he had Orders to offer to the United Provinces, either a Peace or a Truce, at the Choice of the Prince, and on ſuch Condition as the States themſelves ſhould think fit to expreſs in Writing. The Prince made anſwer, that the Matter being of the laſt Importance, he muſt take ſome time to think thereof, after which he would ſend him his anſwer. As ſoon as the Monk was gone out, the Prince communicated his Negotiation to *Deſtrades*, who was in the King of *France*'s Intereſt; and the next Day he caus'd him to be ſhut up in a Cloſet, from whence he might hear the whole Converſation the Prince ſhould have with the Monk. He was made to repeat all he had ſaid the Day before, concerning the Reſtitution of the Lands that belong to the Houſe of *Orange* in the *Franche Comty*, which the King of *Spain* was to let the Prince enjoy in full Sovereignty, and to augment the Revenues thereof to the Value of two hundred thouſand Livres; to reimburſe him what he had not enjoy'd therefrom during the War. He likewiſe offer'd an abſolute Sovereignty to the United Provinces, with the Arbitration of the Differences between the two Crowns; and concluded his Diſcourſe, by repreſenting the great Reaſon there was to apprehend the too near Neighbourhood of *France*. After the *Capucin* had finiſh'd his Speech, the Prince told him, *he was very much ſcandaliz'd to ſee in that Apparel, a Man who had renounc'd the World; and who having oblig'd himſelf by Vow to the Service of God, ought not to meddle with Affairs of that nature*: That he had nothing more to ſay to him, but that it would not become himſelf to hearken to Propoſals of Peace, while he was wholly taken up with the Siege of one of the ſtrongeſt Places in *Flanders*. This being done, the Prince caus'd *Deſtrades* to come in, to whom he gave a Copy of the Letters the Monk had brought him; and when he deliver'd to the Monk the Originals, he commanded him to depart from the Camp in ſix Hours time, and never return more. This Commiſſion was very ſuitable to a Monk, who might be diſown'd, and with impunity charg'd with the Infamy and ill Succeſs of the Negotiation. There is an admirable Portraiture of a *Monk-Negotiator* in the Letter Cardinal *Doſſat* writes to *Villeroy* on the 22d of *February* 1601, on the account of Frier *Hilary* of *Grenoble*, a *Capucin*. The Monk had found out means to procure himſelf *Letters of Credence* from King *Henry* IV, to the Pope: But nothing was wanting on his part, to create to the King ſuch Affairs as were capable of caſting the Kingdom afreſh into thoſe Diſorders and Troubles, which had requir'd ſo much pains to ſettle and compoſe them. All that can be ſaid of the Vanity, Temerity, Imprudence; of the Pride, Tranſports, and Impudence of the Monks, are found together in this *Capucin* in ſo high a Degree, that it might be ſufficient alone to verify what I have ſaid of all the other Monks. This I am now ſpeaking of, whoſe Name was *Travail*, ſome time after threw aſide the Frock to become a ſecular Prieſt, and offer'd to *M. de Luines* to contrive the Death of Marſhal *d'Ancre*. He inſinuated himſelf ſo far in this Intrigue, that it was found neceſſary to communicate to him the Deſign that was taken, to get rid of the ſaid Marſhal: but the Execution thereof having been perform'd without his having any Hand therein; and he being afraid, or at leaſt willing to have it believ'd, that the Queen Mother would revenge on him the Death of the Marſhal; he undertook to compaſs the Queen's Death, either by Stabbing or Poyſon: of which Crime being convicted, he was broken on the Wheel alive at *Paris* the 10th of *May* 1616. At the Place of Execution, he ſaid, he would willingly have ſacrific'd the Life of his Father or Mother to the Good of the State.

This is what both they and the other Clergymen (I except the Prelates) are very ſubject to. In the Year 1639, during the Conteſts between the *Hollanders* and the *Spaniards*, on account of Paſſports for the Miniſters, who were to be employ'd in the Negotiations for a Peace;

the Court of *Bruſſels*, ſent the Model of a Paſſport to the *Hague*, *by the Rector of a Village, within the Juriſdiction of the Mayor of* Boiſleduc. Order requir'd it ſhould have been ſent to the *Venetian Embaſſador*, whoſe Mediation had been agreed on, that he might convey it to the States. But for as much as the *Spaniards* would then have been oblig'd to warrant their Writing, after they had put it into the Hands of a publick Miniſter; and that they, on the contrary, had a mind to reſerve to themſelves the Liberty of altering it, if not intirely to diſown it, (if their Occaſions ſo requir'd) they charg'd a Prieſt therewith.

Philip II, King of *Spain*, having form'd a Deſign to joyn the Crown of *Portugal* to the Monarchy of *Caſtile*, after the Deceaſe of King *Sebaſtian*, had ſent *Chriſtopher de Mora*, his Embaſſador Extraordinary to *Henry*, Succeſſor and Unkle to *Sebaſtian*. But that he might make himſelf certainly ſure of the Succeſſion, it behov'd him to hinder *Henry*, who was already old, and a Prieſt, from marrying: and not daring to open the Matter to him by a Perſon of Quality, he ſent a *Jacobin* Monk on the Errand, whoſe Name was *Ferdinand Caſtille*. This *Frock'd Negotiator* repreſented to *Henry*, that he would give a great Advantage to Hereticks, and a great Scandal to all good Catholicks if he reſolv'd to marry. *Henry* was devout even to Superſtition; for which Reaſon *Philip* thought he might ſafely employ a Religious to hold a Diſcourſe with him, which a Cavalier and a Man of Worth, would not ſo much as have ſpoken to him about; but *Henry*, who gave him a very bad Reception, ſpoke to him but once, and ſent him back without an Anſwer.

They are Impudent beyond Imagination. *Harold* having uſurp'd the Crown of *England* after the Death of *Edward*, the laſt King of the *Saxon* Line, *William* Duke of *Normandy* who pretended to it, in the Year 1066, paſs'd over the Sea with a powerful Army; and being encamp'd near *Haſtings*, within a little of *Harold*'s Camp, he ſent him word by a *Monk*, to reſign the Kingdom to him, according to his Oath to him to that purpoſe, ſome Years before; or at leaſt that he would do him Homage for the Kingdom, which he offer'd to let him have on that Condition: but if he refus'd to comply with either of theſe Propoſals, their Difference might be decided by a ſingle Combate in the ſight of both Armies. *Harold* made anſwer, that God alone could determine the Matter. But the Monk reply'd audaciouſly, that if *Harold* pretended to conteſt *William*'s Right, he ought to have Recourſe to the Pope's Deciſion, *or elſe to the Chance of Arms*. It is true, the Hiſtory of thoſe Times blames *Harold*, for not treating *William*'s Embaſſadors as their Character requir'd; but that does not juſtify the Monk, who ought not to have charg'd himſelf with any ſuch Commiſſion, nor to have carry'd a Meſſage of Defiance and Combate.

In the Year 1292, after that *Peter*, King of *Arragon*, to whom the Hiſtories of the Countrey give the Surname of *Great*, had conquer'd the Kingdom of *Sicily*; *Charles*, Duke of *Anjou*, who had the Reputation of being the moſt valiant Prince in his time, ſent him word by a *Jacobin Monk*, of the Order of St. *Dominick*, whoſe Name was *Simon de Lentin*; that *Peter* had not enter'd *Sicily* at the Door, but like a Thief, had obtain'd it by ill Means; ſince he, *Charles*, being neither his nor his Kingdom's Enemy, he had made War againſt him, without any previous Declaration thereof, or any open Defiance: *That he was therefore ready to maintain by ſingle Combate of Body to Body, that he detain'd his Kingdom unjuſtly, and that he had uſurp'd and raviſh'd it like a Highwayman, putting himſelf at the Head of a Rout of Rebels and Traytors.* *Peter* conſidering that *this Diſcourſe, which was made to him, with the Incivility and Impudence of a Monk, was not a Meſſage to be carry'd by a Man of that Character, did not think him worthy of any Anſwer, and ſo diſmiſs'd him.* In the Year 1309, *James* II, King of *Arragon*, ſent to Pope *Clement* V, *Peter de Marſilio*, a Monk of the ſame Order of St. *Dominick*, and *Fortugno Martinez*, to deſire Succour from him againſt the *Moors*. The Monk deliver'd himſelf with ſo little Reſpect, that the Pope put him into the Hands of the General of his Order, to have him puniſh'd.

I do not ſay but Princes may employ them ſometime with Advantage, but then it is rather to diſpoſe the Parties to a Negotiation, than to negotiate. *Francis de Quignones*, General of *Cordeliers*, and ſince Cardinal de *St. Croix*, went to and fro, between Pope *Clement* VII, and the Emperor *Charles* V, to diſpoſe them to the Accommodation that was agreed upon afterwards. *Gabriel de Guſman*, *Cordelier*, and Confeſſor to *Eleonora* of *Auſtria*, Queen of *France*, made the firſt Overtures of the Peace that was concluded in the Year 1544, between the ſame Emperor, and *Francis* I, King of *France*. Theſe Princes were both weary of the War, and yet neither the one nor the other of them, could obtain of himſelf to make the firſt Overtures for a Peace; ſo that the Queen caus'd 'em to be made by this Monk. After he had taken ſome few Journeys from the *French* Camp to that of the Emperor, where he ſettled the *Preliminaries*; that is to ſay, the Time and Place of the Congreſs: *The High Admiral of* France, with *Bayard*, Secretary of State, on the one ſide; and *Don Ferdinand de Gonzague*, with *Granvell* on the other, met at *Cambray*, where they ſoon agreed on the Conditions of the Treaty; the Concluſion whereof was ſomewhat haſten'd, to deprive the Pope's Legates, who were on their way, of the Glory of it. *Bonaventure Calatagironne*, General of the *Cordeliers*, was very buſy in the Negotiation of the Peace of *Vervins*; and *John Neyen* Commiſſary, General of the ſaid Order, in that of the Truce of the Low Countries: but then they acted rather like *Brokers* than *Merchants*.

When they intermeddle with Commerce it ſelf, they very rarely ſucceed. *Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa*, (Embaſſador from *Philip* III, King of *Spain*, to the Court of *Perſia*) who was a very devout Nobleman, ſpeaking of the Employment that *Schach Abas* had given to a Religious, nam'd, *Brother Redempto de la Croix*, by making him be compris'd in the Commiſſion of *Robert Shirley*, whom he was ſending as Embaſſador to the King of *Spain*, ſays, that this Monk was a very good Man, and of an inno-

innocent Life enough; but yet it might be ſaid, that by his meddling with Affairs, which had no relation with thoſe of his Profeſſion, he was the only Cauſe, of the deplorable Loſs of *Ormus*; and that by his *Imprudence*, rather than by any *Malice*. Some time before the laſt Commotions in *Naples*, the Marquis of *Achaia* and of *Monti*, *Neapolitan* Noblemen, (having confederated with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, to caſt off the Yoke of the *Spaniſh* Government) made uſe of a *Theatin Monk* nam'd *Andrew Paulucci*, whom they ſent ſeveral times to Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, and to Cardinal *Mazarine*; but he prov'd ſo indiſcreet in the carrying on his Intrigues, that upon the Diſcovery thereof, the Superior of his Order caus'd him to be ſeiz'd, and ſhut up in a Convent at *Ravenna*. Some of the Conſpirators however found means to get him out; but diſtruſting his Conduct, they order'd him never to return to the Kingdom any more; but to give an account of his Negotiations, in purſuance of the Orders they ſhould ſend him, by the way of Letter. Cardinal *Mazarine* caus'd him to be adviſ'd to take care of himſelf, and to be more reſerv'd in his Diſcourſe concerning his Negotiation, and to decline thoſe Places where the *Spaniards* might take him by the Collar. But he neglected all this Counſel, and had the Temerity to go to *Naples*, during the few Days Quiet the Town enjoy'd after the Death of *Mas Aniello*. Here he was found diſguis'd in a Soldier's Habit, ſeiz'd, guarded to the Caſtle, put upon the Rack, and executed. The Marquis of *Monti* ſuffer'd likewiſe: but the Marquis of *Achaia* found the Means to ſave himſelf in the Iſland of *Corfou*, and from thence retir'd to *Venice*. The diſcontented *Neapolitans* carry'd on their Intrigues with the Miniſters who reſided on the part of *France* at *Rome*, by the means of a *Jacobin* Monk, whoſe Name was Father *Capece*, who was not more valuable than *Paulucci*, becauſe he betray'd the King, his Sovereign Prince, as well as the other. In the Year 1548 the Pope having recall'd from the Emperor's Court, Cardinal *Sfondrati*, who had been Legate there, ſent thither in the Quality of Nuncio, the Biſhop of *Fano*, who was of the Order of St. *Dominick*. The *French* Embaſſador, who pretended that the Pope ought to break off all Correſpondence with *Charles* V, complain'd thereof; but the Pope caus'd him to be told, that in ſending a Monk to the Emperor, he had done according to the Cuſtom, in reference to thoſe that are in their laſt Agony, to whom a Religious is ſent to prepare them for Death: ſignifying thereby, that he ſent this Miniſter to the Emperor for no other purpoſe, but to let him underſtand, that their Friendſhip, which was in a languiſhing State, would ſoon expire.

Formerly, while Superſtition and Ignorance reign'd, the Religious were reſpected; but the Habit, and demure Mien, have long ſince loſt their Influence, and the World will be no longer deceiv'd thereby: on the contrary, it is not without ſcruple, they are at preſent treated with; and there is a continual Diſtruſt of their equivocal Meanings, as well as of the Intention of thoſe Princes that employ them. They have not the Quality of Embaſſadors, becauſe the Repreſentation would participate of the Ridicule: *But whether they have Letters of Credence, or that they are credited on their bare Word; if they are negotiated with, tho' they have not the Character of publick Miniſters, they nevertheleſs enjoy the Protection of the Law of Nations:* as on the other ſide, they cannot be too ſeverely puniſh'd if they abuſe their Habit and Profeſſion, to contrive Treaſons and Aſſaſſinations; with which one might fill up ſeveral Volumes. Father *Joſeph*, who aſſiſted *Leon Brulard* to conclude the Treaty of *Ratiſbon*, had no Character.

CHAP. X.

Of Legates.

THere would be wanting ſomething very Eſſential to this Treatiſe, if in ſpeaking of *Embaſſadors* I did not beſtow a Chapter alſo on *Legates*. There are two ſorts of 'em. The one ſort are Governors of Provinces or Towns, as of *Avignon*, *Ferrara*, *Urbine*, *Bologna*, &c. and may be created by the Pope's Brief, as well as in the Conſiſtory: But the others are *Embaſſadors Extraordinary*, and *Plenipotentiaries*, and are always nominated by the Pope in the Conſiſtory, that is to ſay, in the Aſſembly of Cardinals, that compoſe the Council of the Monarch, and the Senate of the Hierarchy. It is of theſe laſt I ſhall now ſpeak. I cannot but put 'em in the Rank of *publick Miniſters*, becauſe the Pope ſends his *Legates* on the ſame Accounts, for which temporal Princes ſend to one another their *Embaſſadors Extraordinary*. The Pope does not ſend any to Ladies. *Mary*, Siſter to *Philip* II, and Widow of the Emperor *Maximilian* II, as ſhe paſs'd through *Italy* on her Journey to *Spain*, ſent an *Embaſſador* to the Pope to kiſs his Feet. *Frederick Madrucci*, Embaſſador from *Rodolfus*, and the Abbot of *Berſenques*, Agent for *Spain*, urg'd very much, that the Pope would ſend a *Legate* to the Empreſs. But they were anſwer'd, *that the Pope never ſends any Legates to the Ladies*, unleſs they are Travelling through the Eccleſiaſtical Territories: and accordingly *Gregory* XIII, did no more than ſend her ſome Beads, and ſome *Agnus Dei*'s by Father *Toleto* a Jeſuit, whom ſhe had ſent for. It is true the Pope order'd Cardinal *Rizzio*, who was returning from his Legation in *Spain*, to preſent them to the Empreſs; but as this *Prelate* was already got too far from the Road ſhe took, the Lord *Taverna*, who was going to *Spain* in the Quality of *Nuncio*, was charg'd with the Complement.

After the *Legate* is declar'd in the Conſiſtory, the whole College accompanies him in Ceremony

remony out of the Gates of the Town, with their Families, Silver Maces and Cloak-bags, in the ſame manner as the Cavalcade is perform'd for a Cardinal who is going to receive the Hat from the Pope's hands. This done, the *Legate* may return to Town *Incognito*; but then he muſt neither appear any more in publick, nor receive any publick Viſits. When he leaves the Town in good earneſt, he cannot cauſe the Croſs to be carry'd before him, 'till he is got forty Miles diſtant from the Town of *Rome*, becauſe he does not till then ſhew the marks of his *Legation*, nor begin to execute the Functions thereof. At his Return they make him an Entry: The *Cardinals* ſend to meet him, and pay him their Viſit in Ceremony. Theſe *Legates* make Apoſtolical Protonotaries, Knights, and Doctors in all Faculties. They alſo legitimate Baſtards, and have ſeveral other Powers, which not being very conſiſtent with the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, *Legates* are not receiv'd in *France*, 'till their *Bulls* have been examin'd and regiſter'd in the Parliament of *Paris*, by virtue of a Letter that the King joyns to them, to order it to confirm and ratifie the Bulls; which is not done but with the following Modifications; which plainly ſhew the Power *Legates* have in other Kingdoms.

" That the *Legate* cannot, by virtue of his " *Bulls*, exerciſe any Juriſdiction within " the Kingdom, not even with the conſent of " the Parties; nor over thoſe, who as being " immediately Subjects of the See of *Rome*, " are exempt from the ordinary Juſtice: But " he ſhall be oblig'd to give them Judges on " the place, who ſhall take cognizance of the " matter, and regulate it. That the *Letters* " *of Legitimation*, which he ſhall grant to Ba" ſtards, ſhall no farther be valid to them than " to make 'em capable of being admitted into " Orders, and that without prejudice to thoſe " Chapters and Colleges that do not receive " Baſtards; and theſe *Legitimates* ſhall have no " part in Succeſſions, nor be admitted into " Civil Offices. That the *Legate* ſhall not " Incorporate Benefices, but only nominate " Judges according to the decrees of the Coun" cil of *Conſtance*. That he ſhall not diſpenſe " with the Years that are to be employ'd in " Study by thoſe, who by reaſon of their Qua" lity may be nominated to Benefices. That " he ſhall not clog Benefices nor Prebends " with Penſions, not even with the conſent of " thoſe that poſſeſs them, unleſs it be for the " profit of him that reſigns 'em, or elſe to " prevent Law Suits; and that he ſhall not " ſuffer thoſe that reſign 'em, to reſerve to " themſelves the whole Revenue, under the " pretext of a Penſion. That he ſhall not ſuf" fer thoſe that poſſeſs Benefices, to alienate " the Lands or Rents thereof, under any Ti" tle or any pretext whatſoever, even tho' " ſuch Benefices ſhould not be depending on " any Juriſdiction of the Kingdom, and ſhould " be immediately ſubject to the Pope; in " which Caſe he ſhall be oblig'd to nominate " Judges within the Kingdom, who ſhall pro" vide therein according to reaſon. That he " ſhall not give Abbies either of Men or Women " in *Commendam*, without the King's nomi" nation, who has a right thereto, by virtue " of the Concordance or Agreement made with " Pope *Leo* X. and that he ſhall not diſpoſe " of vacant Benefices, to the prejudice of the " *Indulto* granted by the King to the Counſel" lors of Parliament. That he ſhall not ex" erciſe any Juriſdiction between the King's " Subjects, in the caſes of Infidelity, Uſury, " or Divorce, concerning the reſtitution of " the Portion, or for Goods unjuſtly acquir'd " by unlawful Contracts. That he ſhall not " take cognizance of the Crime of *Hereſy*, " when the publick Tranquillity ſhall be con" cern'd therein, and that the matter of Fact " only is the thing in queſtion, becauſe the " ſame belongs only to the King's Judges; and " that in ſuch caſe, he ſhall not preſume to " abſolve the King's Subjects, except it be with " reference to their Conſcience, and the Ca" nonical Penance. That he ſhall not grant " diſpenſations to thoſe that have Benefices, " or are Religious, to make Wills to the pre" judice of the ordinary Cuſtoms of the King" dom, of the King's Edicts, and of the *Arreſts* " of Parliament. That he ſhall not be able to " give diſpenſations to the prejudice of the lau" dable Cuſtoms and Privileges of Cathedral and " Collegiate Churches, nor contrary to the " Privileges granted to the Kings by Popes. " That he ſhall not grant to the ſame Perſon " a plurality of Benefices in the ſame Church, " nor give to Executors of Teſtaments a long" er time than what is regulated by the Laws. " That he ſhall not convert Pious Legacies to " other uſes, contrary to the Teſtator's Inten" tion, unleſs where the Will of the deceaſed " cannot be fulfill'd; and provided that the " ſame be employ'd to uſes conformable to " his mind. That he ſhall act nothing againſt " the Rule *De Veriſimili notitia, & publicandis* " *reſignationibus*. That he ſhall not compound " for any profits receiv'd by thoſe who have " got poſſeſſion of Benefices without a " juſt Title, nor ſhall acquit them of 'em, " becauſe they ought to be reſtor'd to the " Churches to whom of right they belong. " That he ſhall not iſſue out any Ordinances; " that in the collation of Benefices, regard " ſhall only be had to his Letters, without " producing the Procurations, by virtue of " which the Benefices ſhall have been reſign'd. " That in his Letters he ſhall not make uſe of " the Clauſe *anteferri*, nor of any the like " Clauſes, to the prejudice of the Right which " is due to another. That he ſhall not order " Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to be brought before " himſelf, nor take cognizance thereof, to " the prejudice of the *Cap. de Cauſis*, nor " ſhall uſe Sequeſtration. (*This Chapter* de " Cauſis, *in the Agreements, ſays, that the Pope* " *ſhall not commit the Cauſes of* France, *that* " *are reſerv'd to him*, in partibus, *that is to ſay* " *to French Prelates.*) That he ſhall not take " cognizance of thoſe Crimes that are not " purely Eccleſiaſtical, tho' they ſhould be " mix'd, if committed againſt the Laity; but " only of ſuch as are commited againſt the " Clergy, and even in Crimes merely Eccle" ſiaſtical. He ſhall not condemn the Laity " to pecuniary amerciaments, but the Eccle" ſiaſticks only, and this purſuant to the Ca" nons, and provided, that it be without pre" judice to the Decrees of Councils inſerted " in the Canon Law. That he ſhall not iſſue

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" out Letters of Reſtitution, or Reſciſion of " Contracts. That he ſhall not take cogni- " zance of Actions real, whoſe Contracts ſhall " have been paſs'd between Lay Perſons, or " elſe between Eccleſiaſticks, before Notary's " Royal. That he ſhall not rehabilitate Lay- " Perſons branded with Infamy, but only Ec- " cleſiaſticks, with reſpect to their Function " and Orders. That he ſhall not ſuffer thoſe " who have reſign'd their Benefices, to yield " up to others the Penſions they had reſerv'd " to themſelves. That the diſpoſition of thoſe " Benefices, of which the *Legate* has the col- " lation, ſhall ceaſe as ſoon as he ſhall be gone " out of the Kingdom; and that before he " ſhall depart from thence, he ſhall there leave " the *Acts* of his *Legation*. In fine, he ſhall do " nothing that can prejudice the holy *Canons*; " the Agreements made between the Kings " and Popes, the Oecumenical Councils, the " Rights and Privileges of the *Gallican* Church, " the Univerſities, and other publick Schools; " of which he ſhall give an Aſſurance under " his Hand. This is what the Cardinals *d'Amboiſe*, *Gouffier*, *du Prat*, *Farneſe*, *Sadolet*, *Caraffa*, of *Ferrara*, of *St. George*, *Verallo*, and and others have been oblig'd to promiſe.

Cardinal *Barberin*, when he came in the Quality of *Legate* into *France*, in the Year 1625, had ſent his Bulls to the Nuncio *Spada*, to have the King's Letters annex'd to 'em, and to procure their being Regiſter'd. The Parliament ordain'd, that they ſhould be Regiſter'd with the Modifications, which ſhould be expreſs'd in an Act it would cauſe to be prepar'd for that purpoſe. But upon the *Nuncio*'s complaining thereof, the King order'd the Parliament to Regiſter the Bulls in the ſame manner that thoſe of Cardinal *de Medicis* had been in the Reign of *Henry* IV. The Parliament obey'd; but for as much as the Pope's Officers had forgotten to inſert the Title of King of *Navarr*, the Parliament rais'd freſh difficulties, and refus'd to Regiſter the Bulls, unleſs the *Nuncio* procur'd others, or at leaſt a Brief, that ſhould rectify the omiſſion; and that both he and the *Legate*, oblig'd themſelves in Writing to comply herewith in a certain time. The *Nuncio* would do nothing in it, and by his Importunities, he obtain'd other *coercive Letters*, that oblig'd the Parliament to proceed in their enregiſtring. But it was ordain'd at the ſame time, that there ſhould be writ upon the fold thereof, *Read, Publiſh'd and Regiſter'd, on the Conditions expreſs'd in the Regiſter*; and that at the Audience, where the Powers were to be publiſh'd, it ſhould be declar'd *Vivâ Voce*, that it was without the approbation of the Council of *Trent*, and that the Bulls ſhould not be reſtor'd to the *Legate*, 'till he brought a Brief that ſhould ſupply this omiſſion of the Kingdom of *Navarre*. But the Pope choſe rather to ſend other Bulls.

The ſame Cardinal *Barberin* leaving the Court ſomewhat ſuddainly, and not without ſome incivility, took along with him the Regiſter and Seal of his Legation, which he was oblig'd to leave with the Parliament. The Attorney General being inform'd thereof, the Court order'd the King's Attorney of the Preſidial Juriſdiction of *Lyons* to get both the one and the other from the *Datary*; and this Subaltern Officer taking along with him the Lieutenant General of the ſame Preſidial, and being attended with about forty Purſevants, went to the Lodgings of the *under Datary*, who would fain have excus'd himſelf on account of the abſence of his Maſter; but he was however oblig'd to promiſe in writing, that he would reſtore both the one and the other the next day following. The Datary *Pamfilio*, who has been ſince Pope, under the Name of *Innocent* X. told *M. de Chaumont*, who by the King's Order had attended the *Legate* to ſerve him, ever ſince he enter'd *France*, that the violence that had been offer'd to the *Legate* was inſupportable; ſince at *Rome no Officer dares approach the Palace of the French Embaſſador*. The thing was excus'd to the *Legate*, and the Lieutenant General with the King's Attorney had orders to come to Court, and there give an account of their Action, which was in reality a little irregular. This was all that was done to ſatisfie the *Legate*, who ſent the Seal and the Regiſter of his *Legation*, by an expreſs to the *Nuncio*, and He reſtor'd them to the Parliament.

Whatever Regard Princes have for the See of *Rome*, and whatever benefit they find in the Pope's friendſhip, they will not ſuffer it to prejudice the rights of their Sovereignty, nor the intereſt of their Crown. As ſoon as Pope *Paul* III. was inform'd of the death of *Edward* VI. King of *England*, he nominated Cardinal *Pool* to the *Legation* of that Kingdom. However, not thinking it proper to expoſe the Authority of the See of *Rome*, till affairs were a little ſettled; He follow'd the advice of Queen *Mary*, who counſel'd him not to be too haſty, becauſe the buſineſs of Religion could not be regulated but by the Parliament, which ſhould be call'd together after her Coronation. Wherefore the Pope giving another pretext to the *Legation*, ſent the Cardinal forward, with orders to labour a Peace between the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Henry* II. King of *France*, till he had a convenient paſſage. The Pope acquainted the two Princes therewith, and his intention was approv'd of in *France*; but the Biſhop of *Arras* told the Abbot (whom the Cardinal had ſent to *Bruxelles*, to give the Emperor advice of his Journey) that he was ſurpriz'd at the Pope's proceeding, who ought to have inform'd the Emperor thereof, before the *Legate* ſet out: That he did not ſee what could be hop'd for from the offices of one ſingle Miniſter, ſince the two *Legates* the Pope had juſt recall'd, had not been able to effect any thing: That this was but a Cloak to cover the *Legation* of *England* with, of which the Queen had ſo much the more reaſon to complain, as this Commiſſion was of the laſt prejudice to her State and Intereſt: That he knew ſhe had not kept it hid from the *Legate* himſelf: Which was a truth; but that did not hinder the Cardinal from continuing his Journey as far as the Countrey of *Wirtemberg*, after he had receiv'd the Duke's Paſsport, for which he waited ſome time at *Dillingnen*. The Emperor being acquainted herewith, ſent the *Legate* word by *Don John de Mendoza*, that for very important and weighty Reaſons which he had communicated to the Pope, he could not ſuffer him to continue his

Journey to *Bruſſels*; ſo that he would do well to ſtay in the place where he actually was, or elſe in ſome other Town that lay in his way. He alſo added to what the Biſhop of *Arras* had ſaid to his Abbot; that ſince the Pope ſent but one *Legate*, the Emperor could not approve of the Negotiations beginning where he was; becauſe if it had not the Succeſs the Pope promis'd himſelf from it, the Emperor might be thought to be the obſtacle that hinder'd it. He alſo ſpoke to him concerning the Marriage, as of an Affair that was to be concluded previouſly to all others, and that with a ſtranger, in order to avoid the emulation of the Engliſh Noblemen. The *Legate* did not diſcover his ſentiments on that ſubject; but he could not forbear making it known, that the oppoſition which was made to his Journey, affected him very ſenſibly. He ſaid the Emperor thereby affronted the Holy See: That having orders to purſue his Journey, he did not ſee how any other Prince could oppoſe his ſo doing: That the Emperor would do well to ſpeak plainly, and ſay it was not the *Legation*, but the Perſon of the *Legate* he did not like. *Mendoza* endeavour'd to cure him of this opinion, and to perſuade him to purſue his Journey as far as *Liege*, where he might reſide 'till he receiv'd the Pope's farther orders. The *Legate* thinking it more reputable for him to remain in *Germany*, than to reſide in a Town ſo near the Court, where they would not receive him; And taking into conſideration, that at *Liege* he ſhould no longer have it in his power to make choice of his way to paſs to *England*, choſe rather to go back to *Dillinguen*, where he receiv'd orders from the Pope, not to ſtir from thence 'till the Emperor let him know what he intended to do. The *Legate* had ſent another Abbot into *France*, where he found very favourable diſpoſitions: But the ſame Abbot in making a report of his Journey, told the *Legate*, that as he came back through *Bruſſels*, he had very well underſtood that the Emperor would not be well pleas'd the *Legate* ſhould go firſt to *France* before he had ſeen him; becauſe it was apprehended he would from thence paſs into *England*. The Letters the *Legate* wrote to the Pope, to the Emperor, and even to Queen *Mary*, had no effect, till *Peter Soto*, who had been *Confeſſor* to *Charles*, took a turn to *Bruſſels*, and obtain'd leave for the *Legate* to continue his Journey; but this was not till after a certainty of the concluſion of *Philip*'s Marriage, the Emperor's Son, with the Queen of *England*. The Emperor ſent the Duke of *Savoy* a good way into *Germany* to meet him, and conduct him to *Bruſſels*, where great honours were done him. However the diſſatisfaction this Marriage occaſion'd to a great many in *England*, had caus'd ſome Provinces to riſe; and the *Legate*, who could not get thither, went to *France*, tho' with ſo little ſucceſs, that at his return the Emperor did not ſcruple to ſay, *That he might very well have ſpar'd himſelf the pains of returning.* The *Legate* was ſo offended at theſe words, that he ſent a Courrier on purpoſe to *Rome*, to deſire the Pope to diſcharge him of the *Legation*, and diſmiſs him; but this was deny'd him. The Emperor was jealous of the Cardinal's Voyage to *England*, and indeed it was not without cauſe. He was perſuaded that the *Legate* would enter into the ſentiments of almoſt all the *Engliſh*, who had generally an averſion to the Marriage, becauſe they look'd upon it as the beginning of a foreign Domination. The Queen her ſelf had ask'd *Commendon*, when ſhe ſaw him, ſoon after the death of *Edward*, whether the Pope would make any difficulty to grant the Cardinal a diſpenſation that he might Marry. He had amongſt his Attendance ſome Relations, who, being *Engliſh*, ſpoke freely of this Alliance; and it was obſerv'd that he himſelf did not explain himſelf very clearly when he was talk'd to about it. And even after the concluſion and conſummation of the Marriage, he was not ſuffer'd to paſs into *England*, till he had ſatisfy'd *Philip* concerning ſome difficulties he caus'd to be propos'd to him. He firſt made him be ask'd whether he was willing to come into the Kingdom without the marks of his *Legation*; Whether he pretended to make uſe of the power of his *Legation* as he thought fit himſelf, or elſe in concert with *Philip* and the Queen; and he ſignify'd to him, that it was neceſſary he ſhould obtain a more ample power than what he had: That it was not ſufficient to reconcile the infirm, and to diſpenſe with the marry'd Prieſts, upon condition they ſerv'd no longer at the Altar, and did not enjoy their Benefices; as alſo with the abſtinence from certain Meats on prohibited days, and other things of the like nature: That the power the *Legate* had to tranſact and determine concerning the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues was uſeleſs, becauſe that made People believe he deſign'd to erect a Tribunal, and to proceed againſt the Uſurpers in a judicial manner; whereas it was neceſſary he ſhould alſo have the power to yield 'em up, and leave them to thoſe who poſſeſs'd 'em: That in caſe the *Legate* had any hopes of obtaining this Power from the Pope, he might come forthwith; but if he was doubtful in the matter, he would do well to ſtay at *Bruſſels* 'till he had procur'd it. The *Legate* made anſwer, that he could not have thought ſo many difficulties would have been rais'd concerning the Ceremonies of his Reception, after having made him wait ſo long. *That he ſuſtain'd three Characters, that of his own Perſon, that of Embaſſador from the Pope, and that of Legate from the Apoſtolick See.* And notwithſtanding he might juſtly pretend to the honours which are due to the laſt, yet he was willing to be contented with thoſe which could not be refus'd to the ſecond, ſince the Pope had order'd him to paſs over all thoſe Conſiderations, and to have nothing elſe in view, but the Salvation of thoſe People: That his intention had always been to do nothing without their Majeſty's participation: And as for the third point, that he had a particular Bull, by which the Pope permitted him to do whatever he ſhould judge neceſſary for the Salvation of ſo many ſtraying Souls; and that he did not doubt but the Pope would ratifie whatever he did, and even grant him a larger power, if he ask'd it of him. The Deputy whom *Philip* ſent, having ſignify'd to the *Legate* that he was ſatisfy'd with that Anſwer, told him he had orders from the King and Queen to offer him the

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Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*, with the Primacy of *England*. But the Cardinal reply'd, *That being the Pope's Miniſter, he could accept of nothing without Orders from his Holineſs:* Beſides, that it was far from his thoughts to talk of his own particular Intereſt, till that of the publick was regulated. After this Conference, he reſolv'd to paſs into *England* under the Conduct of my Lord *Haſtings* Maſter of the Horſe, and of *William Paget*, whom the Queen had ſent to meet him as far as *Bruſſels*. The Biſhop of *Ely* and Viſcount *Mountague* receiv'd him at his Landing at *Dover*; the Biſhop of *Durham* and the Earl of *Shropſhire* complemented him at *Graveſend*, and brought him to *London*. He did not till he came to *Graveſend* ſet up the Croſs in the forepart of his Barge as a token of his *Legation*. The King who was at dinner when he was inform'd of the *Legate*'s being arriv'd, got up from the Table, and went to receive him at the *Tower-Key*, and the Queen receiv'd him at the top of the Stair-caſe. He went firſt to pay his reſpects to the King, who receiv'd him without his Chamber door, and the next day the King viſited him.

In the Year 1537. the ſame Cardinal *Pool* had been ſent by the Pope into *France*, to labour a Peace between the Emperor and the King. He was very honourably receiv'd in all the Towns through which he paſs'd: But when he came to *Paris*, a Meſſenger came and told him from the King, who was then at *Hesdin*, *That his Majeſty was ſo far from ſuffering the Legate to come to Court, that he did not intend he ſhould make any ſtay within the Kingdom.* This was done out of complaiſance to *Henry* VIII King of *England*, who was at great variance with the Pope, and was perſuaded that he made uſe of the Cardinal to ſtir up his Subjects to an Inſurrection. Wherefore he made preſſing Inſtances to *Francis* the firſt, that he would ſend him to him a Priſoner; but finding that Prince was not capable of doing an action ſo baſe, and againſt the *Law of Nations*; *he ſet a price upon the Cardinal's Head, and promis'd fifty thouſand Crowns to the Perſon who ſhould bring it him.* Whichoblig'd the Pope to call him back to *Rome*, and to give him Guards.

When the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, *Hippolytus d'Eſte* arriv'd in *France*, in the Reign of *Charles* IX. the Chancellor of the Hoſpital refus'd to Seal his *Letters D'attache*, which the King uſually annexes to the Pope's Bulls, to recommend the Regiſtring of them in Parliament; and did not Seal 'em but with this addition, *That he did it by the King's expreſs Commands, and againſt his own Opinion.* And this it ſelf was not done till the Cardinal had made great ſubmiſſions, and had promis'd *that he would not make uſe of his faculties to the prejudice of the Requeſt the States of the Kingdom had made at* Orleans; *that it might be no longer allow'd the Pope to diſpoſe of Benefices, nor to grant Diſpenſations againſt the Canons*; which the Parliament took care to Regiſter.

About three hundred Years before, *viz.* in the Year 1239. *Otto* Cardinal of *St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano*, after he had made ſome ſtay in *England*, propos'd to paſs into *Scotland*, there to reap his Harveſt, as he had juſt done in *England*. But *Alexander* King of *Scotland* having advice thereof, went and met him on the frontiers, and told him, *That till then, no Legate had ever been ſeen in his Kingdom, and that it could make a ſhift without 'em for the time to come*, becauſe all the Churches were in a very good Condition. Yet nevertheleſs, after great conteſtations, the King ſuffer'd him to enter *Scotland*, on condition *That it ſhould be no prejudice to his Crown, and that it ſhould not ſerve for a precedent, which he ſhould promiſe in writing before he left the ſame.* The Cardinal perceiving he ſhould not find his reckoning there, did not penetrate far into it, made no long ſtay there, nor did he ſee the King any more, who did not matter him.

When Cardinal *Caraffa* Nephew and *Legate* of Pope *Paul* IV. arriv'd at *Bruſſels* the 13th of *December* 1558. *Philip King of Spain receiv'd him at the City Gate, and plac'd him on his right hand.* Some time after, the King having invited him to aſſiſt at the Ceremonies of the Feſtival of the Kings, went in Perſon to his Lodgings, conducted him to Maſs, and afterwards made him Dine with him; which is a thing the Kings of *Spain* never do. He alſo order'd Turnaments and other diverſions at *Bruſſels* out of reſpect to him; but he gave him ſo little ſatisfaction in reference to the affairs he had to negotiate, that the *Legate* to ſhew his diſcontent, retir'd into a Convent at a good diſtance from the Court, with an intention to return to *Rome*. *Philip* fearing leſt this troubleſome and violent Spirit ſhould create him new broils, ſent for him back, making him hope he would give the Pope better ſatisfaction by the Miniſters he had at *Naples*, and other places in *Italy*, who were better acquainted with the affairs of thoſe parts, than thoſe he had with him at *Bruſſels*. Having given him this conſolation, he ſent him back to the Pope, who was not well pleas'd with his Nephew, no more than with *Philip*. *Philip* and *Charles* his Father had inherited that from *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who was the Prince of the World that knew beſt how to make Religion ſubſervient to his Intereſt. In the preceding Chapter I ſaid a word or two concerning the *Infidelity* of *Ferdinand*; in this I ſhall do the ſame, with reference to his *Hypocriſie*. The Remarker of *Bruſſels* can't endure the Memoirs ſhould ſay he had more Devotion than Conſcience, and endeavours to juſtifie him by the Teſtimony of *Father le Moine*, that is to ſay, *of the Author of the Treatiſe of eaſie Devotion.* This Father, to flatter *bigotry*, eſtabliſhes in that Book a ſort of Piety more conformable to the Rules of the *Alcoran*, than to the Doctrine of the Goſpel; which, if you believe him, is not inconſiſtent with *Hypocriſie*; and that one may be a very good Chriſtian, tho' ſwallow'd up in an abyſs of Vices. Here is a proof of *Ferdinand*'s Devotion. *Pope Julius* II. *Sovereign Lord of the Kingdom of Naples*, had caus'd an Officer of Juſtice to execute ſome Warrant relating to the exerciſe of a Juriſdiction which the Pope pretended to be his Right. *Ferdinand* having had advice thereof, order'd *Don John of Arragon, Count of Ribagorça* and *Vice-Roy of Naples*, his Nephew, *to ſeize that Officer of the Pope's*, and *to hang him up preſently*; not as the Pope's Miniſter,

Miniſter, ſaid he, but as the Officer of the immediate Lord of the Fief; and adding theſe expreſs words, *Ellos al Papa, y vos a la Capa.* i. e. *Others to the Pope, and you to the Cloak.* Is it not a very fine diſtinction, full of Devotion, and altogether Catholick? *Ferdinand* valu'd himſelf for his Infidelities, which the Author, whom I before mention'd, ſometimes calls ſubtilties, and ſometimes *Zorrerias*, which in good Engliſh ſignifies malice in grain, Treaſons, and actions unworthy of a Prince, and a Man of honour.

I ſhall not ſay any thing of the uſage *Clement* VII, and *Paul* IV. receiv'd from *Charles* V. and from *Philip* his Son, for fear of deviating too much from the matter I am upon; but I think I ought not to omit obſerving how *Charles* behav'd himſelf towards Cardinal *de Medicis*, Nephew of the ſaid Pope *Clement*. *Soliman* Emperor of the Turks, had invaded *Germany*, and ſeeing there was no likelihood of making great Conqueſts, ſoon retir'd. *Charles* on his ſide, having in his thoughts to take a Journey into *Spain*, and being willing to leave ſome *Italian* Regiments with *Ferdinand* his Brother, that he might make uſe of them in *Hungary*, gave them a foreign Leader, who was ſo ungrateful to them, that they tore their Colours to pieces, and disbanded themſelves abſolutely. It was *Peter Mary Roſſi* an *Italian*, and Camp-Maſter, that had contributte moſt to the diſorder. But Cardinal *de Medicis* who was with the Emperor in the quality of *Legate*, protected *Roſſi*, and drew upon himſelf by that means a very foul diſgrace. The *Emperor* had himſelf regulated his Stages, and the order of the march, according to which he was to ſet out firſt with the Van-Guard, and the *Legate* was to follow him two days after for the greater conveniency of Lodgings. This reſolution had been taken at a Council of War, and was communicated to the *Legate*, who being egg'd on by youthful levity, did not ſtick to ſet out firſt, and go before, taking *Roſſi* along with him, and ſo furniſh'd the Emperor with an opportunity of ſhewing him his reſentment. *They were both arreſted*; and notwithſtanding the *Legate* was ſet at liberty at the end of five days, and that *Charles* excus'd the proceeding at *Rome*, the Pope was ſo ſenſibly touch'd therewith, that he could not forbear ſhewing it by his tears.

All the other Princes have very little conſideration for *Legates*, when they are not well pleas'd with thoſe that ſend 'em. Pope *Julius* III. having made a great many Cardinals at the nomination of *Charles* V. and having moreover ſpoke in the Conſiſtory with little reſpect of *Henry* II. King of *France*, this laſt oblig'd Cardinal *Verallo*, *the Pope's Legate*, to depart the Kingdom, and recall'd *M. de Termes* who was his Miniſter at *Rome*. *Lewis* XI. us'd Cardinal *Beſſarion* very ill; and the Emperor did not do over-well by Cardinal *de Viſco*. Queen *Mary* of *England* would not admit *Petey* her *Confeſſor* to accept the Bulls of his *Legation*. She caus'd the Perſon to be arreſted at *Calais*, and ſuffer'd his Boxes to be open'd, and Papers to be ſeiz'd, who was bringing *Petey* his Bulls, by virtue of which he was to ſucceed Cardinal *Pool* in his Legation.

Charles Paſchal ſays in his Treatiſe of the Embaſſador, that except the King of *France*, all the other Kings go out to meet the *Legate* at his Entry. It is true there are ſeveral Examples thereof in the Hiſtories of *England* and *Spain*. In the Year 1237, *Henry* III. King of *England*, went to meet the Cardinal *de St. Nicholas* (whom I above mention'd) as far as the place where he Landed, and made great ſubmiſſion to him; but then it was againſt the Opinion of the major part of the Noblemen of his Kingdom. In the Year 1473 *Rodrigues Borgia*, Cardinal of *Valencia*, and ſince Pope, under the Name of *Alexander* VI. being *Legate* from *Sixtus* IV. and making his publick Entry at *Madrid*, had not only *the Canopy given him, but the King in Perſon went out to meet him, and completed the Honour, by placing him on his right hand.* *Philip* II. went to meet the Cardinals *Pool* and *Caraffa*; but it was not without ſome oppoſition on the part of the *Engliſh*, who judg'd he did too much. *Philip* IV. went out to meet Cardinal *Barberin* in the Year 1626. tho' at the ſame time he us'd him after ſo diſobliging a manner, that the Court of *Rome* has no reaſon to be proud of it. This King coming up to the *Legate* hard by the Gate through which he was to make his Entry, gave him a ſlender Salutation with his Hat, *and ſpeaking to him in the ſecond Perſon*, which is never done in *Spain*, but to Perſons to whom no Honour is ſhewn at all, he as'd him *in what Condition he had left his Unkle, and how the Legate had his Health; and having told him he was welcome, he plac'd him on his left hand, and conducted him to St.* Mary's *Church Door, where he left him.* The Commander *de Ricla* had receiv'd the *Legate* at *Barcelona*, where he landed. The Count *d'Ognate* went to meet him as far as the Frontiers of *Caſtile*. The Cardinal *Infanta* ſent a Gentleman of his Chamber to viſit him at *Barajas*, and as ſoon as he arriv'd at St. *Hierom*'s of the Eſcurial, the King made him be Complemented by the Dukes of *Seſſe* and of *Albuquerque*, and by the Marquis *de Liche*. But when the Honours were to be regulated, which he deſir'd ſhould be done him, they were abſolutely refus'd. He pretended to have the Canopy at his Entry, and that the Princes of *Spain* ſhould pay him the firſt Viſit; but he obtain'd neither the one nor the other, becauſe the Princes would have *the place of Honour* in his own Houſe, and that he ſhould treat them with the Title of *Highneſs*, while they only beſtow'd on him that of *moſt Illuſtrious Lordſhip*. He maintain'd that they could not refuſe him the Canopy, by reaſon they had given it to the *Prince of Wales* when he made his Entry at *Madrid*. To which anſwer was made, That it appear'd by the *Archives*, that heretofore the ſame Honour had been done to a Prince of *Caſtile* at *London*: That the Example of the *Prince of Wales* could not ſerve for his purpoſe, becauſe that by the ſame Reaſon he might pretend to all the other Honours that were done to the Prince by a formal Reſolution of Council, which ordain'd amongſt other things, that he ſhould take the upper hand of the King in all their Meetings: That he ſhould make his Entry in the ſame manner, and with the ſame Ceremonies that are paid the King on the day of his Coronation: That he ſhould have one of the beſt Apartments in the Palace: That a hundred

Yeomen

Yeomen of the Guard ſhould conſtantly attend his Perſon: That the Council ſhould obey his Orders as they did the King's: That the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and that the Declaration which had been publiſh'd againſt exceſſes in Apparel ſhould be revok'd. The Honours that are done to Sovereigns, and to preſumptive Heirs of Crowns, ought not to be uſed as Precedents, nor communicated to Repreſentatives, what Quality or Character ſoever they may have. I ſhall give here one more Example. The 25th of *November*, 1624, the *Arch-Duke Charles* arriv'd at *Madrid*; the *Admirante of Caſtile* went to meet him two days Journey off with a very fine *Cortege* of Noblemen; the two Princes, the King's Brothers, *Don Carlos* and the *Cardinal* went into the fields to meet him; and the King himſelf went out of Town, to receive him at two hundred paces diſtance from the Gate. He alighted, embrac'd the *Arch-Duke*, and plac'd him in the Coach next himſelf forward, while the two Princes ſate backward next the Horſes. The Duke of *Neubourg*, and the Earl Duke ſate in one of the Boots, and the Admirante with the Emperor's Embaſſador in the other, the former taking the place of Honour of the latter, which is worth obſervation.

The *Spaniards* do not give the Canopy to *Legates*. *Francis* Cardinal of *Didrigſtein*, nominated *Legate*, to go and Complement on the part of *Clement* VIII, the Arch-Duke *Albert*, and the *Infanta* his Wife, who were paſſing through *Italy*, in order to go to the Low-Countries, made preſſing Inſtances to have the Canopy when he ſhould make his Entry at *Milan*. But the *Conſtable of Caſtile*, Governor of the Dutchy, ſignify'd to him, that ſince the King had forbid him to give it to the *Arch-Dukes*, who were ſo dear and ſo nearly related to him, he could not grant to the *Legate* what the King refus'd to his Siſter. The Cardinal ſtifly inſiſted upon it a long time, and yielded at laſt but to the firmneſs and reſolution of the *Conſtable*, who oblig'd him to be contented with the Honour that the Arch-Duke and the Governor did him, to go and meet him, and take him between them to conduct him to the Church.

In *France* the uſage is quite different; the King does not go to meet the *Legate*, and indeed does not always viſit him. On the contrary, King *Henry* IV. notify'd to Pope *Clement* VIII. on account of the *Legation* of the Cardinal of *Florence*, that he would ſend the Prince of *Condé* to receive him at his Entry, it not being lawful for him to do him that Office in Perſon; and that notwithſtanding it was the practice of the Kings his Predeceſſors to expect the *Legates* in the *Louvre*, yet he would viſit the Cardinal before he enter'd into *Paris*. It is alſo but only ſince that King's Reign, that they are receiv'd and accompany'd by a Prince of the Blood at their Entry. *George* Cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, *Legate* from the Pope, and firſt Miniſter to *Lewis* XII. made his Entry into *Paris* the 16th of *February*, 1501. The Streets were hung with Tapeſtry; the Canopy was carried at firſt by the Sheriffs, and afterwards by ſome of the Companies of Merchants and Traders ſucceſſively. The Parliament was there *by Deputies in black Gowns*, and the Town-houſe and *Chaſtelet* in Bodies, and in their Habits of Ceremony. No mention is made there of the Duke of *Engouleſme*, who was then the only Prince of the Blood, of the branch of *Valois*; no more than at the Entry of Cardinal *Salviati*, which was perform'd on the 31st of *October* 1526. Cardinal *du Prat*, Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and Chancellor of *France*, made his the 27th of *December* 1530. He was accompany'd by the Cardinals *de Tournon* and *de Grammont*, and by ſome other Prelates. The Entry of Cardinal *Farneſe* was on the 29th of *December*, 1539; that of Cardinal *Verallo* on the 13th of *December*, 1551; and that of Cardinal *Caraffa* on the 23d of *June*, 1556, all three without Princes of the Blood. I do not think neither that *Lewis* XI. ſent to meet Cardinal *Beſſarion*, whom we before ſpoke of. *Henry* IV. who was willing to oblige Pope *Clement* VII, and who was very well ſatisfy'd with the *Legate Alexander de Medicis*, made him a familiar Viſit before he got to *Paris*; and would have the Prince of *Condé*, who was very young, and had but lately chang'd his Religion, go and meet him as far as St. *James's* Gate. Cardinal *Aldobrandin* Nephew and *Legate* of the ſame Pope, did not go ſo far as *Paris*, becauſe the King was then at War with the Duke of *Savoy*; but when he arriv'd at *Chambery*, where there was a *French* Garriſon at that time, he was receiv'd at the Gate of the Town by the Count *de Soiſſons*, and by the Duke of *Montpenſier*, who was *a Prince of the Blood*. *La Buiſſe* Governor of the Place, did him the Honour to go and take his Orders from him, altho' that belong'd to the Princes of the Blood. The King approv'd of what *La Buiſſe* had done, notwithſtanding the *Legate's* negotiation was not very acceptable to him. He did not viſit him; on the contrary, he ſtay'd for him at the Capucin's Convent, where he gave him his firſt Audience; as well for the Reaſon I juſt mention'd, as becauſe the Court of *Rome* might have claim'd a Title upon the poſſeſſion. When Cardinal *Barberin* came into *France*, on the part of *Urban* VIII. in the Year 1625, Cardinal *Richelieu* was for having the King Viſit the *Legate*; and in all likelihood he had prevail'd with him, if at that time he had had the Credit he has had ſince. The King excus'd himſelf on his Indiſpoſition, and did him the civility of a Letter, reſerving his Viſit till he came to Court; which accordingly he perform'd while the *Legate* was at *Fountainbleau*. The Duke of *Orleans* the King's only Brother, receiv'd him at St. *James's* Gate through which all *Legates* make their Entry; but it was with a great deal of reluctancy, finding it againſt the grain to do that Honour to a Repreſentative. The Duke of *Orleans* only Brother to *Lewis* XIV, would not accompany Cardinal *Chigy Legate* from *Alexander* VII. and upon his refuſal, this Commiſſion was given to the Prince of *Condé*, and to the Duke of *Enguien* his Son, Princes of the Blood. So that for the time to come, *Legates* muſt regulate their Pretenſions on the Examples of *Henry* IV, and of *Lewis* XIV. The *Legate Barberin* yielded the place of Honour at his own Houſe, to the Cardinals *Richelieu* and *la Valette*, as to his Seniors; and for the ſame Reaſon he yielded it alſo ſince to the Cardinal

Infant in *Spain*, receiving him at the bottom of the Stairs, and re-conducting him to his Coach.

At the Entry that was made to Cardinal *Aldobrandin* at *Chambery*, there happen'd a paſſage which I think it neceſſary to take notice of. The Biſhops of *Evreux* and of *Bayonne* had reſolv'd to go and meet the *Legate* in their Pontifical Habits; but he gave 'em to underſtand, that in the Quality and Power he then was, he could not allow thoſe Prelates to appear before him with the tokens of Jurisdiction and Epiſcopal Authority. The Biſhop's made anſwer, that perhaps that might be the practice of *Legates* on the other ſide of the Mountains, but as they were in *France* (ſince *Chambery* was the *King*'s Conqueſt) they pretended to make uſe of their Right, and of the Authority they held from God; that they might do nothing which the other Biſhops their Brethren might lay to their Charge. The King who would not offend the *Legate*, as well becauſe he was oblig'd to the Pope for his reconciliation to the See of *Rome*, and for the diſſolution of his Marriage, as by reaſon he had ſtill occaſion for him in the Affair of *Savoy*, would not ſuffer the Biſhops to go to meet the *Legate*; ſo that they were contented with paying him private Viſits, in their uſual Habits.

There happen'd ſomething like this in the Legation of Cardinal *Barberin*; the *Legate* being arriv'd at *Orleans*, the Archbiſhop of *Tours*, and the Biſhops of *Auxerre*, of *Niſmes*, of *Maleſais*, and of *Clermont* came thither with a deſign to Complement him; but the *Legate* would not ſuffer them to appear before him with their *Rochet* and * *Camail* open and uncover'd; becauſe that according to the Ceremonial of *Rome*, Biſhops ought not to appear before the *Legate* with any marks of Juriſdiction. The Biſhops on their ſide maintain'd, that the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church allow'd them that Privilege; and finding they were not admitted, they went back without ſeeing him. Before he made his Entry into *Paris*, the Prelates who were there met, to a great number, offer'd to make him a Viſit in their uſual Habits, the Caſſock and Cloak, and to accompany him at his Entry with their *Rochets*, and *Camails* open; which the *Legate* not approving of, it was agreed, that at this Ceremony the *Rochet* and *Camail* ſhould be cover'd with the *Manteline* or *ſhort Cloke*, which they ſhould take off when they came to the Church of *Nôtre Dame*; after the ſame manner as the Biſhops are us'd to do in the preſence of the King. After this accommodation of the matter, the four Archbiſhops, and the thirty two Biſhops who were in *Paris*, went to complement the *Legate*, and accompany'd him in this condition at his Entry. Yet nevertheleſs ſome time after, when the *Legate* would ſay Maſs in *his Pontificalibus*, on our Lady's day in *Auguſt*, in the great Chappel at *Fontainbleau*, not one of the Prelates would aſſiſt at the Ceremony; becauſe ſince his Entry he had ſcrupled to admit ſome Biſhops, who would have viſited him with their *Rochets* and *Camails* uncover'd; and becauſe he ſaid they ought not to have taken off their little Cloak in the Church, tho' at the ſame time he had agreed thereto. It was for this Reaſon alſo that they did not ſee him any more but in their ordinary Habits. However he in the main receiv'd great Civilities. Before he made his Entry into *Paris*, he was Lodg'd at *Chantelou*, whither the *King* wrote to him, that his indiſpoſition hinder'd him from viſiting him, as he otherwiſe would have done. The King had no ſuch intention, and the *Legate* could not doubt but it was a meer excuſe, but yet it was for all that very obliging. While he was at *Fountainbleau*, the King made him a viſit in his Apartment. The *Legate* went to meet his Majeſty as far as he could, and the Converſation laſted about half an hour. At his firſt publick Audience he caus'd the Croſs to be born before him as far as the Antichamber, *and the King and he ſate in equal Chairs*. Cardinal *de Richelieu*, *M. de Schomberg* and *d'Harbaut* Secretary of State, who were the King's Commiſſioners, negotiated with him at *Fountainbleau* in his Apartment, and in *Paris* at the *Hôtel de Clugny*, where he was lodg'd. His Expences were defray'd during the whole time he ſtay'd in *France*, and the King's Officers treated him after the rate of two thouſand five hundred livres *per* day for his Table. The King made him dine with himſelf, and the two Queens gave him each of them a very magnificent Collation. After he had taken his audience of leave as *Legate*, he took another, as the Pope' Nephew.

No *Legate* is ſent to *France*, but the Pope firſt gives advice to the King thereof, and has the Perſon deſign'd for the Legation firſt approv'd of by himſelf. This is alſo what is obſerv'd with reference to *Nuncio*'s, of which we have an Example in the Biſhop of *Mantua*, whom *Clement* VII. had much ado to get accepted. He was ſuſpected to be a *Spaniard* in inclination; and he was at laſt accepted, only becauſe that of all the Competitors, he was the Man they had the leaſt reaſon to complain of. In the courſe of his negotiation he gave none at all; ſo that it was without any uneaſineſs that he afterwards aſſiſted with the *Legates* at the Aſſembly of *Vervins*. Theſe *Nuncio*'s are to the *Pope*, what *Embaſſadors* are to *Secular Princes*; there being of them both Ordinary, and Extraordinary. *Antony Mary Gratiani*, who wrote the Life of Cardinal *Commendon*, when he ſpeaks of the firſt Employment this Prelate had as *Nuncio*, expreſſes himſelf after a manner, that makes one infer, that in thoſe times the word *Nuncio* was not ſo well known, or at leaſt not ſo common as it has been ſince, eſpecially in *Italy*. He ſays that in the Year 1555, *Commendon* was ſent by the *Pope* to the *Emperor* in the Quality of *Embaſſador*, *or to make uſe of the new Term, which is already much in uſe at Rome*; ſays he, *he went as Nuncio from his Holineſs*. Thoſe that have but a ſlender knowledge of the Affairs of *France*, cannot be ignorant that *Nuncio*'s had been there a long time talk'd of. The word is ſomewhat more Latin than that of Embaſſador, but it ſignifies the ſame thing; with this difference, that it denominates the Pope's Repreſenting Miniſter particularly, as the *Internuncio* is his *Envoy Extraordinary*.

* A Camail *is a purple Garment worn by a Biſhop above his Rochet.*

CHAP. XI.

The Prince may employ Strangers in his Embaſſies; even in their own Countrey.

I Shall not have ſo hard a Task to make out this Poſition, as it is difficult to add any thing to what has been ſaid already on that Subject, in the Memoirs. Nevertheleſs, ſeeing there are ſome Minds that are not yet fully convinc'd of this Truth, and that I find my ſelf particularly oblig'd to eſtabliſh it ſo firmly, that it may not be hereafter conteſted, I ſhall beſtow this whole Chapter upon it, and treat diſtinctly of the two Parts of which the *Theſis* is compos'd. As for the firſt part, ſince the Sovereign may take his Miniſters any where, even in the Cloiſters, which are not of his Juriſdiction, he may alſo ſeek 'em among Strangers, and make choice there of Perſons, upon whom he may exerciſe his ordinary Juſtice. Kings have in all Ages taken this Liberty, and have employ'd Strangers with ſucceſs in their moſt important Negotiations. The King of *Perſia* has employ'd in his Embaſſies, *Anthony* and *Robert Shirley*, and ſeveral Monks, *Caſtilians* and *Portugueſe*. I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak of *Ibrahim Strotzen*, and of *Bartholomew Coeur*, who have been ſent by the *Great Turk* to *Chriſtian Princes*. *Lewis* XI, employ'd with Utility and Advantage *Philip de Comines*, at *Venice* and at *Florence*. *Lewis* XII, ſent *Albert Pio*, Lord of *Carpy*, Embaſſador to *Rome*. *Caſar Cantelmo*, a *Neapolitan*, negotiated for *Francis* I, at *Conſtantinople*; and *Franciſco Bernardo*, a *Venetian* Gentleman, for *Henry* VIII, King of *England*, in *France*. *Stephen Battory*, King of *Poland*, ſent in the Year 1582 *Dominick Alamanni*, a *Florentine*, to *John*, King of *Sweden*. Queen *Elizabeth* employ'd *Guy Cavalcanti*. *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, ſent *Robert Kelley*, an *Engliſhman*, in Quality of Embaſſador to the Emperor *Maximilian* II. *Spain* does not want able Miniſters; and one may ſay, that there are but too many in *France*: and nevertheleſs, Strangers have ever been made uſe of there, as well as in all the other Courts of Chriſtendom. *Schomberg*, a *German*, and *Baſſompierre*, a *Lorrainer*, have been employ'd in ſeveral Embaſſies. *Anthony Rincon* was a *Spaniard*: *Caſar Fregoſe* was a *Genoeſe*; as was alſo *Claudio Marini*. *Merveille* was a *Milaneſe*; Cardinal *Bichi* was a *Sieneſe*; *Mazarine* was a *Sicilian*; and the two laſt were the Pope's Subjects, by reaſon of their Dignity; but neither that nor their Birth, hinder'd them from ſerving foreign Princes. The King and Crown of *Sweden* have employ'd Strangers almoſt every where, even at the Aſſembly of *Weſtphalia*, and that of *Lubeck*, where *Salvius* had the chief Truſt, to the excluſion of his Collegues. The Popes have acted after the ſame manner: and there is not any Prince but does the ſame when occaſion requires it: So that the general Conſent of all Nations agreeing herein, it would be uſeleſs to dilate upon a Matter that is not conteſted.

The other part of the *Theſis* ought not to be ſo neither, after the many Examples that have been inſtanc'd in to confirm it; becauſe that in reference to the *Law of Nations*, it is ſufficient to know what is every where practis'd, without there being any Neceſſity to ſift ſcrupulouſly into the Reaſon thereof. However, as there are People that are never ſatisfy'd, and that are ſo in love with their own prejudicate Opinions, that it is almoſt impoſſible to wean them from 'em, I ſhall endeavour at leaſt to diſcover their Malady, and to hinder, by deſtroying their Principles, its communicating it ſelf to thoſe who are not prejudic'd with their falſe Notions. No body has hitherto doubted, that the Subject might diſcharge the Function of Embaſſador, to the Sovereign of the Place of his Birth. I know very well that *Bodin* maintains, *That the Subject who puts himſelf into the Service of a foreign Prince, againſt the Prohibition, or without the Permiſſion of his Sovereign, may be claim'd by his Prince, and retain'd as a fugitive Servant, even tho' he ſhould come to him in the Quality of Embaſſador.* But then I alſo know, that it is the private Opinion of *Bodin*; that is to ſay, of an Officer of Juſtice, who underſtood the Civil Law better than the *Law of Nations*: and who (ſince he does not confirm his Opinion, neither by Reaſons nor Examples) cannot oblige me to have any Deference to it, to the Prejudice of the Reaſons and Examples which I have to the contrary.

The Difficulty will be eaſily clear'd, after we have decided this Queſtion, *viz.* Whether a Subject can, without a Crime, withdraw himſelf from the Subjection and Obedience, which he owes to the Sovereign of the Place of his Birth. It is certain he may free himſelf from the Juriſdiction of the Juſtice of his Sovereign; and I have heretofore demonſtrated the ſame, by the Exemption of the Clergy. I ſhall only add thereto, that whereas Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſticks, who take an Oath to their Sovereign, on account of their temporal Eſtate, and enjoy his Protection, are alſo oblig'd to him in particular Duties. *The Knights of the Order of* Malta, become ſo much the Subjects of the *Great Maſter*, that they are oblig'd *to obey him blindly, and to prefer the Service of the Order to that of their Countrey.* Nevertheleſs there is no need of the Permiſſion nor Acquieſcence of the firſt Sovereign, either to enter into the ſaid Order, or to go out of his ſaid Sovereign's Subjection, tho' by making a Vow to the Order, a Man delivers himſelf up to a foreign Sovereign. This is what *Bodin* could not be ignorant of, nor alſo of what every body knows, *That the Air of* France is ſo noble, that it gives Liberty to thoſe who have it not; and ſuffers none to be Slaves, tho' they ſhould enter the Kingdom in the Train of an Embaſſador. He ought alſo to know by Experience, that the King never oppoſes the Will of thoſe of his

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Subjects, that leave *France* to go and ſettle themſelves under another Sovereign. There are in a manner whole Colonies of 'em in *Holland*; and even *Spain* would be more unfrequented than it is, without the *French* Families that People ſome of its beſt Towns. In *Spain* it ſelf there is a very ancient Cuſtom, that permits the Subjects to renounce the Subjection which they owe to their Sovereign, and the Protection they hope for from him. Which being conformable to the *Law of Nature*, and the *Law of Nations*, it muſt be own'd, that this Liberty is common to all Men; unleſs it be in thoſe Places where it has been alter'd by the Laws and Cuſtom of the Countrey. Thoſe of *Rome* cut it off in ſome meaſure, ſince they did not allow of Tranſmigrations, but upon condition to contribute to the municipal Charges of the Place from whence they departed. The *Czar* of *Muſcovy* does not ſuffer his Subjects to go out of his Countrey without his leave; nay he does not allow them to change the Place of their Habitation. *They are his Slaves, and cannot diſpoſe of their Perſons.* At *Hamburgh* a Burgher cannot go and ſettle elſewhere, without leaving the tenth part of what he is worth to the Magiſtrate; and there are ſome Provinces in *Germany*, and in the *North*, where the Peaſants, belonging in property to the Lord of the Mannor, cannot change their Place of Habitation, becauſe they cannot change their Maſter nor Condition: But theſe are *Relicts of Pagan Servitude.* Every where elſe People enjoy the Liberty of Tranſmigration, according to the Opinion of *Groenwegen*, in his Treatiſe of the *abrogated Laws*; and of *Hugh de Groot* in his admirable Book, *De Jure Belli & pacis:* where he alledges the Saying of *Cicero*, in the Oration he made for *Balbus*, where he ſays, that it is the very Foundation of Liberty, *and that every one has a Right to diſpoſe of his Perſon, without any Obligation or Conſtraint to be the Burgher of any Town any longer than he has a mind to it.* *De Groot* here adds, that this Liberty being in common, cannot prejudice the Sovereign; becauſe if he loſes one Subject, he may get ten for him from other Places. He only makes here two Exceptions: *viz.* That what is permitted to ſome particular Perſons, is not permitted to a whole Community: as it is allowable to take Water out of a Brook or River, but it is not lawful to turn it another way: and alſo, that the Citizen of a Town which is incumber'd with Debts, and has been oblig'd to be at great Expences, cannot go and ſettle himſelf elſewhere, without paying his part of the Debt.

This is without doubt what the States of *Holland* had a regard to, when they ordain'd, that thoſe Inhabitants of the Province, that ſhould go and ſettle in another during the War, ſhould continue to contribute to the Charges as long as it laſted; becauſe it is reaſonable that they, who have enjoy'd the Benefit of the Protection of a Sovereign during the Peace, ſhould likewiſe ſhare in the Inconveniencies during the War. But they never forbad Tranſmigrations abſolutely, nor hinder'd the Inhabitants of their Province to tranſplant themſelves into another; which cannot be done without change of Sovereign; as well in the extent of thoſe of the Union, as in going quite out of the Countrey. On the contrary, in obliging thoſe that go and ſettle elſewhere, to continue to contribute to the Charges and Neceſſities of the State, they permit Tranſmigrations. So that it was what might have very well been let alone, the ſeeking to diſcover in a formal Reſolution of the States of the Province, and of the Generality it ſelf, a Paradox quite deſtitute of all appearance of Reaſon. Then it follows from hence, by an infallible Conſequence, that he who can tranſplant himſelf and Family out of the Countrey, may, with much more reaſon, put himſelf in the Service of, or bind himſelf by Oath to, a foreign Prince; becauſe he that can do a greater thing, can alſo do the leſs that is imply'd therein. If he does it with the Conſent or Permiſſion, expreſs or tacit, of the Sovereign of the Place of his Birth; this looſes, with the Juriſdiction, all the other Rights which he had over the Perſon of his Subject. The Reaſon thereof is very evident; becauſe he that takes an Oath to a foreign Prince, is liable to his Juriſdiction, and is oblig'd to give him an account of his Actions.

This is an Obligation beyond Compariſon much ſtronger than that of Birth; ſince the Subject can go out of a Countrey, and withdraw himſelf from the Subjection of his Sovereign, and as the *Spaniards* ſay, *deſnaturarſe*, without his Permiſſion; but he that is ſworn to a Prince cannot get off of it till he has procur'd his Diſcharge: as the Soldier cannot leave the Standard, nor the Officer quit the Service, without a Licence, but he muſt at the ſame time become a Deſerter, a Transfuge, and a Traitor. Now there is no being ſubject to two Sovereigns, nor accountable for our Actions to two different Princes; but by taking an Oath to the one, we get out of the Obligation we had to the other; for there is no ſerving two Maſters, whoſe Intereſts may be quite different and contrary.

For this Reaſon I dare not maintain, that the Reſolution the States General have taken within ſome Years, relating to thoſe *Hollanders* that ſhall become Miniſters to a foreign Prince, was concerted with their uſual Prudence. Let them conſider if they pleaſe, whether by ordaining, that their Subject, who in the Quality of a publick Miniſter, ſhall put himſelf in the Service of a foreign Prince, ſhall nevertheleſs remain ſubject to the Juſtice of the Province, they do not give an indirect Blow to the *Law of Nations*, which exempts him from it. To permit a Subject to paſs into the Service of a foreign Prince, and at the ſame time to preſerve a Juriſdiction over his Perſon, is rendering him uſeleſs to the Prince; and even depriving the ſaid Prince of the Right of diſpoſing of the Perſon of his Miniſter, and puniſhing him if he deſerves it. On the other ſide, it is moreover deſtroying the Character of the Miniſter, by robbing him of the brighteſt of all his Privileges, *viz.* that of being exempt from the Juriſdiction of the Place where he reſides; as we ſhall take notice hereafter. There is no Miniſter that knows himſelf, can be ſuch a Coward, as to do ſo much Wrong to his Character: and there is not any Prince, that has a Dram of Honour, that will ſuffer any Juſtice beſides his own to lay hands upon his Miniſter,

Miniſter, under any Pretext whatſoever. Neither do I believe, that hitherto there has been one ſingle Miniſter, that has acquieſc'd in a Reſolution ſo prejudicial to his Dignity, and the Reputation of his Prince; or that would have accepted of ſo illuſtrious an Employment, on ſo abject and ſervile a Condition.

The States of *Holland* will, I hope, give me leave to ſay, that it does not belong to them to fruſtrate a publick Miniſter of the Advantages his Character beſtows upon him, with the general Conſent of all the Nations of the Earth. If they will have their Subject acknowledge their Juriſdiction, let them not admit him as a publick Miniſter: but when they have once admitted and acknowledg'd him in this Quality, let them not hinder him from enjoying all the Advantages that are inſeparable from a Miniſter, of which the Exemption from the Juſtice of the Place, is the firſt and the moſt important. But of this we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the 27th Chapter. So that I ſhall only add here to what I have already ſaid, that I cannot tell whether the States of *Holland* have acted up to their Intention, when they paſs'd a Reſolution that hinders foreign Princes from employing a *Hollander* as a Miniſter; ſince by this means they oppoſe the good Diſpoſition of any Prince, who by employing one of the Subjects of this Province to the States General, thinks to oblige them and give them particular Marks of his Friendſhip, by ſending a Perſon that ought to be by ſo much the more acceptable to them, as it is impoſſible to wean our ſelves of the natural Love we have for our Countrey. If the Perſon of the Subject be not acceptable; as they make a part of the States General, and the moſt principal part too, they may oppoſe his being admitted: and if he becomes diſagreeable during the time of his Negotiation, it is the buſineſs of the States General, to do what *Decorum* can warrant, to get rid of a troubleſome and impertinent Miniſter.

In *England* the Subjects have a ſtronger and more particular Obligation to their Sovereign than elſewhere, by virtue of the *Right* which they call *Allegiance:* But that does not hinder the *Engliſh* from retiring out of the Kingdom, without the King's Permiſſion: and when they have ſettled themſelves elſewhere, neither the King's Authority, nor the Laws of the Kingdom, have any farther Power over them. In the Year 1644, *John Webſter*, an *Engliſh* Merchant, living at *Amſterdam*, and ſome other Merchants of the ſame Nation, who aſſiſted the King with their Money, were declar'd Enemies of the State, by the Parliament at *London. Upon a Complaint made thereof by the States* of Holland, *in the Aſſembly of the States General, theſe order'd their Embaſſadors to inform themſelves what Laws and Cuſtoms the Parliament pretended to make uſe of, to maintain, that an* Engliſhman, *reſiding out of the Kingdom, who has fix'd his Habitation in their Country, and is become a Burgeſs there, is ſtill Subject to the Juriſdiction, and to the Laws of that Kingdom.* We muſt therefore neceſſarily conclude, that even the States of *Holland* are of Opinion, that there are no Laws, either in *England* or elſewhere, that can hinder a Subject from tranſplanting his Habitation into another Countrey, and from giving himſelf another Sovereign, than what he had by reaſon of his Birth. This is confirm'd by the Anſwer the States of the United Provinces made at the beginning of this War, to the Manifeſto the King of *Great Britain* publiſh'd to juſtifie his Arms; and particularly to that Article, where his Majeſty promiſes all Safety and good Uſage to the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces, that would come and ſettle themſelves in *England*. The States might have ſaid, according to the Opinion of ſome modern Politicians and Lawyers, that there were particular Laws that forbid the Inhabitants to tranſplant themſelves elſewhere, without leave from their Sovereign; but inſtead of advancing ſo extravagant a Maxim, they only ſay, that their Countrey is not yet perceiv'd to grow thin of Inhabitants, by the frequent Tranſmigrations of the People, preferring the Gentleneſs of the *Engliſh* Government, to that of the United Provinces. From whence we ought certainly to judge, that the States are of Opinion, that thoſe who believe they ſhall find more Gentleneſs and Conveniency in *England* than in their Countrey, may go and live there, without the leave of the Sovereign. We may likewiſe from thence conclude, that altho' *Bodin*'s Opinion could ſubſiſt in *France*, that is to ſay, in a Deſpotick Monarchy, yet it could not obtain in reference to *Holland*.

The Reaſons I have juſt laid down ſufficiently prove the impertinence of it; but that I may wholly deſtroy it, and make it appear to be falſe, even with reſpect to *France*, where he wrote; I ſhall here alledge, as in its proper place, the Example of *Claudius Marini*, and the Declaration King *Lewis* XIII. made on his account, upon the Subject I treat of in this Chapter. This Gentleman being oblig'd to retire from *Genoa*, which was his native Countrey, was receiv'd in *France*, and employ'd by the King in the Quality of Embaſſador to the Court of *Turin*, at the time that the Duke of *Savoy* and the Conſtable *de Leſdiguieres* made War againſt that Republick. The *Senate*, which knew that *Marini* (who was not very well ſatisfy'd with thoſe who had the chief Direction and Management of Affairs at *Genoa*) did it ſeveral Diſſervices, caus'd him to be indicted; condemn'd him for contumacy as a Rebel; raz'd his Houſe, and ſet a Price upon his Head; promiſing eighteen thouſand Crowns to him that ſhould bring it to *Genoa*. The King, ſeeing his Miniſter treated after this manner, reſented it, as all Princes ought to reſent the Wrongs and Injuries that are done to thoſe they honour with their Character. He order'd *du Fargis*, the *French* Embaſſador at *Madrid*, to procure to the Article of the Treaty of *Mouçon*, which mention'd the recalling and re-eſtabliſhing the Exiles, *a particular Explication in favour of* Marini. He requir'd, that therein it ſhould be expreſſly ſaid, that his Miniſter ſhould be reſtored to his Honour, his Eſtate and Privileges, and that fifty thouſand Livres ſhould be paid him for Damages. The Count Duke *d'Olivares* not being able to engage for this particular Promiſe, without the conſent of the *Genoeſe* Embaſſador, who had no Power at all on that Head; the King caus'd fifty Bales of Silk, that belong'd to *Genoeſe* Merchants, to be ſold for the Benefit of *Marini*, and made him enjoy the Rents other *Genoeſe* had out of the

the Town-Houſe of *Paris*. Some time after, the King ſent the Marquis *de Rambouillet* about the Regulation of ſome Points relating to the Execution of the ſame Treaty of *Mouçon:* And amongſt other Articles of his Inſtructions, *the King recommended to him, after a very particular manner, the ſaving of* Marini *harmleſs*. But as the Marquis could not obtain any thing with relation to the main Affair, and that he had no great Satisfaction at *Madrid*, he did not mention this particular Intereſt. The King would even have *Marini* to be one of the *Arbitrators* of the Difference the Republick of *Genoa* had with the Duke of *Savoy*, on account of the Marquiſate of *Zuccarello:* And notwithſtanding the Senate refus'd that, it was however oblig'd to annul his Outlawry, and to reſtore *Marini* to the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate and Honour. The King's Declaration explains ſo well the *Law of Nations*, and the Queſtion in hand, that I cannot forbear inſerting it here at length. It ſpeaks in theſe Terms.

" His Majeſty being duly inform'd, that they, " who at preſent govern the Republick of *Ge-* " *noa, had by an unparallell'd Audaciouſneſs, and* " *extraordinary Temerity, violated the Law of* " *Nations in the Perſon of the Sieur* Marini, *his* " *Majeſty's Embaſſador in* Piedmont, by cauſing " a Sentence to be publiſh'd, by which they " declar'd him a Rebel in the higheſt Degree, " and as ſuch condemn'd him to die, confiſca- " ting all his Goods, Moveables and Immove- " bles, within their Juriſdiction, and alſo de- " moliſhing his Houſes; having moreover ſet " a Price upon his Head, *viz.* eighteen thou- " ſand Crowns: His Majeſty therefore taking " into Conſideration, *how much his Dignity was* " *thereby offended, and the publick Laws violated,* " and reſolving to have ſuch Reparation made " as is ſuitable to ſuch an Enterprize; his Ma- " jeſty has taken, and put into his Protection " and Safeguard, the Perſon and Goods of the " ſaid Sieur *Marini* his Embaſſador, in Conſe- " quence whereof he has ordain'd, and does " ordain, That the *Effects*, *Merchandize* and " *Goods*, as well Moveables as Immoveables, " of all the *Genoeſe* within the Realm, *ſhall be* " *from the time preſent ſeiz'd*, in what Place " ſoever they may be, and a good and faithful " Inventory made by his Officers of the whole. " *That the Perſons of the ſaid* Genoeſe *ſhall be* " *likewiſe arreſted*, and put into the Royal Pri- " ſons of the Places where they ſhall be taken, " to ſerve as Pledges for the Perſon and Goods " of the ſaid Sieur *Marini*, and there to remain " till ſuch time as it ſhall be otherwiſe ordain'd " by his Majeſty; excepting however, in re- " ference to the Impriſonment of the Perſons, " thoſe of the *Genoeſe* who ſhall be found to " have Letters of Naturalization from his " Majeſty, duly verify'd. He moreover " wills, and intends, that for the better Exe- " cution of what is above mention'd, the " Books of Commerce of the ſaid *Genoeſe* " be likewiſe ſeiz'd, the better to diſcover " all their Effects, and to prevent and hinder " their being conceal'd under the Names " of other Merchants. Strictly charging and " commanding all his Subjects, of what Con- " dition or Quality ſoever, who ſhall have in " their Hands any Goods or Effects, or the " Perſons of the ſaid *Genoeſe*, or ſhall know " in what Place they are, to make known and " diſcover the ſame within eight Days from " the Day of the Publication of this preſent " Ordinance, on the Penalty to the *Contrave-* " *ners*, of the Confiſcation of all their Goods; " one third whereof ſhall be apply'd to the Ho- " ſpitals of the Poor, another to his Majeſty, " and the third to the Diſcoverer; declaring " that they who ſhall be any way aiding and " aſſiſting to the Concealment of the ſaid " Goods, Effects and Perſons, ſhall thereby in- " cur the ſame Penalties. And foraſmuch as " his Majeſty will, *upon ſo extraordinary and ir-* " *regular a Procedure of the Republick, by which* " *the publick Faith was violated*, make uſe of " extraordinary means, and ſuch as are not " commonly practis'd in this Kingdom, for the " Reparation thereof: His Majeſty ordains " and promiſes a Reward of threeſcore thou- " ſand Livres to his Subjects, or other Per- " ſons, of whatever Condition they may be, " who ſhall duly verify and make out their ha- " ving chaſtiz'd, and puniſh'd with Death, any " one of thoſe who ſhall have aſſiſted and been " preſent at the Judgement, and *temerarious* " *Sentence* given againſt the ſaid Sieur *Marini* " his Embaſſador, and ſet a Price upon his " Head; which Sum his Majeſty will cauſe to " be duly and punctually paid 'em out of his " Treaſury. His Majeſty alſo ordains, that " this preſent Ordinance ſhall be publiſh'd " through all the parts of his Dominions, " where it ſhall be requiſite, as alſo without the " ſame; charging and ſtrictly commanding all " his Juſtices, Officers and Subjects, to be aid- " ing and aſſiſting in the Execution hereof. " Given at *Fountainblean* the fourth Day of " *October*, 1625." Sign'd *Lewis*, and under- neath *Lomenie*.

In Purſuance of this Ordinance all the *Genoeſe* were put into Priſon, in *Province*, at *Lyons*, and at *Paris*. But according to *Bodin*'s Opinion, the Republick of *Genoa* was in the right, and could proceed againſt a Gentleman that was her Subject, and had put himſelf in the Service of a foreign Prince. He had put himſelf there againſt the Will of his Sovereign: He ſtirr'd up the Arms of *France* and *Savoy* againſt his Countrey; and notwithſtanding that, the King ſays, That his Dignity is injur'd in the Perſon of his Embaſſador: That the Sentence of the Senate was temerarious: That the *Law of Nations* was violated thereby, and that the publick Laws were offended therein. So that it is to be believ'd that the King, who judges that a Sovereign has not a Right to lay Claim to a Subject, that ſerves in the Quality of publick Miniſter to a foreign Prince in another Court, would never injure in his own, a *Frenchman*, that ſhould be there employ'd by another Sovereign: As in effect, it is judg'd in that Kingdom that the Character carries it, againſt Birth; and that neither the Civil Laws, nor Local Cuſtoms, any more than the particular Ordinances of Princes, can deſtroy a Right eſtabliſh'd by the general Conſent of all People.

King *Francis* I. employ'd *Anthony Rincon*, and *Cæſar Fregoſa*, who were both Strangers. The firſt was a *Spaniard*, that is to ſay, a Subject of the Emperor *Charles* V, who, according to *Bodin*'s Maxim, might have laid Claim to him a-

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ny where, and have treated him as a fugitive Servant; yet *Charles* was ſo far from making uſe of that pretended Right, that he did not dare to own the murdering of him, tho' it had been executed either by his expreſs Order, or with his Approbation. In the Year 1541, theſe two Miniſters (the one of which was going to *Conſtantinople*, where he had already negotiated ſome Matters againſt the Emperors Service) believing they might with Safety paſs through *Piedmont*, by reaſon of the Truce that had been agreed upon at *Nice*, embark'd themſelves on the *Po*, in order to go by *Ferrara* to *Venice*. The Marquis *du Guaſt*, Governor of *Milan*, being advis'd of their Paſſage, caus'd them to be murder'd by Soldiers he had laid in Ambuſcade for that purpoſe, on the Bank of the River. Some of their Retinue got away, and the reſt were brought into the Caſtle of *Cremona*; ſo that there was not any room to doubt but the Fact was authoriz'd by the Governor of *Milan*. King *Francis* I. complain'd hereof to all the Courts of *Europe*, and requir'd Satisfaction of the Emperor, who inſtead of owning the Execution as an Act of Juſtice exercis'd upon his Subject, diſown'd the ſame, and only ſaid that *Rincon* and *Fregoſa* not having made themſelves known as publick Miniſters, the *Law of Nations* had not been violated in Perſons that had not made known their Character. The Marquis *du Guaſt* defended himſelf by a *Manifeſto* in print, and offer'd to fight any Perſon that ſhould charge him with an Action, wherein he ſaid he was not at all concern'd. It muſt needs have been a black one, ſince the Emperor and the Marquis did not dare to own it; as without doubt they would have done, if *Charles* had believ'd he could have diſpos'd of a Subject that had paſs'd into the Service of, and taken an Oath to, a foreign Prince. The Policy of the Authors of this Maxim is more modern, and was not yet known by thoſe who believ'd they underſtood the *Law of Nations* in thoſe times, and who in reality underſtood it perfectly well.

After what I have ſaid of the Liberty that almoſt all Chriſtians enjoy, excepting the *Muſcovites* only, and ſome other Slaves, of transferring their Habitation out of the Place of their birth, there is no room to doubt but a Man may diſcharge the Function of Embaſſador in his own Countrey. For ſince there is no being the Subject of two Princes, as I before obſerv'd; and that he that goes out of the Place of his birth, goes at the ſame time out of the Subjection of his Sovereign; it follows, that he enters into that of a new Sovereign, whoſe Subject being become, he is oblig'd to obey him, and to ſerve him even againſt the Perſon of him who was his Sovereign, but being ſo no longer cannot deſire of him any Duties to the Prejudice of the laſt; and conſequently, he cannot hinder him from diſcharging the Functions of Embaſſador, nor from enjoying all the Advantages and Prerogatives that are dependent thereon.

Hereupon I ſhall take notice by the way, that a Subject of the States of *Holland*, who in the Quality of publick Miniſter paſſes into the Service of a foreign Prince, whether it be done with their Conſent or not, transfers his Dwelling out of the Province, and is no longer their Subject. For altho' he reſides at the *Hague*, yet he is not there as in a Town of *Holland*, but he is there to attend the Court, and as in a Place which the States of *Holland* have yielded up to the States General, to the end the Deputies they ſhall ſend thither may be there as in a neutral Place, as they have formerly been at *Utrecht*, at *Bergen-op-zoom* and elſewhere; and that it may give to the Miniſters of foreign Princes that Safety and Protection which is their due, by virtue of the *Law of Nations*, and *of the publick Faith*. As on the other ſide, a *Hollander* who has put himſelf in the Service of a foreign Prince, in the Quality of a publick Miniſter, to be employ'd to the States General, is not an Embaſſador or Reſident in his native Countrey; but he is ſuch to a State or Power, of which *Holland* is but a part. So that as the States of that Province cannot ſingly cauſe a Miniſter to be recall'd who is not acceptable to them, nor ſend him out of the Countrey; ſince that cannot be done but by the means of the States General; ſo likewiſe it does not belong to them, and ſtill leſs to their Court of Juſtice, to proceed againſt a publick Miniſter, who as he owes them nothing, ought not to give an account of his Actions but to the Prince he ſerves, and to whom he has taken an Oath of Fidelity.

There is no Prince that refuſes to acknowledge his Subject in the Quality of Embaſſador, if he comes on the part of a Sovereign whom he has no reaſon to diſtruſt; unleſs, for particular Reaſons, the Perſon of the Embaſſador is not grateful to him. In the Year 1514, Pope *Leo* X. ſent to *Venice Peter Bembo*, a *Venetian* Gentleman, who there made a bold Speech enough, conformable to his Inſtructions, and the Pope's Intention. The Sages of the College made their Report thereof to the Senate, who did not approve of the Nuncio's Harangue; but that did not hinder the *Doge* from telling him, that the Embaſſy the Pope had ſent them was acceptable, *as well on the ſcore of the Perſon of the Embaſſador, whoſe Merit was well known to the Senate, and the Affection he had for his native Country, as for the Love they had for the Prince that employ'd him.* *Paul* IV. ſent at the ſame time Cardinal *Caraffa* his Nephew into *France*, and *Scipio Rebiba* to the Emperor; to whom he wrote, that he hop'd *that Legate would be by ſo much the more acceptable to him, as he was born his Subject.* The Popes who gave the Quality of *Legate* to Cardinal *Wolſey* and Cardinal *Pool*, and afterwards to *Petey*, the Queen's Confeſſor, did it becauſe they thought thoſe Miniſters would be acceptable to the Court of *England*. *William* Archbiſhop of *Rheims* was not only a *Frenchman*, and Unkle by the Mother's ſide to King *Philip Auguſtus*, but he was alſo Regent in *France*, and withal Legate. *Otto de Chaſteauroux* was Legate in *France* under *Lewis* XI, and accompany'd him in his Expedition to the Holy Land. *Peter* of *Luxemburg*, Biſhop of *Mans* and of *Theroüenne*, was Legate in *France* under *Philip de Valois*. *George d'Amboiſe* was Archbiſhop of *Roane*, and firſt Miniſter of *Lewis* XII, and Legate: as Cardinal *du Prat* was Archbiſhop of *Sens*, Chancellor of *France*, and Legate, in the Reign of *Francis* I. Pope *Clement* VI. ſent to *Peter* IV. King of *Arragon* the Cardinal *de Rhodez*, of the Title

Title of *St. Cyriaque aux Thermes*, who was *Legate*, and chief of the Embaſſie, with Frier *Bernard Olivier*, a Religious of the Order of St. *Auguſtin*, and Biſhop of *Hueſca*; the one whereof was the Son of a *Catalan*, and the other was of *Valencia*, and *Peter*'s Subject.

Julius III. ſent Cardinal *Mignelli* to *Sienna*, which was the place of his Birth, as judging him a very fit Perſon to regulate affairs there, by reaſon of the Credit his Birth gave him with that Republick. After the ſame manner *Pius* V, ſending in the Year 1570, *Lewis de Torres Nuncio* into *Spain*, wrote to the King, that *He ſent him one of his Subjects, that he might repoſe the greater confidence in him.* And accordingly, *Philip* took ſo much pleaſure in the Conduct of this Prelate, that he gave him the Archbiſhoprick of *Montreal* in *Sicily*. Some Years ſince, the Cardinal Duke of *Mercœur* was Legate in *France* at the Chriſtening of the *Dauphine*, that is to ſay, to aſſiſt thereat, in the quality of Godfather on the part of the Pope.

In the Year 1294, Pope *Celeſtin* V.. ſent *Raimond* Biſhop of *Valencia*, and *Boniface* of *Calamandrana*, Maſter of the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, to *James* I. King of *Arragon*, tho' they were both of them the King's Subjects. In the Year 1423, *Alfonſo* V. King of *Arragon*, ſent into *Caſtille Don John* of *Valerre*, Biſhop of *Taraſcon*, and *Gonſale Montroy* in the Quality of Embaſſadors, altho' this Nobleman was a *Caſtilian*, born at *Salamanca*; but he had been Educated in *Arragon*, before *Alfonſo* ſucceeded to the Crown. This Embaſſie was ſent to the Queen of *Arragon*, who was at *Medina del Campo*, and not to the King of *Caſtile*, to whom it was not acceptable; notwithſtanding which, the King ſuffer'd his Subject to enter the Kingdom in the quality of Embaſſador, and to be there in ſafety.

In the Year 1486, *Bernardin* of *Carvajal* was ſent by Pope *Innocent* VII. to *Ferdinand the Catholick*, altho' he was that King's Subject. *Ludron de Guevarra* a Gentleman of *Arragon*, was in the Year 1492, ſent by *Philip* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* the Catholick Kings, notwithſtanding he was their Subject. He there made the firſt overtures of the Marriage which has ſince been executed with *Jean* their Daughter: And ſome time after, *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, and Father of *Philip*, ſent thither *Gaſpar de Lupian* his High-Steward, who was deſcended from one of the chief Houſes of *Rouſſillon*, and as ſuch, *Ferdinand*'s Subject, tho' he had from his youth attended upon *Maximilian*.

The Kings of *Sweden*, Predeceſſors of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, had very little Correſpondence with the reſt of Europe. Their Subjects whoſe knowledge hardly went farther than the Coaſts of the Baltick-Sea, knew nothing but the affairs of their own Countrey, and the intereſts of their King, which were not of any great extent. Wherefore King *Guſtavus*, who after his glorious Performances in the Wars of *Muſcovy*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, made himſelf be conſider'd as the only *Hero* capable of reſtoring the affairs of *Germany*; ſeeing that the Noblemen of his Countrey were better qualified to execute his Orders in the Army, than to bring about his Intentions in foreign Courts by negotiations and intrigues, took his Miniſters indifferently where-ever he found any fit for his purpoſe. *Charles* his Father had already employ'd *Van Dyck*, and he continu'd to make uſe of him himſelf, and to employ indifferently *Hollanders* and *Germans* in *Holland*, *Germany*, *France*, and other places. Under Queen *Chriſtina*, and under the Government of *Charles Guſtavus*, as alſo during the minority of the preſent King, the Crown of *Sweden* has employ'd *Hugh de Groot*, *Camerarius*, *Sadler*, *Strasburguer*, *Salvius*, and particularly *Spiring*, *Chriſtopher Delfique* Earl of *Dona* and *Vander Noot*, Hollanders, in *Holland* it ſelf.

Cardinal *Alexander Bichi* was by birth a Subject of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and was become the Pope's by his promotion, but neither his Birth nor his Dignity hinder'd the King of *France* from employing him both to the one and to the other; as he made uſe of *Jeannetin Juſtiniany* a *Genoeſe*, in the Quality of publick Miniſter to the Republick of *Genoa*.

The Popes, who know how to procure to themſelves what they believe to be their right, and even beyond it, ſuffer Princes to employ in the ſame Quality, not only Cardinals, but alſo *Romans*, who are born Subjects to the See of *Rome*. The Duke *Frederick Savelli*, a Roman Baron, was Embaſſador to the Pope on the part of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. during the War with the *Barberins*; and he dar'd to ſpeak to *Urban* in ſuch bold Terms, that the *Cardinal Patron* complain'd thereof to Cardinal *Savelli* the Embaſſador's Brother. He told him that a Subject endu'd with the Character of Embaſſador, ought nevertheleſs to have a reſpect for his Sovereign. The Duke agreed thereto, but then he added, that this obligation was common to him, with all other publick Miniſters, who ought to reſpect thoſe Princes with whom they negotiate; but at the ſame time they are indiſpenſably oblig'd to execute punctually and with vigour the orders of the Maſter they ſerve, without any regard to the Prince with whom they negotiate; who is alſo oblig'd to reſpect *him* that ſpeaks to him by his Embaſſador, notwithſtanding the pretended obligation of Birth. And indeed Cardinal *Bichi*, whom I before mention'd, being come to *Rome* in the Quality of Embaſſador from *France*, went immediately to the Cardinals *Barberini*, and declar'd to 'em that he would not leave them, 'till they had given him an anſwer in writing to all the Articles he had propos'd to them. He moreover added, he was inform'd that they deſign'd to take Money out of the Treaſury of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*; but he was willing to let them know, that if they did ſo, every body would have reaſon to believe that they did it with an intention to continue the War. *Bichi* was the Pope's Subject, he was moreover his Creature, and the *Barberins* were ſo powerful, or to ſpeak the truth, ſo inſolent at that time, that not one of the Cardinals would have dar'd to have ſpoke to 'em in ſuch a ſtrain; and *Bichi* himſelf would have been far from doing it without his Quality of Embaſſador, which put him out of the reach of their Inſults. The ſame Duke *Savelli* having a great diſpute with the Prince *Prefect* about Precedency; Pope *Innocent* X. ſignify'd to him he ſhould be glad if he did not come to the Chapel: But he made anſwer,

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That ſhould his Holineſs command him not to come to the Throne, he would not ſcruple to come thither. By which it appears, that as Embaſſador he was more oblig'd to obey the Emperor, than as a Roman Baron to obey the Pope.

There cannot be any thing more bold, than the Example of *Abraham Strotzen*, who has made a figure at the Court of *Conſtantinople*, under the name of *Ibrahim Bey*, as firſt Interpreter of *Soliman* and *Selim* II. Emperors of the Turks. He was a *Polander*, and a Renegade, and nevertheleſs *Selim* ſent him in the Year 1569, to *Sigiſmund* the Auguſt, King of *Poland*, concerning a paſſage for his Army which he was going to march againſt the *Muſcovite*. He had a publick Audience, and afterwards ſeveral private Conferences with the King, who did not treat him as his Subject, but as the Miniſter of a Sovereign Prince, whoſe Character he reſpected.

In *France*, where ſometimes the King employs Subjects to their Sovereigns, *Frenchmen* are alſo admitted in the Quality of Embaſſadors. *Bartholomew de Coeur* was a Phyſician, and a Provencial, but the great Turk ſent him nevertheleſs with a Preſent to King *Henry* IV. who did not treat him as a Subject, or a Renegade, notwithſtanding the Laws of *France* are very ſevere againſt that kind of Criminal, but as a publick Miniſter. Perhaps it may be objected, that the King was oblig'd to have a regard to the Power of the Prince that ſent him; but that reaſon cannot be admitted with reference to a King, who did not act upon any ſuch Principle, and who only had the *Law of Nations* for the guide of his behaviour in this caſe, which was always his and his Succeſſor's practice towards their Subjects, when they have preſented themſelves to 'em cloath'd with the Character of Embaſſador; not only from Crown'd Heads, but alſo from thoſe Princes to whom the Quality of moſt Serene is not given.

I ſhall bring for Example hereof, the Embaſſadors of *Malta*. The *Great Maſter* of the Order of St. *John of Jeruſalem* is a Sovereign Prince, and acknowledg'd as ſuch by all the other Princes of Chriſtendom: Notwithſtanding which, neither himſelf nor his Embaſſadors are treated at *Rome* as the *Duke of Savoy*, and the *Great Duke of Tuſcany*, or their Miniſters are; yet nevertheleſs the King of *France* makes 'em be cover'd at their Audience, even when they are his own Subjects, and notwithſtanding the particular Oath they take to him as his Officers in his Wars. The Commander *de Hautefeuille* Embaſſador from *Malta*, is a Pariſian, and withal is a Lieutenant General in his Majeſty's Army, actually ſerving when the King is there in Perſon; and nevertheleſs the King conſiders him as an Embaſſador, as he had conſider'd in the ſame quality the Commander *de Souvré*, who preceded *Hautefeuille*. But to the end it may be known how *France* behaves it ſelf therein, I ſhall here give an Extract of ſome Memoirs that *M. de Berliſe* one of the Introductors of Embaſſadors has made of the function of his Office for the ſpace of ſome Years. He delivers himſelf thus: "The "30th of *January*, 1639, the *Mareſchal de St.* "*Luc*, and the *Sieur de Berliſe* went with the "King's and Queens Coaches as far as *Piquepuce* to meet the *Bailiff de Fourbin*, Great-"Croſs and Embaſſador Extraordinary from "*Malta*, and conducted him to the *Hotel de* "*Silery*, where he was to Lodge, with a Cortege of ſixty Coaches with ſix Horſes. All "the Princes, the Embaſſadors of the Romiſh "Religion, and a great many other Noblemen "having ſent to meet him, having neither been "lodg'd nor defray'd. The next day the Sieur "*de Liancourt* firſt Gentleman of the Bed-"Chamber went to viſit him from the King. "The 13th of *February* the Mareſchal *de St.* "*Luc*, and the Count *de Brulon* receiv'd him "at his Lodgings with the King's and Queen's "Coaches, in order to conduct him to St. "*Germains* to receive Audience of their Ma-"jeſties, before which the King gave him a "Dinner. *It was deliberated on, whether he* "*ſhould* be Cover'd, which is worth remark-"ing. In fine, the Count *de Brulon* ſpoke to "the King about it; *and his Majeſty remem-*"*bring that the Commander* de Formigere, *Em-*"*baſſador Extraordinary from* Malta, *being like-*"*wiſe a French Man, and a Captain in the Re-*"*giment of Guards, had been Cover'd, reſolv'd* "*that he ſhould alſo be cover'd; but that he* "*ſhould behave himſelf therein with modeſty and* "*reſpect, which accordingly he did.* For having "made a ſhort Speech to the King with his "Hat on, he afterwards ſpoke again for ſome "time to him uncover'd, as he did to the "Queen. He alſo ſaw the *Dauphine*, it be-"ing the principal occaſion of his coming, to "congratulate the King on his Birth. He af-"terwards viſited the Princes of the Blood, "whom he Saluted, *Monſeigneur the Prince,* "*who gave him the hand, and the Title of Ex-*"*cellency*; and the Cardinal *Richelieu*. The 10th "of *April* he took his leave of their Majeſty's, "being conducted by the ſame Perſons, and "in the ſame manner to St. *Germains*. The "Count *de Brulon* brought him a Picture Box "worth four thouſand Livres; after which he "ſet out, not to return to *Malta*, *but to go* "*and Command the King's Galleys*, in the "quality of Lieutenant General. Thoſe Princes who know what reſpect is due to the *Law of Nations*, will always behave themſelves after this manner, becauſe they are ſenſible alſo that the ſervice and publick acknowledgment of a foreign Prince frees the Miniſter not only from the duties of his Birth, but alſo from the obligation even of an Oath, which is much more binding than the other. This is what cannot be deny'd; for if an Oath of Fidelity did not add a freſh and even ſtronger obligation to that which is already due to the Sovereign on account of Birth, it would only be tender'd to foreign Officers and Soldiers, and not to thoſe of the Countrey; and it would be needleſs to exact it from Officers of Juſtice, and thoſe that are intruſted with the adminiſtration of publick affairs, did not an Oath oblige 'em to a particular Duty. It is plain nevertheleſs that the dignity of *Embaſſador* is not inconſiſtent with the Commiſſion of an Officer, and that out of the Functions that are purely Military, this latter always gives place to the former. What I have here ſaid of the Commanders *Formigere*, *Forbin* and *Hautefeuille* ſufficiently confirms this Truth, tho' there were not a great many more Examples that might ſerve to that purpoſe. *M. d'Avaugour* was Colonel

in the *Swediſh* Army in *Germany*, where he was a publick Miniſter: and Count *Konigſmarc* was a *Mareſchal de Camp* in the *French* Army, and was at the ſame time Embaſſador from *Sweden* to the King. The *Baron de Charnacé* was Colonel of Foot, Captain of a Troop of light Horſe, and Embaſſador from *France* in *Holland*. Every body that knew him, muſt needs be ſenſible of his ability; and he gave proof of his Courage, when he dy'd in the Trenches at the Siege of *Breda*.

The *Count Deſtrades*, who is at preſent a Mareſchal of *France*, made all the Campaigns in *Holland* as a Military Officer till the Siege of *Hulſt* incluſively, which did not hinder him from negotiating, and really being a Miniſter at the ſame time. And no body has hitherto dar'd to maintain that a Council of War could have proceeded againſt him, notwithſtanding his quality of Miniſter. On the contrary, I am not afraid to ſay that a Council of War could not have proceeded againſt him, even in the caſe of Crimes purely Military, tho' at the ſame time he gave his conſent that it ſhould; becauſe as he was the Depoſitary of the King's ſecret Intentions and Orders who was his Maſter, he could not ſubmit himſelf to the juriſdiction of a Council of War, nor to any other, without doing injury to his dignity and ſervice. I am not here ſpeaking of the time that he was Embaſſador Extraordinary in *Holland*; becauſe that altho' he had then alſo a Regiment, and had taken an Oath to the States, his Character put him undeniably above all the juriſdictions of the Countrey, even of that where he negotiated without any Quality, and where his Quality of Officer in the War ſerv'd as a Cloak to that of Miniſter; while he negotiated without ſeeming to do ſo, and was a Miniſter without being acknowledg'd as ſuch by any but thoſe with whom he negotiated; that is to ſay, by the Prince of *Orange*, and thoſe of the *States* to whom he communicated his negotiation, and who were thoſe that could ſecure him the protection of the *Law of Nations:* He actually enjoy'd it; ſince it was out of that conſideration only that he came off ſo well in the difference he had with the Prince of *Orange* in the Year 1646. *Deſtrades* had orders to entruſt the Prince with the Propoſal which had been made for a Marriage betwixt the King and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, to whom the King her Father gave for Dowry, together with the Province of *Flanders*, the pretenſions he had to the United Provinces. He deſir'd the Prince to be very cautious how he communicated ſo important a Secret: But the Prince being of opinion he could not conceal it without wounding the fidelity he ow'd the States, imparted it to his Maſters. The States were for diving farther into the matter, but *Deſtrades* pretended to be ignorant, and ſaid he knew nothing of it. The Prince of *Orange* was his Captain General, and he was in too high a conſideration in the Countrey, to have the truth of what he ſaid be doubted of; yet nevertheleſs he was forc'd to ſuffer the Lye in a manner to be given him by an Officer that was oblig'd to obey his Orders. It is reaſonable to think the Prince would not have put up the affront, if he could have any way have ſhewn his reſentment without loſing the reſpect he ow'd to *Deſtrades*, as being the Miniſter of a great and powerful Monarch, who was the ſpring of all he acted on this occaſion. This is what could not be unknown, ſince *Deſtrades* who was very reſerv'd in all his actions, would have been far from advancing a propoſition of that nature, without an expreſs order for his ſo doing; and it is moſt certain he had one. The Prince of *Orange* on his ſide was very wiſe, and judg'd it was much better to diſſemble the indirect proceedings of the *French* Miniſters, who were the directors of *Deſtrades*'s actions, than to ſhew his own diſcontent, which would only ſerve to increaſe his mortification. Cardinal *Mazarin* was for rendring the *Spaniards* intentions ſuſpected to the States, who began already to liſten to a particular Treaty; but it had a contrary effect in augmenting the jealouſie that was already entertain'd of that neighbouring Power.

The regard Princes have to the Quality of *publick Miniſters* is ſo great, that they even reſpect it in their own Subjects, and that ſometimes when they are not oblig'd thereto. I do not ſay it is a lawful Cauſe for which a Prince can refuſe to admit a Miniſter; on the contrary, I am of opinion that he cannot make uſe of that pretext, becauſe a Subject by putting himſelf in the Service of a foreign Prince, paſſes out of the obedience and ſubjection of his natural Prince; but then there may be other circumſtances that may occaſion a Subject's being rejected, altho' he be veſted with a publick Character. In the Year 1614. *Ferdinand* Duke of *Mantua*, ſent *Scipio Paſquale* in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *Madrid*. This Prelate was a Native of *Coſenza* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of courſe a Subject of the King of *Spain*, who might have ſaid that the Duke fail'd in the reſpect he ow'd him, by ſending a *Neapolitan* to him, and that for an affair wherein the Duke of *Savoy* the King's Brother-in-Law had ſo great an Intereſt, that he had ſent the Prince his eldeſt Son into *Spain* to oppoſe *Paſquale's* Negotiation. But notwithſtanding all this, the latter made himſelf be conſider'd as an Embaſſador, and not as a Subject; and acquitted himſelf ſo well of his Function, that the ſucceſs of his Negotiation was ſoon rewarded with the Biſhoprick of *Caſal*.

Had not the King of *France* ſufficient reaſon to be offended, to ſee *Auger* a player on the Lute ſent to him in the Quality of a publick Miniſter; as if *France* had been ranſack'd on purpoſe to find out this mean wretch, and of a vile profeſſion, to place him in ſo Illuſtrious an Employment in the Court of the firſt King in all Chriſtendom? This would have been no far fetch'd, but a lawful Cauſe not to admit him, eſpecially when he came into *France* on the part of the Parliament. However that did not hinder the King from receiving him, and conſidering him, not as a Subject, but as a publick Miniſter.

I ſhall lay hold on this occaſion to rectifie what the Memoirs ſay of *Bernardo Bandini*, one of the Aſſaſſins of *Julian de Medicis:* I have done it on the Teſtimony of an *Italian* Author, at a time when I had hardly any Books by me. I have not many at preſent, but however I have enough to inform me that

Bajazeth

Bajazeth was ſo far from ſending *Bandini* to *Laurence de Medicis* as an *Embaſſador*, that he put him into his Hands as the Murderer of his Brother, and as a Token of the Eſteem he had for *Laurence*, who was one of the illuſtrious Perſonages of his time. *Paul Jovius* ſays, that *Bandini* was hang'd. It is an Error, and I am ſenſible it is not the only one I have committed: but I do not for that deſerve, that the Remarker of *Bruſſels* ſhould accuſe me of being guilty of Falſhood, when I ſaid that the Count *de Fuenſaldagne*, was employ'd by the King of *Spain* in *Flanders*, under *D. John* of *Auſtria*. I own my Error, and my Infirmities: but as I am altogether incapable of committing a Falſification, ſo I am not afraid of ſaying, that the Remarks which have been publiſh'd at *Bruſſels* ſwarm therewith. I offer to prove what I ſay, whenever I ſhall be ſummon'd to do it, and to make it appear that the Author (if he has the Courage to own his Name) is an infamous Calumniator; a Sycophant that has no Honour, and ſtrives to prepoſſeſs the World with an Infinity of Impoſture againſt an innocent Man; and his Unworthineſs is the greater, becauſe he thought I was not in a Condition to defend my ſelf. If he thinks I do him any Wrong, he may have recourſe to Juſtice, in a Place, where hitherto there has been none for my Innocency. I ſay the ſame of him, who having disfigur'd, in his impertinent Hiſtories, the illuſtrious Lives of the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and of Cardinal *Mazarine*, has augmented the Number of his fooliſh Books with *Italian* Dialogues, which would have made fit Covers for the Almanacks of the Years 1674 and 1675.

Schach Abas, King of *Perſia*, was one of the greateſt Princes that has reign'd for many Ages. He had two powerful Neighbours, the Emperor of the *Turks*, and the Great Mogul, Emperor of *Indoſthan*; and he was in perpetual uneaſineſs on account of the firſt. To free himſelf thereof, and to give ſome Diverſion to the *Turks*, he had ſeveral Negotiations in moſt of the Chriſtian Princes Courts. He employ'd there particularly two Brothers, *Anthony* and *Robert Shirley*, who being of a Family conſiderable enough in *England*, and having provided a ſufficient Fund to defray the Expence of their Voyage, ſettled themſelves in the Court of *Iſpahan*. I ſhall ſay nothing of the Eldeſt, who quitting at *Venice* his Quality of Embaſſador receiv'd there ſeveral Diſgraces; but *Robert*, after having been employ'd to the Emperor, and at the Court of ſeveral other Princes of *Europe*, paſs'd into *England* with the Quality of Embaſſador from *Schach*. King *James made him be cover'd*, and reſpected in his Subject the Character of Embaſſador. *Shirley* return'd thither in the Year 1623, with the ſame Qualification, and was again treated after the ſame manner. He was cloath'd after the *Perſian* manner, and being conducted to Audience by the Earl of *Angleſey*, and by the Maſter of the Ceremonies; and having paid his Reſpects after the *Turkiſh* manner, he took off his *Turbant* and laid it at the King's Feet; but the King caus'd him to take it up *and be cover'd*. Some Days after he had Audience of the Prince of *Wales*; but he did not there ſo much as offer to touch his Turbant, notwithſtanding the Prince put off his Hat as ſoon as he ſaw him enter the Room, and make his firſt Bow. He was there actually when King *James* dy'd. While he he ſtaid at *London* there happen'd a very extraordinary thing, that might have oblig'd the King to exert his Juſtice towards his Subject, who did not ſufficiently verify his Quality of Miniſter. There came into *England* a *Perſian*, whoſe Name was *Magdibeg*, who likewiſe took upon him the Quality of Embaſſador; and who when he preſented his *Letters of Credence*, maintain'd that thoſe of *Robert Shirley* were falſe and ſuppoſititious. *Shirley* being deſirous to clear this matter, and make out his Quality, went to the *Perſian*, having with him ſome of his Relations, who were to be Witneſſes of their Interview; but the *Perſian*, inſtead of returning *Shirley*'s Civility, took his Letters, flung them on the Ground, and gave him a box on the Ear; and put him thereby ſo much out of Countenance and beyond Reply, that the *Engliſh* took occaſion from thence, to make a very bad Judgment of the Sincerity of their Kinſman. *Magdibeg* wrote to the King of *Great-Britain*, that having the Honour to be the Embaſſador of a Monarch in friendſhip with his Majeſty, he took the liberty to deſire from him that Juſtice, which he would not refuſe to the leaſt of his Subjects: That being arriv'd in this Kingdom, he had been inform'd that a certain Perſon, who took upon himſelf the Quality of Embaſſador from the *Schach* his Maſter, had the Vanity to ſay, he had marry'd a Relation of his Highneſs: That he was ſo incens'd at the Inſolence of this Diſcourſe, that he could not forbear ſhewing his Reſentment: But for as much as it behov'd him to juſtify his Proceeding to the Court of *Iſpahan*, and that in order thereto, it was neceſſary he ſhould have authentick Proofs of the Rumors *Shirley* had ſpread, he deſir'd his Majeſty would be pleas'd to order him an authentick Copy thereof. The King, whom it concern'd to know the truth of the Matter, might have caus'd a very exact Inquiry to be made of the ſame; if not by his ordinary Juſtice, at leaſt by his Council, if he had believ'd his Juriſdiction could have reach'd his Subject, notwithſtanding his Quality of Miniſter. But he would not meddle in it, and was contented to ſend the one and the other home in two different Ships; that the King of *Perſia* might himſelf be judge of the Difference, and regulate the ſame between two Perſons, each of whom took upon him the Quality of his Miniſter. He ſent a Perſon of Quality along with them in another Ship, to bring him an account after what manner the Difference ſhould be decided at the Court of *Iſpahan*; but they all three dy'd in the Voyage.

I am of Opinion the Parliament of *Grenoble* would not have violated the *Law of Nations*, in puniſhing the Murder (in the Perſon of a pretended Miniſter) of which I ſhall make mention in the following Example. Colonel *Alard* of *Provence*, while he was in the Duke of *Savoy*'s Service, was, in the Year 1614, ſent to Marſhal *de Leſdiguieres*, Governor of *Dauphiné*, to ask Succour from him againſt the *Spaniards*, in the beginning of the *Mantuan* War. During the Stay he made at *Grenoble*, expecting the Orders the Court was to ſend the

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Marſhal; ſome of his Attendants kill'd (by his Command) a Tradeſman of the Town, as he was returning from a Farm he had in the Countrey. This Murder being committed on the Highway, by People known to belong to the *Colonel*, oblig'd the Parliament to ſecure the Perſon of the Maſter: But the Marſhal, who was at one of his Countrey Seats near *Lyons*, being advis'd of what had paſs'd, came thither with all Diligence; and ſent to the Priſon to demand the Priſoner, *as being a publick Miniſter, whom the Duke of* Savoy *employ'd to him*. The Major of the Garriſon, who went to the Priſon, not being able to prevail with the Warden thereof to deliver him, *M. de Leſdiguieres* went thither himſelf, and caus'd him to be ſet at Liberty. The Parliament being offended at ſo violent an Action, deputed the firſt Preſident, with ſome Counſellors and the Attorney General, to complain of *M. de Leſdiguieres*, to *Leſdiguieres* himſelf: and to repreſent the Conſequence of ſuch Proceedings; and deſire Reparation might be made for the ſame. They pray'd him to give the Judicature at leaſt this Satisfaction, to ſuffer the Colonel to be ſent back to Priſon, upon the Aſſurance they gave him, that he ſhould immediately be formally diſcharg'd, which would be for the Parliament's Reputation. But *Leſdiguirres* would not conſent thereto. He ſaid, that his Action juſtify'd it ſelf: That he had reaſon to complain of the Parliament, who being ſenſible he was actually within the Province, had nevertheleſs made a *Decree* without his Participation againſt a *publick Perſon*: That he could not avoid making uſe of extraordinary Means, becauſe he had a mind to oblige 'em to repair the Fault they had committed through their Precipitation, againſt the *Law of Nations*, in the Perſon of the *Colonel*, whom they knew to be the Duke of *Savoy*'s Agent, to whom *this Reſpect ought to be paid, not to touch his Miniſter without giving him Advice thereof*. The King approv'd of what Marſhal *de Leſdiguieres* had done, by a particular Declaration, which was ratify'd in the Parliament of *Grenoble*, in the Year 1615. Colonel *Alard* was a *Frenchman*; but for as much as he had no *Letters of Credence*, but to *Leſdiguieres*, he could not be conſider'd as a publick Miniſter, nor enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. For altho' I have ſaid above, that Princes ſometimes ſend to Viceroys and Governors, Perſons that are acknowledg'd to be publick Miniſters; that ought to be underſtood of thoſe Governors, who have an abſolute Power; and that govern without any other Dependence, but on the Sovereign only whom they repreſent. Which cannot be apply'd to the Governors of the Provinces of *France*, who ſhare their Power, not only with the Parliaments, but alſo with the King's Lieutenants, whoſe Function is independent on that of the Governor. So that one may ſay, that *Alard* was not a publick Miniſter; and even if he had been ſuch, the Governor of the Province, by compelling the Warden of the Priſon to ſurrender the Priſoner, committed an Act of Violence upon Juſtice: and ſtood in need of the King's Declaration, which ſhrowded him from the Reſentment the Parliament might otherwiſe have ſhewn. But *Leſdiguieres* was in the right to ſay, *That Juſtice it ſelf owes that Reſpect to foreign Sovereigns, as not to meddle with their Miniſter, without giving them Advice thereof*. This is what ſhall be more fully diſcours'd of in the 27th Chapter.

Before I put an end to this, it will be neceſſary to make ſome Reflections on two or three Examples, whereby it will appear, that Miniſters have not always been very well treated in their native Countrey. In the Year 1644, the Parliament at *London* had publiſh'd an Order for all Roman Catholick to depart the City, and gave *Bruerton* leave to ſeize their Goods, and apply the ſame to the Subſiſtence of the Army. *Anthony Forteſcue*, perceiving how how roughly the Roman Catholicks were handled, and being one himſelf, endeavour'd to avoid the ill Treatment that was dealt to others, by declaring himſelf a *publick Miniſter and Reſident from the Duke of* Lorrain. The Parliament maintain'd, that as this Gentleman was an *Engliſhman*, and by Birth a Subject of the State, he could not put himſelf in the Service of a foreign Prince, nor lay any Claim to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. They moreover ſaid, that he had begg'd that Quality, while Affairs were in another State than they were then in. All he was worth was ſeiz'd, and a *French* Prieſt was taken up that had ſhelter'd himſelf in his Houſe, into which they put a Garriſon. But as to this Example, it may be ſaid, that the Authority the Parliament aſſum'd was illegal; ſince the King who is the Head thereof, and had call'd an other at *Oxford*, diſown'd it. It cannot be alſo deny'd, that it was compos'd of People wholly ignorant of the *Law of Nations*: That the Violence which was offer'd to *Forteſcue*, was but a part of thoſe that were done by it to all thoſe who did not approve of the brutiſh and blind Zeal of Rebellion, and preſerv'd ſtill ſome Reſpect for the Royal Dignity, and ſome Affection for the Perſon of the King. *Forteſcue* had been acknowledg'd as a publick Miniſter by his Sovereign: and the Examples of *Wolſey*, *Pool*, *Shirley* and ſome others make it plain, that the Right of *Allegiance*, which is particular to *England*, does not hinder the *Engliſh* from putting themſelves into the Service of a foreign Prince, nor even to transfer their Dwelling out of the Kingdom. The Parliament pretended not to violate the *Law of Nations*, becauſe they did not acknowledge *Forteſcue* to be a publick Miniſter.

Francis Sforza, the laſt Duke of *Milan*, made uſe of the ſame Pretext to juſtify the Execution of *Merveille* or *Maraviglia*, a Gentleman of *Milan*, who reſided with him on the part of *Francis* I, King of *France*. *Sforza*, who had been reinſtated in the Dutchy by the Emperor *Charles* V, and knew very well he could not maintain himſelf in it without his Protection, did not dare to ſuffer a *French* Miniſter to appear publickly at his Court. However, as he was in a perpetual Diſtruſt of the Ambition and Power of *Charles*, who had a great fancy for the Dutchy, he was unwilling to neglect the King's Friendſhip, and permitted *Merveille* to ſpeak to him now and then about his Maſter's Affairs: and the Duke himſelf in writing to the King, referr'd himſelf to the Diſcourſe he had with that conceal'd Miniſter; till beginning to ſuſpect, that the Emperor had been inform'd of that private Correſpondence, he

had a mind to clear himſelf, and deſerve *Charles*'s Favour by a little Stroke of State. A certain Perſon, whoſe Name was *Caſtillon*, had ſpoken of *Merveille* in abuſive Terms enough, who by way of Revenge caus'd him to be kill'd by his Domeſticks. The Duke took this occaſion to rid himſelf of this Miniſter; and to oblige the Emperor to give him his Niece, who was Daughter to *Chriſtierne* King of *Denmark*, and had been promis'd him; he caus'd him to be try'd, and had him executed in Priſon. The King was ſo mightily offended hereat, that he complain'd of it to all the Princes in Chriſtendom, and amongſt the reſt to the Emperor himſelf, whoſe Vaſſal the Duke was, and demanded Juſtice thereupon. The Emperor made anſwer, *that* Merveille *was not a Miniſter*; ſo that the Duke of *Milan* might cauſe him to be proſecuted as his Subject. Hereupon Letters were ſhewn him, wherein the Duke acknowledg'd the Deceas'd to be employ'd by the King; but the Emperor reply'd, *that a Miniſter could not inſiſt upon his Quality, if he did not make it appear publickly.* The Emperor to be ſure would not deliver himſelf in other Terms. He was glad he had broke off the Correſpondence between the King and the Duke, who on account of this Execution were become irreconcileable. The Duke excus'd himſelf to the King, and ſignify'd to him, that he had never conſider'd *Merveille* as a publick Miniſter, but as a private Perſon only who had no Character, nor any other Qualification than that of his Subject. Moreover that *Merveille* was of ſo diſagreeable a Temper, that he had often notify'd to him to be gone. The King was not ſatisfy'd with theſe Excuſes: on the contrary he proteſted, that when ever he had an Opportunity, he would reſent the Indignity had been done him in the Perſon of his Miniſter.

The Emperor and Duke both ſay, that *Merveille* had no Character; and that he could not be conſider'd but as a private Perſon and a Subject. The King makes it appear, that the Duke had acknowledg'd him as a Miniſter, and that he had negotiated with him in that Quality; ſo that the Emperor being convinc'd thereof, has recourſe to a very bad Reaſon, and aſſerts, that he was not a Miniſter, becauſe he had not appear'd publickly as ſuch. But this is what is of very little Importance for the eſtabliſhing the Truth I lay down, that a publick Miniſter ought to enjoy the Privileges of the Miniſtry, even in his own Countrey; ſince the Emperor and the Duke not agreeing to the matter of Fact, that is to ſay, to the Quality of *Merveille*, do not diſpute the Right; and tacitely confeſs, that if he had been a Miniſter the Duke could not have caus'd him to be executed, without violating the *Law of Nations*. The Duke's Excuſes were impertinent. It was eaſy to convince him by his own Letters, that he had negotiated with *Merveille*. By cauſing him to be executed in the Night in Priſon, he gave it to be underſtood, that he had been the Author of an Execution, that no body would have dar'd to have perform'd in the face of the Sun: and when he ſays, he had ſeveral times notify'd to him his Deſire that he would withdraw, he confeſſes he conſider'd him in another Capacity than that of a ſimple Subject; ſince without his Quality of *Miniſter*, and the Conſideration he had for the King his Maſter, he would eaſily have made him retire, without any Formality of Notice. However, the King, by maintaining that the *Law of Nations* had been violated in the Perſon of *Merveille* his *Miniſter*, lays down as a certain Truth that cannot be conteſted with him, *that his Quality of Miniſter exempted him from the Juriſdiction of the Sovereign of the Place of his Birth.* This is what neither the Emperor nor the Duke deny; but they are contented to ſay, that he was not a *Miniſter*.

The preſent Emperor and his Council juſtify, after the ſame manner, the carrying off of Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg*, aſſerting that he had no Character. They ſaid, he had neither *Powers* nor *Letters of Credence* that gave it him; or if he had any, he had not communicated them, ſo that it was what People might be ignorant of. They proteſt that they really are altogether ignorant of his having been Embaſſador, or publick Miniſter; and believe that he could not be ſuch, ſince the Elector of *Cologn*, his Maſter, was himſelf upon the Place. The *French* Miniſters ſaid on the contrary, that the Prince had *Credentials*; that he had communicated the ſame, and that that was ſufficient, to put him in poſſeſſion of all the Advantages and Prerogatives which the *Law of Nations* beſtows on the Character. This is a Diſpute that has divided all the Princes of Chriſtendom, and ſurpaſſes my Knowledge: and as they do not agree as to the Matter of Fact, it is impoſſible to regulate it by dint of Reaſon; beſides which, I cannot undertake to ſpeak to it here, ſince it does not belong to the Subject of this Chapter. The Prince of *Furſtemberg*, if he was an Embaſſador, was not ſo in his native Countrey, nor to his Sovereign, but at *Cologn*, as in a neutral Place; and in an Aſſembly, of which the Emperor's Miniſters made a part: ſo that he was not treated as an Embaſſador from a foreign Power, but was carry'd off as a rebellious Subject, in order to be put into the Hands of Juſtice. As therefore this Example is accompany'd with particular Circumſtances, that are not found in thoſe of *Fortescue* and *Merveille*, I ſhall defer dwelling on it any longer, till I can do it more to the purpoſe on another occaſion. Only I cannot forbear ſaying here, that I could wiſh the Remarker of *Bruſſels*, who is ſo knowing in Hiſtory, and polite, would ſatisfy the Curioſity of ſome Perſons (who are not ſo knowing in the Affairs of *Germany* as he is) in a Scruple they have, with reſpect to the Emperor's Power. They are of Opinion that his Power does not extend ſo far, as to juſtify him in the carrying off, out of a Neutral Place, a Prince that is neither outlaw'd nor condemned; and who in his Quality of Prince is a Subject of the Empire, if I may be allow'd to ſpeak ſo, and not of the Emperor. They alſo doubt, whether the Emperor could, as Arch-Duke, exerciſe ſo forcible an Authority, and which the *French* call violent, upon a Subject or Vaſſal, who is otherwiſe a Prince of the Empire. Theſe are ſmall Difficulties that the Remarker would do well to remove, that *France* might thereby be made ſenſible of

its Error, which as yet it is not. Thus we ſee, that of all the Examples hitherto alledg'd, there is not one that favours *Bodin*'s Opinion; and the bare *Opinionativeneſs* of an Author, who is none of the moſt regular, is not ſufficient to make me alter my Sentiment.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Fidelity of the Embaſſador.

BY aſſigning to an Embaſſador a *mature* and *advanc'd Age*, I have alſo allotted him *Experience*, which is a neceſſary Conſequence thereof: Wherefore it would be wide of my purpoſe to ſpeak of this, as it would be likewiſe ſuperfluous to make a particular Chapter of the Fidelity that ought to be united with Experience, in the Commiſſions of all Miniſters, did not the *Remarker of Bruſſels* oblige me to make here a kind of Digreſſion.

I own, I do not treat over-well in my Memoirs *Don Ferdinand Telles de Faro*, Embaſſador from *Portugal* to the States of the United Provinces, becauſe it went againſt me to juſtify a Miniſter, who not contented to abandon the Affairs that had been committed to him, betrays the ſeveral Intereſts, becomes a Deſerter and a Transfuge, and goes over to the Party of his Maſter's Enemies. This *Embaſſador*, who arriv'd at the *Hague* in the Month of *July* 1658, made great uſe of the Mediation of the Miniſters of *France* and *England* in the whole Courſe of his Negotiation: and this rather to penetrate into their Sentiments, than to diſcover his own to them. He entertain'd at the ſame time a ſtrict Correſpondence (but very privately) with *Don Eſtevan de Gamarra*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, to reconcile him to the Court at *Madrid*, and to concert with him how to make his Retreat: Inſomuch that he left the *Hague* in the Month of *April* 1659. He had not been above three Months in *Holland*, when he began to betray his Prince, and to be as a Spy upon the *French* Embaſſador, and the Reſident of *England*. To juſtify his infamous Behaviour he publiſh'd a *Manifeſto*, where he ſet forth how he had, ever ſince the Revolution of the Affairs of *Portugal*, preſerv'd an inviolable Fidelity to his Catholick Majeſty, as to him he look'd upon to be his Sovereign Prince: That he had been oblig'd to accept the Embaſſy of *Holland*; becauſe as he had already excus'd himſelf from ſeveral Employments, he could not refuſe this without rendering himſelf ſuſpected: That the Power which had been veſted in him at *Lisbon*, was ſo limited, that it was altogether impoſſible for him to ſucceed in his Negotiation on the Conditions contain'd therein: That *France* thwarted it, and that *M. de Thou* was the Perſon who oppos'd it moſt: And after all, that he did not believe any body would cenſure his Retreat, ſince what he did was only out of a Motive of Duty to his lawful Prince. The *major* part of his Servants retir'd to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador's, who charg'd himſelf with the Payment of the Debts of the Fugitive. Some Days after, his Secretary preſented a Memorial, wherein he ſpoke of this Action as of an abominable Treaſon; and repreſented that it ſtuck at *Don Ferdinand* only, that the Treaty was not concluded. The *Remarker of Bruſſels* makes his Apology, and ſays, That all the Crime of this *Embaſſador* was, that he did not approve of the Revolt of *Portugal*, nor of the Proceedings of him that was the Author thereof; and that he did no more than fling himſelf into the Arms of his natural and lawful King.

No body had compell'd *Ferdinand Telles de Faro* to take an Oath of Fidelity to the Duke of *Braganza* at his Acceſſion to the Crown. When he ſaw a Prince proclaim'd King whom he look'd upon to be an Uſurper, he might have retir'd into *Caſtile* after the Example of ſeveral other *Portugueſe* Noblemen. No body had forc'd him to charge himſelf with the Employment of Embaſſador, for the diſcharge whereof he had taken a particular Oath; and no body hinder'd him from taking the Road to *Germany*, and from thence paſſing into *Spain*, before he began his Negotiation, as he did after he had engag'd himſelf therein. There is no *Spaniard*, that has ever ſo little Honour, who would be guilty of doing what this Embaſſador did for ſeveral Months, to wit, to viſit the *French* and *Engliſh* Miniſters, to no other End, but to have wherewith to entertain the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador. When it is ſaid that an Embaſſador is an honourable Spy, it is to be underſtood of him that ſerves his Maſter, and not of him that betrays him. Out of this honourable Function, the Profeſſion of a Spy is infamous, and he that meddles with it deſerves to be hang'd. That of Advocate of Perfidiouſneſs and Treaſon is no leſs deteſtable; and the *Panegyriſt* of ſuch foul Actions would, without doubt, be ready to act himſelf what he ſo much praiſes in another. He adds, *That it was Neceſſity, and* France, *that oblig'd* Spain *to declare* Portugal *a free Crown, and that it was only the Effect of one of the hard Laws, to which Conſent is given but with Reluctancy.* This honeſt Man is very obliging to the *Portugueſe*, in foretelling them what they are to expect from *Spain*, as ſoon as the Neceſſity which forced it to ſubmit to ſuch rigid Laws ſhall ceaſe, and that *France* ſhall no longer intermeddle with their Intereſts. It may be ſaid alſo, that this Warning may not be altogether unprofitable to the United Provinces, who have forc'd *Spain* by the like Neceſſity to undergo the Severity of thoſe Laws which made 'em be acknowledg'd as a State ſo entirely independent, that they have not left the King the leaſt token of the Sovereignty he had there formerly.

But

But if we will believe this great Politician, their Sovereignty will laſt no longer than *Spain* ſhall be engag'd in a War that hinders it from knowing it ſelf. That Kingdom produces a great number of generous Men, that would be ſorry theſe unworthy thoughts ſhould be common to all the Nation, and that would not imitate the infidelity of that Traitor, nor the prevarication of him that juſtifies him. When he ſays the King of *Spain* was *Don Ferdinand*'s Maſter, either he knows not what he ſays, or if he has reflected on it, he advances a thing that is notoriouſly falſe. He might believe that the King of *Spain* was his Sovereign Prince, but he could not ſay he was his Maſter. The King of *Portugal*, to whom he had taken an Oath of Fidelity, of whom he held his Commiſſion, and who gave him wherewithal to ſubſiſt, was his true Maſter. It was he had given him his *Letters of Credence*, it was for him he negotiated, and it was under his authority that he enjoy'd the protection of the *Law of Nations*. There is not any Treaſon ſo black, as not to be juſtifiable on the Principles of this gallant Man. The *Cordeliers of Metz*, who under the pretext of their General Aſſembly, had brought in Soldiers and Arms; and the *Religious of Maſtricht*, who were for putting the Town into the hands of the *Spaniards*, did not only deſerve his Praiſes, but alſo to be Canoniz'd.

Codignac the *French* Embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, had made himſelf ſo intimate with the Miniſters of the Port, that he gave a jealouſie to *Henry* II. his Maſter. The umbrage that was taken of his fidelity, was increas'd by the engagement he had in the Year 1556, with a *Greek* Gentlewoman who own'd two ſmall Iſlands that were worth about two thouſand Crowns *per Ann.* In the Year 1558, Orders were ſent him to return to Court to give an account of his actions: But it was then he took off the Maſk, and inſtead of paſſing into *France*, *he declar'd himſelf for the King of Spain*, and enter'd into his Service. The *Spaniards* had promis'd him the Embaſſie of *Conſtantinople*, where he had his Intrigues, and where he had for ſome time carried on his Negotiations under hand for his new Maſter. In the Year 1559, he procur'd Paſſports for the Miniſter whom the King of *Spain* ſhould ſend thither as King of *Naples*. He had likewiſe a particular Correſpondence with one of the Sons of the *Grand Seignior*, and it was prov'd that he carried on an Intelligence in *Montdevis* and *Antibes*, to have them ſurrender'd to the *Spaniards*.

King *Henry* IV. writing to *M. de Maiſſe-Hurault* his Embaſſador at *Venice*, on the 14th of *March*, 1590. complains very much of the Infidelity of the *Sieur de Leucome* his Embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, and ſays he has ſeveral Proofs thereof, which he had receiv'd from the *Baſha*'s themſelves. *M. de Breves* who ſucceeded him, caus'd him to be ſeiz'd and put into the Black Tower by the King's Orders. The Example of *Jerome Lipomano* is by ſo much the more memorable, as Treaſons are no leſs rare among the Noble *Venetians*, than Monſters are elſewhere. He was *Baylo* at *Conſtantinople*, and being become ſuſpected, *Laurence Bernardi* was ſubſtituted in his Place, in the Year 1591. As ſoon as *Lipomano* was embark'd on board the Galleys of the Republick, he had Guards ſet over him, and as ſoon as he came within ſight of *Venice*, he caſt himſelf into the Sea, or was thrown into it by the Order of thoſe who would otherwiſe have ſhar'd in the infamy of his puniſhment.

No excuſe can be made for the infidelity of a publick Miniſter. There is no difference between an Embaſſador that quits the Service of his Prince without his leave, to put himſelf into that of another Maſter, and between the Governor of a Town, who abandoning his Maſter's Service, ſells the Place to the Enemy. Some Years ago the Miniſter who was on the part of the Elector of *Brandenburg* at *London*, quitted his Poſt to go and ſerve the Crown of *Sweden*. The Elector caus'd him to be declar'd infamous, and fix'd his name to the Gallows; notwithſtanding this Miniſter excus'd himſelf on the extreme neceſſity he was reduc'd to. He had already been a Priſoner for Debt, and fearing to be ſo again, by reaſon they did not pay him his Salary, he had been forc'd to accept of the firſt offer that would afford him Bread. The miſery of theſe Wretches ſeems to be conſummate, for they are not only the averſion of the ſide they leave, but alſo the ſcorn and contempt of thoſe they go to; ſo that their Infamy may be ſaid to be a ſufficient puniſhment: And yet this ſort of Traitors is not ſo dangerous as thoſe Miniſters who remaining in their Maſter's Service, ruine his affairs, by covering their evil intentions with the cloke of a falſe fidelity. Upon advice at *Florence* of the Negotiations *Lewis Sforza*, Sirnam'd *the Moor* (who had uſurp'd the Dutchy of *Milan*) was carrying on with *Charles* VIII, and of the preparations that were making in *France* for the *Italian* Expedition, *Peter de Medicis* chief of the Republick, prevail'd with it to ſend the Biſhop of *Arezzo*, with *Peter Soderini* and *Peter Caponi* into *France*, to try to divert the ſtorm with which *Italy* was threaten'd. *Peter de Medicis* had drawn up their Inſtructions conformably to his intentions. But *Soderini* and *Caponi* who were *Republicans* and Enemies to the power of the *Medicis*, inſtead of executing their Orders to obtain of *Charles* that the Republick might not be oblig'd to declare againſt the King of *Naples*, did *Peter* a great many ill offices. The *Florentines* had made a League with the Kings of *Naples*, even with the conſent of *Lewis* XI, *Charles*'s Father, and pretended they could remain Neuters. But upon their being preſs'd to declare themſelves, *Caponi* who was an inveterate Enemy of *Peter de Medicis*, whoſe Conduct was not altogether ſo regular as that of *Laurence* and *Coſmus* his Predeceſſors, told the *French* Miniſters that the Intention of their Principals was very good, but that *Peter* hinder'd them from acting according to their inclination; and that to render him odious to the People, it would be requiſite to baniſh all the *Florentine* Merchants and Bankers out of *France*, and give them to underſtand that they ow'd their diſgrace to nothing but the evil diſpoſition *Peter de Medicis* had for *France*. *Caponi*'s Infidelity ſucceeded, the *Florentines* had Orders to leave the Kingdom, and *Peter* was driven from *Florence*; but *Caponi* ſoon diſcover'd that he had quite another

ther deſign than that of overthrowing the Authority of the *Medicis*, to introduce that of *France*. He was for preſerving the Liberty of his Countrey entire, as he did by an action altogether *Heroick*, of which we ſhall have an opportunity to ſpeak hereafter.

Count *Albertin Boſchetto*, who was Steward of the Duke of *Mantua*'s Houſhold, and Commanded the Army of the Confederates in *Italy* againſt *Charles* VIII, having met *Philip de Comines* at *Caſal*, made the firſt Overtures to him of a Treaty, which was concluded ſome time after. To the end he might continue the Negotiation, he was ſent to the King to deſire the Paſſports that were requiſite for the Deputies who were to be of the Conference. In the publick Audience he had, he ſpoke of nothing but the ſubject of his Commiſſion; but having after that obtain'd a private Audience, *he adviſ'd the King not to grant the Paſſports to the Confederates*, becauſe their Army was in ſo bad a condition, and the Heads of it ſo divided among themſelves, that it could not but be diſpers'd in a few days. What he ſaid was truth, and it was impoſſible this ſhould be a myſtery to the *French* Generals; But the King would not follow the Counſel of a Traitor, who ſome years after was executed for another Treaſon, of which he had the management under *Ferdinand d'Eſte*, and *Julius* his natural Brother, who conſpir'd in the Year 1505, againſt the Life of *Alfonſo* Duke of *Ferrara*.

Ferdinand the Catholick, who oftner deceiv'd others, than he was deceiv'd himſelf, was nevertheleſs very ſcurvily dealt with by one *Lucena*, whom he ſent Embaſſador into *England* in the Year 1475. *Lewis* XI. who never fail'd to make his advantage of opportunities when they preſented themſelves, caus'd him to be brought before him; and having found out the vanity and avaricious temper of the Man, he made ſo very much of him, gave him ſo many Preſents, and loaded him with ſo many Promiſes, even to the aſſuring him of a Cardinal's Hat, that he not only worm'd out the ſecrets of his Inſtructions, but alſo the whole ſucceſs of his Negotiation, as he repaſs'd thro' *France*, on his return home.

Andrew Giezi, inſtead of ſoliciting for Succour at the Court of *Conſtantinople*, without which *Gabriel Battory* could not propoſe to maintain himſelf in his Principality of *Tranſilvania*, againſt the Arms of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, was ſo baſe as to betray him, and to make a Treaty with *Mahomet Belzergi* to drive out his Prince. He promis'd to *Mahomet* that he would joyn the Troops he commanded for *Battory*, to the Turkiſh Army, in order to make 'em Maſters of the whole Countrey, which he pretended to be afterwards inveſted with by the *Great Turk*. The *Baſha of Buda* prevented the execution thereof; and having repreſented to the *Divan* the conſequences of the Rupture that would infallibly follow with the Emperor, he brought it to a Reſolution; that Affairs ſhould be left in the ſame ſtate they were then in, and that the ſame Treaties ſhould be confirm'd with *Matthias* (who was juſt choſen in the room of *Rodolfus*) which had been concluded with his Predeceſſor.

There are ſome Infidelities that are not altogether of ſo deep a dye, nor ſo capable of producing ſuch ill effects; which nevertheleſs are very dangerous, and even abominable in the perſon of a *Miniſter*.

They who have wrote the Intrigues of that Conclave wherein *Innocent* X. was choſen, relate ſeveral particulars of the Infidelity of Cardinal *Anthony Barberin*. He was Cardinal Protector of the Kingdom of *France*; in this Quality he had the ſecret of the Conclave: He had alſo expreſs Orders to cauſe Cardinal *Pamfilio* to be put by, and he had ſeveral times promis'd both by word of mouth and writing, that he would never conſent to his Exaltation; yet for all this, he conſented thereto. But what is moſt to be wonder'd at in the ſame Hiſtory, is, that it does not diſſemble, that the Marquis *de St. Chaumont* who was Embaſſador from *France*, and knew very well that *Pamfilio* was the averſion of the firſt Miniſter, and who had a poſitive Command to oppoſe his Election, conſented thereto for a ſum of Money. Cardinal *Mazarin* contented himſelf with calling him home, and cauſing him to be confined to his Houſe, which was too great an Indulgence for ſo black a Crime.

The *French*, and thoſe who upon their Memoirs have wrote what paſs'd at the *Congreſs of Weſtphalia*, do not ſcruple to ſay poſitively that *Pau* and *Knuyt*, two of the Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces were corrupted by *Spaniſh* Money to prevail with their Maſters to make a ſeparate Treaty with *Spain*, excluſive of *France*. One may believe it to be a Calumny, not only becauſe *Pau* has been juſtify'd by a formal Declaration of the States of *Holland*, his Sovereigns, but alſo becauſe he could not act otherwiſe, without oppoſing the intention of the ſame States who were his Maſters. Theſe accuſations of declar'd Enemies, as the Miniſters of *France* were to theſe two, are always to be ſuſpected, tho' they ſhould be really true.

In the beginning of this Century, the *Griſons* made a Treaty with the Count *de Fuentes* Governor of *Milan*, which could not ſubſiſt with that they had made ſome Years before with the Republick of *Venice*, and which was altogether inconſiſtent with the ancient Alliance they had with *France*.. They did not conſider the Conſequences thereof, till they were ſo far engag'd with the *Count*, that they could not fall off without breaking with *Spain*. So that in order to qualifie the matter as well as they could, they were of Opinion to try to inſert a Clauſe in the Treaty of *Milan*, that it ſhould not be any prejudice to the Treaties the *Leagues* had actually with *France*, and with the Republick of *Venice*. They who had negotiated the Treaty of *Milan*, made uſe of this Artifice to get it approv'd of in *France*, and to have it Ratified with that reſerve. In order hereunto, they entreated the *Canton of Zurich*, by an Embaſſie on purpoſe, to joyn with that of *Bern*, and to uſe their endeavours with the King of *France*, to the end that the Treaty of *Milan* ſubſiſting by his conſent, the *Griſons* might get out of the *premunire* they had incur'd. The Embaſſador of they *Grey Leagues*, inſtead of keeping within the bounds of his Commiſſion, did the contrary, and pray'd the two Cantons to employ their good Offices with the King, that he would oblige the *Griſons* to Ratifie the Treaty

Treaty of *Milan* purely and ſimply, without Condition or Reſerve; which he did, at the inſtance of ſome Deputies, who, upon the breaking up of their *Pittag* or *Diet*, had remain'd at *Coire*, for the ſigning and diſpatching the Reſolutions that had been taken therein. The two Cantons preſs'd by this Man's importunate urgency, wrote to the King, contrary to their own proper Sentiments, and againſt their Intereſt. The ſame Embaſſador being return'd to *Coire*, and giving an account of his Commiſſion, had the impudence to ſay that the Senate of *Zurich*, having ſeen the Reſolution of the Communities of the *Griſons*, was at firſt ſeiz'd with ſome wonder thereat; but after it had been inform'd of the Reaſons that had oblig'd 'em thereto, it acquieſced therein, and had reſolv'd to write to the King, according to the deſire and intention of the ſaid Communities. He moreover added, that in a few days all the Cantons would have a general meeting at *Baden* about this Affair.

Charles Paſchal, who ſpeaks of this matter in his Embaſſie, ſays he will not ſet down the Name of the Embaſſador, for fear of branding his Poſterity with perpetual Infamy, which perhaps might be the firſt in abominating ſo deteſtable an Infidelity. There was no puniſhing of it, without bringing the Countrey into the laſt diſorder and confuſion; ſo that it was thought more adviſeable to diſſemble the thing, than to deteet a Crime which could not remain unpuniſh'd, if made publick, and yet could not be puniſh'd without troubling the tranquillity of the State, which was to be preſerv'd at all adventures.

The difference that was like to kindle a War between *France* and *Spain*, for the Affair of the *Griſons*, almoſt at the ſame time as the Troubles of *Bohemia* gave a beginning to that of *Germany*, was in ſome meaſure accommodated by depoſiting the *Valteline* into the hands of the Pope. But for as much as it was not quite regulated and made an end of by that expedient; and that the two Kings could not be ſatisfy'd therewith, any more than the *Griſons*, who were for having Foreigners baniſh'd out of a Countrey that belong'd to their Sovereignty; ſeveral overtures of agreement were made, as well at *Paris*, as at *Madrid*, and at *Rome*. The Commander *de Sillery* Embaſſador from *France* to the Pope, agreed to thoſe which the *Spaniards* caus'd to be made by his Holineſs, and ſign'd a Treaty that was in all appearance very advantagious to the Roman Catholick Religion, but in fact very prejudicial to the Reputation and Intereſt of the King his Maſter. The Council of *France* was ſo incens'd thereat, that being of opinion that the Embaſſador and the Chancellor his Brother, acted in concert with the Court of *Spain*, the one was recall'd, and the other was turn'd out, with his Son, who was Secretary of State. It was at the ſame time but a ſuſpicion which they would not ſearch into, not clear, by reaſon of the Quality of the Perſons concern'd, who had been in *Henry* IV his time employ'd in the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdom.

The bare ſuſpicion of Infidelity is ſufficient to remove a Miniſter from all ſorts of Employments of this nature; becauſe that where there is a diſtruſt, the one can never give ſatisfaction, nor the other be ever ſatisfy'd. *Albert Pio*, Lord of *Carpy*, Embaſſador from *Lewis* XII. to Pope *Julius* II. was ſuſpected not to Negotiate over ſincerely between thoſe two Princes, with reference to the difference they had on account of the protection that *Lewis* had promis'd to *Alfonſo* Duke of *Ferrara*. *Albert* had no great kindneſs for the Duke, becauſe *Hercules*, *Alfonſo*'s Brother, having oblig'd *Gilbert Pio* to ſell him one half of the County of *Carpy*, and to accept of other Lands in lieu thereof, he was afraid leſt he ſhould be compell'd to ſell alſo the other half. For this Reaſon he oppos'd whatever could farther contribute to the aggrandizing the Duke of *Ferrara*. Yet nevertheleſs, as the King was a Prince that did not love to change his Miniſters, he continu'd him in his Poſt, and was contented to have him ſtrictly obſerv'd.

There is a kind of Infidelity that does not come up to Treaſon, and yet produces the ſame effect. That *Miniſter*, who does not know how to Husband his Maſter's Secrets, either through vanity or weakneſs, is not properly a Traitor, but for all that, he is guilty of Infidelity. He is not ſo Criminal, yet he is not leſs Dangerous than he that ſells him, or expoſes him through malice. In the Year 1646, there was at *Stockholm* a *Reſident from Portugal*, who by truſting the ſecret of his Negotiation with *Chanut* the *French* Miniſter, entirely ruin'd his own Buſineſs. He told him that the Council of *Sweden* reliſh'd very well the Propoſal he had made to it, of ſettling a Commerce between the two Nations, ſo that the Merchandize and Goods that the two Kingdoms produce ſhould paſs through the hands of the *Hollanders*, but the Veſſels and Shipping ſhould ſail directly from *Stockholm*, to *Setubal* and *Lisbon*. *Chanut*, who conſider'd that by theſe means *Sweden* would contrive to have a great quantity of *French* Salt, which ſold to a great Profit in that Kingdom, did not fail to make his advantage of this Information, and knew ſo well how to thwart the Negotiation of the *Portugueſe*, that no mention was made thereof afterwards.

That Embaſſador that quits the Service of his Prince, during the time he is employ'd by him, although he does not betray his Maſter's Intereſts, and does not ſide with his Enemy, is notwithſtanding unfaithful. *Don John Emanuel* a *Spaniſh* Nobleman, and of the Royal Houſe of *Caſtile*, was Embaſſador from *Ferdinand the Catholick*, to *Philip* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, at the time that Queen *Iſabella* dy'd. *Jean* the Wife of *Philip* was Heir to *Iſabella*, but that did not hinder *Ferdinand* from keeping Poſſeſſion of the Government of the Kingdom. The *Caſtilian Noblemen* did not like him very well, and *Don John Emanuel* was perpetually exhorting *Philip* to go and take poſſeſſion of a Crown which belong'd to him in right of his Wife. Hereupon *Ferdinand*, who had advice of the ill offices his Embaſſador did him, ſent him Orders to go on his part to the Emperor *Maximilian*. *Don John* obey'd, but *Philip* who could not be without his Counſel, caus'd him to return, kept him with him, and made him one of his moſt truſty Counſellors. He excus'd himſelf for this diſobedience, and wrote

to *Ferdinand*, that he might be assur'd, that the Stay he should make with *Philip* should do no Damage to his Affairs: and that his Majesty could not doubt thereof, after so many Proofs he had given him of his Fidelity, tho' he had not been of the Number of those who had been best rewarded for the same. Whatever Name or Colour may be given to the Procedure of *Don John Emanuel*, it must be own'd that he was not very honest; and that if he cannot be accus'd of Treason, he cannot clear himself of a kind of Desertion which was somewhat criminal. The *Arch-Duke* was become his Sovereign, but however *Ferdinand* was for all that his Master, till such time as he had obtain'd, or at least ask'd his Discharge according to form. He did very ill Offices to his first Master, who sent the Bishop of *Palentia* on purpose to the *Arch-Duke*, to demand his Minister. But this last refus'd to surrender him, and *Don John* who had no great mind to return to *Ferdinand*, excus'd himself by Letter. The Character of *the Fidelity of a publick Minister*, is very well express'd in a Letter President *Jeannin* wrote to the Duke of *Sully* on the 21st of *October* 1608, where he speaks of himself in these Terms. " I have ever desir'd that the " King had a true Information of the State of " the Affairs of this Countrey: And I have " all along for the time past given it faith- " fully, and without disguising any thing; " but it has not perhaps reliss'd with those, " who being of an Opinion contrary to the " pursuit of what I was doing in his Majesty's " Name, requir'd of me a Dissimulation, and " an appearance of Duty, *instead of the true Ef-* " *fects of an honest Man, who is not satisfy'd with* " *himself, if he does not seriously, and to the best* " *of his Knowledge, execute what is commanded* " *him:* All the Letters the King and *Villeroy* wrote to him, are so many *Encomiums* of his *Fidelity* as well as of his Prudence.

Having spoken of the *Fidelity* the Minister owes to his Prince, it is likewise necessary to say a Word or two concerning that, which the Prince owes to his Minister. This Duty is reciprocal between 'em. Wherefore it behoves the Embassador, before he undertakes a Function which is the most difficult of all Functions, to be sure of the Intention, Countenance and Protection of the Prince he is going to serve; that he may not engage himself with a faint-hearted Prince, or that is unfaithful, and capable of betraying his Minister, and of destroying his Work. Pope *Clement* VII, endeavouring to persuade *Henry* IV, to make Peace with the King of *Spain*, notwithstanding the Alliance he had made with Queen *Elizabeth*, and the States of the United Provinces, quoted a Maxim of *Francis Mary* Duke of *Urbin*. That Prince was wont to say, that a Gentleman could not be worse than his Word, without making an irreparable Breach in his Honour, and without losing his Reputation; but that a Sovereign Prince ought to accommodate it to his Interest: and that he might, without injuring himself, break his Word, lye, betray, and do any thing whatever he judg'd necessary for the Prosperity of his Affairs.

It is true most Princes act after this manner, and what *Matchiavel* says on this Subject is full as bold; but then he requires, that a Prince, how bad or false soever he may be, should always borrow the Mask of Piety and Fidelity, and that he carry at least a fair Appearance: his Reason is, that besides there being but few People, that are willing to be thought to be as bad as they really are, those that cover themselves with the Cloke of Virtue, may be so for a longer time, and with more safety. *Don Gonsales* of *Cordova* being Viceroy of *Naples*, after he had given a Passport in good form to *Cæsar Borgia*, Duke of *Valentinois*, caus'd him to be taken Prisoner: but at the same time he sent to the Duke's House, and got away the Passport; lest so evident a Proof of his Perfidiousness should be produc'd against him. All those who have the least Modesty still left, will always endeavour to avoid the Reproaches that may be made to 'em of their Treachery, if they are gone too far in their Iniquity, to make themselves any. The Viceroy said he was oblig'd to obey the King his Master's Orders, whose Interest and Intention could receive no Prejudice from the Passport; and yet he suppress'd it, because he was sensible, that it might be a Reproach to him, that he could not be ignorant of the Intention of the *Catholick* King, and that he ought to have alledg'd the same, before he granted the Passport, which could not be violated, without violating at the same time the publick Faith and Safety.

Ferdinand the *Catholick* however own'd and approv'd this Infidelity, as well as the horrible Treachery that the same great Captain had dealt some Years before to *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, the Son of *Frederick* King of *Naples*. This young Prince finding himself besieg'd in *Tarento*, without any hopes of Succour, made a formal Treaty with *Gonsales* with reference to the Place, stipulating, amongst other things, expressly, that if the King his Father did not consent to all the Conditions of the Treaty, the Prince notwithstanding should have the Liberty to go whither he pleas'd; even into *France* if his Father desir'd it. He comply'd with all his Promises: But *Gonsales*, instead of executing the Treaty on his part, set a Guard upon the young Prince, would not suffer him to go off, and sent him at last into *Spain*. After all this the Remarker of *Brussels* cannot bear it should be said of *Ferdinand*, that with all his *Catholicism* he was a *Traytor* and an *Infidel*; tho' *Zurita* says, that in that, *Sufé, & verdad potia ser Notada y Amanzillada.*

Philip de Commines, who in the Person of *Lewis* XI, gives the Character of Infidelity, says, that the King being gone into *Guyenne*, upon Advice of the extreme Illness of the Duke his Brother, with a Design to make himself Master of the Province; and knowing that *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* was with a powerful Army on the Frontiers of *Picardy*, with a Design to make a Diversion on that side in favour of the Dukes of *Guyenne* and *Britany*; he sent to him the Lord *de Craw* and Chancellor *Doriole*, to amuse him with a Treaty which he would neither conclude nor execute. *Charles* had a longing desire to be repossess'd of the Towns on the River *Somme*; which had been engag'd to his Father *Philip the Good* by the Treaty of *Arras*, and had been redeem'd by *Lewis*, who flatter'd him with hopes of having them restor'd; tho' his Intention was only to

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gain a little time in expectation of his Brother's Death, which not being natural, the King could not be miſtaken therein. The Duke receiv'd with Joy the Propoſals of the Embaſſadors from *France*, and promis'd, that in caſe thoſe Towns were reſtor'd to him, he would not only renounce the Alliance of the Dukes of *Guyenne* and *Britany*; but would moreover abandon them entirely, and leave them to the King's Diſpoſal. The Treaty was concluded and ſign'd; but the *French* Embaſſadors, who knew their Maſter, and did not believe it was really his Deſign to reſtore thoſe Towns to *Charles*, told him, he would do well not to remove his Army far from the Frontiers, till the King had ratify'd the Treaty, and had ſworn to the Obſervation thereof. The Duke follow'd their Counſel, and ſent his Embaſſador to the King, to deſire him to ratify the Treaty: but the King who never wanted bad Pretexts, delay'd the Ratification, till ſuch time as the Duke being dead, and all the Meaſures of the Duke of *Burgundy* being broken thereby, *he plainly ſaid, he would do nothing in it, and that his Embaſſadors had exceeded their Power.* The Duke of *Burgundy* was no better than the King of *France*: and notwithſtanding he had not ſo much Wit, yet he was full as bad. He had ſent *Simon de Quinſay* his Embaſſador to the Duke of *Britany*, to notify to him, that by virtue of the Treaty he had concluded with the King of *France*, he was oblig'd to renounce the Friendſhip and Alliance of the two Dukes. But amongſt *Quinſay*'s Retinue, there was a certain Gentleman who had a *Letter of Credence*, which order'd him to aſſure the ſame Duke, that as ſoon as he ſhould receive Advice of the Reſtitution of the Towns on the *Somme*; that far from abandoning him, he would aſſiſt him and the Duke of *Guyenne*, with his whole Power. *Lewis* thought to deceive his Embaſſadors, and the Duke was for deceiving the King, and his own Embaſſador; but found himſelf however the firſt deceiv'd by the Death of the Duke of *Guyenne*, which oblig'd him to alter all his Meaſures.

In the Year 1572, King *Charles* IX, who was not leſs Perfidious, but yet more cruel than *Lewis* XI, deſired *Francis de la Noüe*, who was one of the wiſeſt, honeſteſt, and braveſt Gentlemen of the Kingdom, to go to *Rochelle*, and endeavour to perſuade the Inhabitants to comply with the King's Will. *La Noüe* excus'd himſelf at firſt, as being an Employment, that neither ſuited with his Humour, nor agreed with his Profeſſion; but conſidering at laſt, that he had to do with a Prince that would not be contradicted, he ſaid he would obey; but conjur'd his Majeſty to believe, that it was impoſſible for him to ſecond the Intention of thoſe, who were for ſurpriſing, or betraying the *Rochellers* through his Means. The Horror of the Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew* was ſtill preſent before the Eyes of the Religionaries, which created him ſome Difficulty to get Admittance into the Town; but as ſoon as he was got in, he had the Command of the Troops conferr'd upon him, of which the Garriſon was compos'd. He did all he could to blot out of the Minds of the People, the juſt Diſtruſt they had of the King; till at laſt perceiving his Perſon might become ſuſpected, and his longer Stay unprofitable to the King, he withdrew. He could not anſwer for the Intention of a Prince, who had made himſelf execrable by the moſt inhuman Action, which was ever heard of: yet nevertheleſs his Conduct was ſo wiſe and ſo full of Honour, that both the Court and the Inhabitants of *Rochelle* remain'd equally ſatisfied of his Probity, and of the Sincerity of his Procedure.

Some without doubt will think I ſpeak of this young Monarch in Terms a little too bold: but I deſire them to ſuſpend their Judgment; till I have taken notice of a Paſſage in one of Cardinal *Doſſat*'s Letters of the 22d of *December* 1599. He writes thus to *M. de Villeroy*. " You will be pleas'd to know, that one " Day the Pope told me, that when the Match " was making betwixt *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margaret* of *Valois*; Cardinal *Alexandrin*, who was Legate from Pope *Pius* V. his Unkle, being in *France*, did all " that he could to hinder it: and after he had " ſpoken ſeveral times to King *Charles* about it, " his Majeſty took him one Day by the Hand, " and ſaid to him, All that you ſay, Cardinal, " is very good; and I thank the Pope and you " for it: and *if I had any other Means to revenge my ſelf of my Enemies, I would not make this Match; but I have no other way but this.* His Holineſs added, that when the " News of St. *Bartholomew*'s Day came to " *Rome*, the ſaid Cardinal *Alexandrin* ſaid; " Prais'd be God, the King of *France* has kept " his Promiſe to me. His Holineſs ſaid, He " knew all this, becauſe he was at that time " Auditor to the ſaid Cardinal, and was with " him throughout the Journey he took into *Spain* " firſt, and afterwards into *France*: and that " he himſelf had put all this down in Writing " from that very time, and it might ſtill be " found among the Papers of the ſaid Cardinal " *Alexandrin*.

Clement VIII, was a good Man enough: But a good Chriſtian would have been cautious of recommending ſo ſtrongly the Maxim of the Duke of *Urbin*, and would not have utter'd himſelf in theſe Terms, on ſo horrible an Effuſion of innocent Blood, and on ſo deteſtable a Perfidiouſneſs, which have render'd the Reign and Memory of *Charles* IX, abominable.

Henry III, Brother and Succeſſor to *Charles* IX, thinking it behov'd him to marry at his Return from *Poland*, ſent *Claude Pinart*, one of the four Secretaries of State, to *Stockholm*, to ſollicit a Match between him and the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Siſter of *John* King of *Sweden*. His Negotiation was already in good Forwardneſs, and the Marriage was near being concluded, when the King calling to mind a Beauty he had ſeen at *Nancy*, as he was going to *Poland*, engag'd himſelf to her: and wrote to *Pinart*, to return home, and leave the Negotiation in the State it was then in. This was a groſs Affront offer'd by this unconſtant Prince, not only to the King, and to the Princeſs of *Sweden*, but even to his own Embaſſador, who was hard put to it, to get well off of ſo intricate an Affair, and to obtain leave to be gone.

The worſt of Infidelities would be the Refuſal that a Prince (who being ſatisfy'd with the Services of his Miniſter) ſhould make, to protect

protect him againſt an open Violence and a manifeſt Injuſtice. But this is what I ſhall not ſpeak to, becauſe I do not find any Inſtances thereof. On the contrary, *Hiſtory* takes notice in many Places of the Firmneſs of Princes, who have not only oppos'd the Outrages done to their Miniſters, but alſo the Wrongs and Injuries they were threatned with. The Marſhal *d'Eſtrée* had a furious Contention with the Court of *Rome* in the Year 1641. I ſhall relate the Particulars thereof in Chapter XXVIII, and ſhall here only ſay a word or two with relation to the preſſing Inſtances the *Barberins* made at Court, to have a Man recall'd, who not only made his Character be reſpected, but alſo caus'd a dread of his Perſon and haughty Temper. The Nuncio *Scotti*, who had Orders to ſollicit his Revocation, met at firſt with great Oppoſition, Cardinal *Richelieu* declaring to him, *That the King's Dignity was deeply concern'd therein, and that without doing him a ſignal Prejudice, no Conſent could be given to the recalling an Embaſſador at the Pleaſure of another Court where he was not acceptable, merely becauſe he had with too much Firmneſs ſtuck to the Intereſt of the King his Maſter, and becauſe he had been outragiouſly dealt with.* Marſhal *d'Eſtrée* had retir'd to *Caprarola*, which depends on the Duke of *Parma*, from whence he continu'd giving the *Barberins* ſo much Trouble and Uneaſyneſs, that theſe repeating their Inſtances with more warmth than ever, the Cardinal at laſt reſolv'd to recall this Miniſter; as well becauſe he could no longer ſerve the King at *Rome*, as becauſe he himſelf was not able to make ſo fierce and rough a Spirit act up to his Intentions. Notwithſtanding which, he did it but on this Condition, that the Pope ſhould likewiſe recall his *Nuncio*, that thereby the Court of *Rome* might have no Advantage over that of *France*.

The 17th of *Auguſt* 1657, the United Provinces reſolv'd, at the Inſtance of thoſe of *Holland*, who for that purpoſe came in a Body to the Aſſembly of the States General, that the King of *Sweden* ſhould be requir'd to call home *Harald Appelboom*, his Reſident, who had made uſe of ſome free and bold Expreſſions, in ſome Letters that had been intercepted in *Denmark*. The States, in writing to the King, did not only ſpeak of *Appleboom*, as of an unprofitable Miniſter, and incapable of entertaining a good Correſpondence between the Crown of *Sweden* and their State; but they alſo deſir'd his Majeſty to puniſh him, for having written things that were Reflections on the Government, and ſome of thoſe of whom it was compos'd. They moreover added, that after a Month, to be counted from the Date of their Reſolution, they would neither receive nor read his Memorials, and that no Anſwer ſhould be made thereto, unleſs the Intereſt of the Crown of *Sweden*, and of the Eſtates of the Provinces, ſhould require the ſame to be taken into Conſideration. The King, who knew thoſe Letters had been intercepted, wrote to his Reſident, ſome time before the Reſolution had been taken: That he did not doubt but they would make a noiſe; *but however he would not have him be uneaſy on that account: That he was well ſatisfy'd with his Service, and that he would ſtand by him.* And accordingly, the King was ſo far from recalling his Miniſter, that he requir'd Reparation to be made him; as well becauſe they had declar'd him unprofitable and incapable, as becauſe they had printed the intercepted Letters. He even proteſted, *that he would not grant any farther Audiences to the three Embaſſadors that reſided with him on the part of the States, till his Reſident was reſtor'd to the Function of his Employment, and Satisfaction had been made him.* The States were hereupon forc'd to bear with him, and to conſider him as before. So that they might very well have forborn making this Step, to make a Retreat that was not very honourable. Theſe Reſolutions are often taken upon the Overtures, or on the Advice of Miniſters, who with all their Ability have not a pertinent Knowledge of the *Law of Nations*, nor Experience enough, not to commit ſometimes Irregularities in Affairs of this nature. Thoſe who know what it is to offer to oblige a Prince, that has Courage and Honour, to ſo nice an Action, will never undertake it till they have well taken their Meaſures, and are well aſſur'd that the Prince, with whom they have to do, is willing to bear being ill us'd in the Perſon of his Miniſter.

There was in this Affair another Particular, of which I ſhall take notice, tho' it does not relate to the Subject, which I handle in this Chapter. The King of *Sweden* maintain'd, conformably to the Laws and *Civil Right*, that it was not his Miniſter had offended the Government, but that they ſhould be taken to task who had publiſh'd and caus'd the intercepted Letters to be printed; becauſe it is not they that write Paſquinades or Libels, but they that diſperſe them, that ſin againſt the Laws, and are the true Criminals; which is very worthy of Obſervation, becauſe ſome Miniſters, although they were great Lawyers, and if one will believe them, great Politicians too, have committed very groſs Faults on this Subject.

I ſhall joyn to the Example of *Appelboom*, that of *Francis* Baron of *Liſola* Embaſſador on the part of the Emperor at *Warſaw*. That Miniſter, who who had Wit, had made himſelf very acceptable to the King and Queen of *Poland*, who receiv'd from him conſiderable Services, till perceiving in the Year 1661 that the Queen undertook to cauſe a Succeſſor to be choſen during the King's Life-time, and that ſhe endeavour'd to make the Election ſucceed in favour of a *French* Prince. He oppos'd openly enough the Intrigues that were forming for that purpoſe amongſt the Senators. The Queen, who could not be ignorant of it, and who was at leaſt as capable of governing as the King, caus'd it to be reſolv'd, That the Biſhop of *Warmia* and the Palatin of *Pomerania* ſhould go to *Liſola*, and tell him, *That the Cabals he created in the Kingdom, hinder'd their Majeſties from admiting him any more to Audidience.* *Liſola* to aſſure himſelf of their Intention, to find out whether there was any thing beyond the perſonal diſlike, and whether theſe Prohibitions extended to the Negotiation he had to carry on, in the behalf of the Emperor his Maſter, ask'd to ſee the King, who ſent him word, That if he had any thing to propoſe, he might do it in Writing. *Liſola* refus'd to do it, and gave the Court at *Vienna* advice thereof; from whence he receiv'd in Anſwer, That the Emperor

peror was by ſo much the more ſurpriz'd at the Procedure of the King of *Poland*, *that before he had recourſe to Meaſures ſo oppoſite to that good Underſtanding that ought to be between neighbouring Princes, and ſuch near Relations, and even to the* Law of Nations, *he ought to have made his Complaint.* The King of *Poland* wrote afterwards to the Emperor on that Subject; and his Reſident, *Veſpatian Landſcoronsky*, ſeconded with his good Offices, the King his Maſter's Reaſons. But the Emperor, whoſe Intereſt it was to prevent the Election of a *French* Prince, approv'd of the Conduct of his Embaſſador. However, as he could no longer do him any Service, in a Court where he had made himſelf diſagreeable, he call'd him back at his own Requeſt, and under another Colour. *Liſola* went away without taking leave of either the King or the Queen, and the Emperor has ever ſince employ'd him in Negotiations of the utmoſt Importance; to which he apply'd himſelf with a great deal of Sufficiency, although frequently with ſmall Succeſs.

Theſe Examples would be ſufficient, if it might not be ſaid, with ſome Appearance of Truth, that the Conſideration the Pope had for the King of *France*, the States of the United Provinces for the King of *Sweden*, and the King of *Poland* for the Emperor, hinder'd their Miniſters from being diſmiſs'd or ſent home; but it is what cannot be ſaid of the following Example, where a Republick has maintain'd its Miniſter, contrary to the Intention of the moſt powerful Monarch of *Chriſtendom*, and againſt the Inſtances of Cardinal *Mazarin*, abſolute Director and Manager of the Affairs of *France*. It is not long ſince the States of the United Provinces had an Embaſſador there, who neither wanted Wit nor Knowledge; but he had not that Politeneſs which is neceſſary in all Courts, and without which it is impoſſible to ſucceed, in that particularly. His Language was courſe, and his Expreſſions were ſo rude that his beſt Thoughts were diſfigur'd thereby. His too frequent *Sarcaſms* had render'd him ſo odious, that the firſt Miniſter, who had been the principal Object thereof, reſolv'd to make his utmoſt Efforts, to have him recall'd immediately after the Concluſion of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. The Embaſſador had had a very hot Debate with Cardinal *Mazarin*, on account of the Depredations the *French* Privateers made in the *Mediterranean*, where they very much incommoded, or rather ruined the *Hollanders* Trade. The Complaints the States had from time to time made thereof, had had no Effect; becauſe that ſome of thoſe who had the greateſt Share in the Management of the Affairs of the Kingdom, had likewiſe the greateſt in the Booty. So that perceiving there was no other Remedy, they commanded their Admiral to oppoſe thoſe Violences, and to ſeize thoſe that did 'em, or had been guilty of 'em. *De Ruiter*, their Vice-Admiral, took two of them on the Coaſt of *Italy*; and foraſmuch as they were the King's Ships, though they had been arm'd and fitted out at the Expence of private Perſons, the Court of *France*, judging that the Dignity of the Crown was concern'd therein, caus'd all the *Hollanders* Ships that were in the Ports of *France* to be ſeiz'd. This extraordinary Procedure oblig'd the Embaſſador to demand a publick Audience, wherein he inveigh'd very much againſt this Violence, and juſtify'd, in ſome meaſure, what *de Ruiter* had done. The King liſten'd to him with a great deal of Patience; but when he began to ſpeak of the Depredations, which were committed with the Approbation of the Court, and perhaps with the private Orders of the Miniſtry, the Cardinal interrupted him in the King's Preſence, and us'd him with little Reſpect. The Embaſſador made no other Reply, but that he had the Honour to ſpeak to the King, and having made a low Bow to his Majeſty, he purſu'd his Diſcourſe with the ſame Vigour. The Cardinal, who knew very well that what the Embaſſador ſaid of the Piracies was but too true, and who could not brook the taeit Reproaches which were made him, as if he had a ſhare therein, fell into a Paſſion, interrupted him twice more, and endeavour'd, tho' ineffectually, to hinder him from making an end. But at the breaking up of the Audience he was ſo tranſported with Anger, that he gave him ill Language, to the great Scandal of thoſe that conſider'd what was due to the Character. He went a great deal farther; for going down the back-ſtairs to the Queen's Apartment, he diſpos'd her to ſignify to the Embaſſador, who was likewiſe going to receive Audience from her, that the Embaſſador having without doubt nothing to entertain her with, but what he had juſt told the King, it was not neceſſary for him to ſee her this time. This Embaſſador was not at that time much in the favour with the States of *Holland*, who had nominated him to that Embaſſy. That he might therefore reſtore himſelf to their former Eſteem, he was willing to do ſomething remarkable, for which he found a very favourable Opportunity. For the Duke of *Orleans*, who had been confined to the Territories appropriated to the Support of his Dignity, having obtain'd leave to return to Court, was arriv'd there the ſame Day, and was come to pay his Duty to the King, at the Hour appointed for the Audience. So that all the Princes and Noblemen that were then at *Paris* repair'd to the *Louvre*, to render the firſt Interview between the King and his Uncle ſo much the more ſolemn; and the Embaſſador could not have wiſh'd for a more ſplendid Juncture to diſplay his Eloquence in. The Affair made a great Noiſe. *M. de Thou* was ſent into *Holland*; and during his ſtay there, he had Orders to labour to have the Embaſſador recall'd. He communicated it to a Perſon he confided in, who having his own particular Views, gave him a very partial Advice, which, at the ſame time, the moſt dextrous Miniſter in the World would not have miſtruſted. This Confident, who was a Friend to him that was in *France*, counſell'd *M. de Thou* to write to Cardinal *Mazarin*, That it being a matter of very great Importance, as well in it ſelf, as by reaſon of the Uncertainty of the Iſſue thereof, he found himſelf oblig'd to repreſent to him, that the Embaſſador being in great Conſideration with his Maſters, it would be a difficult Point to diſpoſſeſs him of his Employment; and that even if he ſucceeded therein, his being recall'd would be prejudicial to the Service and Intereſt of his Majeſty; that the Intention of thoſe that perhaps would conſent thereto,

and give a helping hand to the bringing it to paſs, was to have him ſucceeded by a Miniſter that depended entirely on the will of the predominant Faction, which was in poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration of Affairs ſince the *Prince of Orange*'s death; ſo that the King would not find the Change to anſwer his purpoſe. The Cardinal who did not require Reaſons, but a blind Obedience, and who at that very time deſign'd to have a ſtrict union with thoſe that ſhould be judg'd moſt powerful in the State, according to the general Maxim and the true intereſt of Princes, could not acquieſce in *M. de Thou*'s Remoſtrance, and ſent him freſh Orders to ſolicit the Revocation of the *Dutch* Embaſſador. *M. de Thou*, inſtead of executing theſe new Orders, had recourſe again to the Advice of his Friend; who not being much concern'd what effects this diſobedience might produce, Counſel'd him to continue his Remonſtrances, and to oppoſe the ſame Advices to the ſame Orders. *De Thou* believ'd him, and the Cardinal being diſguſted at this invincible obſtinacy, call'd him Home. The ſafeſt way is not to declare ones ſelf on theſe occaſions, 'till the Prince has been ſounded, whoſe Embaſſador is intended to be recall'd; becauſe oftentimes Princes put on the Cloke of I know not what falſe Virtue, and ſtand obſtinately by their Miniſters, leſt their Complaiſance ſhould paſs for Weakneſs, and their Prudence for Timidity, as it frequently is in effect.

Thus the States-General, who had had a proof of the Fidelity of their Embaſſador in the execution of their Orders, were willing to give a Token of their own, by maintaining him in his Poſt, notwithſtanding the inſtances of the King, and of an abſolute Miniſter, who was very ſenſibly affected with what related to his own particular.

CHAP. XIII.

The Embaſſador ought to be Agreeable.

THE King of *France* ſending the *Sieur Lanier* to *Lisbon* in the Year 1646, ſaid in the firſt Article of his Inſtructions, that he honours him with that Employment, as well for other Conſiderations, as becauſe he is ſenſible that being known to the King of *Portugal*, *his Perſon would be, for that reaſon, more acceptable to him*. On the contrary, *Shering Roſenhan* had been Embaſſador from *Sweden*, in *France*, during the Commotions in *Paris*; and this Court was ſo little ſatisfy'd with his Conduct, that Queen *Chriſtina* had been oblig'd to recall him. In the Year 1652, it was deliberated again in Council to ſend him back to *France* in the ſame Quality, and the Queen her ſelf was for it. But it was repreſented to her, that there was no likelihood that a Miniſter, whoſe Perſon had not been very well approv'd of heretofore, ſhould be afterwards acceptable; ſo that ſhe delay'd giving him this Employment, 'till ſhe was inform'd how he would be receiv'd in *France*. She was given to underſtand that he would not be very agreeable; for which Reaſon ſhe thought no more of it.

Whatever Qualifications, whatever Perfections an Embaſſador may have, the ſucceſs of his Negotiation will always be doubtful, if he be not agreeable to the Court where he is to Negotiate. That Prince that makes choice of a Miniſter whom he knows to be diſagreeable, ſhews he is willing to offend the Prince to whom he ſends him; or elſe he muſt be devoid of common ſenſe, if he thinks to perſuade him of the ſincerity of his Intentions. On the other ſide, thoſe of the Prince, who for particular Reaſons receives a Miniſter whom he cannot reliſh, ought to be by ſo much the more ſuſpected as dangerous, becauſe he buries his juſt reſentment in a deep diſſimulation.

M. de Villeroy, who was a very dextrous and very able Miniſter ſaid, that he that was on the King's part at *Rome*, ought to endeavour to hinder either a *Venetian* or *Florentine* from being employ'd in the Nuntiature of *France*, becauſe it had trouble enough with the Embaſſadors of the Republick and of the great Duke, without having the Court perplex'd with *Nuncio*'s that had a dependence on either the one or the other. But it would be a difficult enterprize to undertake to exclude all the Subjects of two Potentates of *Italy*, for being incommodious to *France*, who yet are not its Enemies.

I ſhall ſet down what may diſpleaſe in the Embaſſador, and in the Embaſſie; from whence it will be eaſie to judge what will render either the one or the other agreeable. The Embaſſador may be diſagreeable on account of the Prince that employs him, or by reaſon of the buſineſs he has to Negotiate, or elſe becauſe there is ſomething that diſpleaſes in his Perſon. There are likewiſe Miniſters, who being agreeable at firſt, become diſagreeable and troubleſome in the courſe of the Negotiation. I ſhall here ſpeak of the one, and of the other, as well as of the manner how Princes are us'd to deal with thoſe that are actually ſo, and with thoſe that become ſo afterwards. As for the firſt, a Prince cannot admit of a Miniſter that is not agreeable to him, becauſe the ſame *Law of Nations*, that does not permit any violence or injurious uſage to be dealt to a Miniſter that had been admitted and acknowledg'd, allows Princes not to admit of a Miniſter from whom they may receive any diſpleaſure.

I'll inſtance in ſome Examples. Pope *Clement* VIII. had a kindneſs for the *Duke de Nevers*, and an eſteem for the *Marquis of Piſani*, yet he notify'd to the one, that he would not acknow-

acknowledge him in the quality of Embaſſador, and he forbid the other coming to *Rome*. King *Henry* IV, conſidering that he hazarded his Crown by delaying to change his Religion, turn'd Roman Catholick, and caus'd himſelf to be abſolv'd from his pretended Hereſy and Relapſe by ſome Prelates of his own Kingdom. At which the Pope was ſo offended, that he call'd the action of the Biſhops of *France*, an attempt upon the Pontifical Authority. Wherefore not being able, according to the maxims of the Court of *Rome*, to approve of what had been done at St. *Denis*, nor to acknowledge the King in that Quality, he neither would nor could admit his Embaſſador. But however, that he might not offend the King by too publick and ſcandalous a Refuſal, he caus'd the Duke to be inform'd of his Intention, and that he did not conſider him as an Embaſſador from the King of *France*. Father *Poſſevin* a Jeſuite, whom the Pope employ'd on this occaſion, having met *the Duke of Nevers* at *Poſchiano*, which belongs to the *Griſons*, told him, by virtue of his *Letters of Credence*, that the Pope would not receive him, nor admit him as an Embaſſador, but only as *Duke of Nevers*, and *Prince of the Houſe of Gonzaga*; to which he added, that his Holineſs was very glad of the King's Converſion, and pray'd to God it might be ſincere. The Duke, tho' very much ſurpriz'd at the Diſcourſe, nevertheleſs purſu'd his Journey as far as *Mantua*, where the ſame Jeſuite met him, and made the ſame declaration to him from the Pope; notwithſtanding which, he in purſuance of his Orders, went directly to *Rome*. Before he reach'd that place, he was met again by Father *Poſſevin* at *Camoucha*, where he ſhew'd him a Letter, by which *Cardinal St. George*, one of the Pope's Nephews order'd him to declare to the Duke, *that the Pope expected he ſhould come into Rome without any Train, and without any mark that could cauſe it to be thought he was a publick Miniſter, or hop'd to receive the leaſt favour from his Holineſs*; and moreover, that he ſhould not ſtay there above ten days. The Duke at the ſame time was advis'd by his Friends, that the Pope had forbid the Cardinals to viſit him, or to receive his viſits. This rude and even inſupportable uſage to a Prince who was Embaſſador from the firſt King of Chriſtendom, was very aſtoniſhing to him, but yet it did not hinder him from going to *Rome*. He arriv'd there upon Sunday the 21ſt of *November*, without any other Retinue than what he had brought along with him from *France*, which conſiſted in fifty Gentlemen, and three Prelates, whom the Clergy of *France* had joyn'd to the Embaſſie, to juſtifie what had paſs'd in reference to the King's abſolution. He was admitted the ſame night to pay his reſpects to the Pope, and he entreated him not to limit the time of his ſtay at *Rome*, and not to be againſt his viſiting the Cardinals, becauſe he was oblig'd to deliver the King's Letters to them, and to acquaint them with the affairs he had to negotiate. He deſir'd him moreover, to grant him audience in a full Conſiſtory, in the preſence of the Embaſſadors of *Spain*, and of the Deputies of the League, to the end he might juſtifie the procedure of the King his Maſter. But this the Pope was far from yielding to; and as for the other two Points, he ſaid he would adviſe about 'em. On Tueſday the 23d of *November*, he had his firſt audience, and although it was not publick, yet he went to it attended by a Cortege of threeſcore and ten Gentlemen. He ſpoke in it very advantagiouſly of the ſtate of the King's affairs, and complain'd extremely of the impertinent and ſeditious procedure of the League. He was urgent with the Pope to give the King his Bleſſing, as a thing that could not be refus'd him after his Converſion; and pray'd him, with reference to his own Perſon, not to limit to ſo few days the time he had to ſtay at *Rome*. The Pope, who at that time was very much ſway'd by the *Spaniards*, and who gave too much credit to the paſſionate advices the *Cardinal of Placentia* his Legate wrote him from *France*, would not explain himſelf neither to the one nor the other point: So that the Duke perceiving that it would be to no purpoſe to deſire audience in the Conſiſtory, deliver'd to the Pope the Letter the King had written to him, and accompany'd it with ſtrong proteſtations of the Zeal his Majeſty had for the Catholick Religion, and of the affection he had for the Perſon of the Pope, and for the Houſe of the *Aldobrands*. He added, that the King had ſent along with him three Prelates, who having been preſent at his abjuration, were capable of giving his Holineſs an account thereof, if he was willing he ſhould introduce them to him. The Pope made no other anſwer to all this, but that he would conſider of it. Saturday the 27th, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador having obtain'd an Audience, went to it attended by Seventy Coaches, to equal the number of Perſons the Duke brought with him to his. That audience of the *Spaniſh* Miniſter produc'd this effect, that the very Monday following the Pope ſignify'd to the Duke, that if he would ſee him once more, he would grant him a favourable Audience, but that he muſt be quick therein, becauſe the ſtay he ſhould continue to make at *Rome*, might give a jealouſie to thoſe he was oblig'd to have quite another conſideration for, than what he could have for him: That being come to *Rome* but in a private Capacity, he had no occaſion to viſit the Cardinals: And as for the three *French* Prelates, that he could not admit 'em at his feet 'till they had ſeen the *Cardinal of St. Severine*, who was chief of the Inqpiſition, and Grand Penitentiary. The Duke obſerving all theſe Irregularities, that the Pope would not ſuffer him to ſee the Cardinals, and that the deſign was to embroil the three Prelates with the Inquiſition, which is an endleſs work; deſir'd the Pope's Chamberlain, who brought him this Meſſage, to give him in writing what he had told him by word of mouth; and upon the other's telling him he had no Orders for that, he pray'd him to go and receive it from the Pope, to the end he might have leiſure to conſider what anſwer he ſhould make. The Pope inſtead of ſending the Chamberlain, ſent *Cardinal Toleto* to him, who uſed the ſame Diſcourſe, and carry'd back the ſame Anſwer, after very warm conteſts, which had no other effect, than that the Cardinal put an end to the Converſation, and ſaid he would

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make a Report thereof to the Pope. On the 21st of *December*, the Chamberlain came and acquainted the Duke, that the Pope had not alter'd his Reſolution, neither with reſpect to his viſiting the Cardinals, nor concerning the three Prelates. And that he might have no room to doubt thereof, the Inquiſition proſecuted them ſo earneſtly, that all they could do was to ſave themſelves in the Duke's Chamber, notwithſtanding they had *Letters of Credence*, and *particular Inſtructions*, which might have made 'em be conſider'd as *publick Miniſters*. On the 6th of *December* the Duke had another Audience; and as he imagin'd it would be his laſt, he was willing alſo to make his utmoſt efforts on the Pope's Mind. He flung himſelf on his knees at the Pope's feet, and conjur'd him with the laſt ſubmiſſions, accompany'd with tears, not to refuſe his Bleſſing to the King, who preſented himſelf before him as a penitent Sinner, whom the Church was not accuſtom'd to ſend away without Conſolation. But finding the Pope inflexible, he got up, and changing his Note, he ſpoke to him with ſo moving an air, that the Pope was touch'd therewith; yet not ſo far as to grant the leaſt hopes to the Duke; only he gave him leave to ſtay in *Rome* till the beginning of the Year following, 1594. The Duke at his departure from Audience, left a Memorial with the Pope, and towards the *Chriſtmaſs-Holidays* he ſent him another, making preſſing Inſtances from time to time, to have an anſwer in Writing. He urg'd the the ſame thing again, in the Audience he had on the 2d of *January*, but he could obtain nothing, the Pope remaining inexorable, notwithſtanding the lively Remonſtrances the Duke made him, concerning the diſorders the See of *Rome* had reaſon to apprehend from ſo cruel a denial, and the diſſatisfaction the Pope would himſelf one day receive therefrom. The 6th of *January Cardinal Toleto* came and told the Duke, that the Pope did not think himſelf oblig'd to anſwer him in Writing, ſince he had given him nothing on the part of the King of *Navarr*; and that his Holineſs had acquainted him, before he came to *Rome*, that he could conſider him but as a private Perſon. The Duke grew angry hereat, and afterwards fell into a Converſation, wherein nothing was concluded: So that imagining his longer ſtay at *Rome* would be to no purpoſe, he took his Audience of Leave on the the 9th of *February*, and ſet out the 14th, having receiv'd the viſits of the two Cardinals the Pope's Nephews. He made great complaints of the rigor of this procedure, and of the ill offices the Miniſters that were on the part of his Holineſs in *France*, did to the King, and to the Holy See it ſelf; but I cannot tell whether it was with any great Juſtice.

The Pope had hinder'd the *Marquis of Piſani* from coming to *Rome*, and would not allow the *Duke of Nevers* to come thither in the Quality of Embaſſador. As a Sovereign Prince he could do both the one and the other, and as Pope he could do no otherwiſe. The King himſelf, who ſaw the Civilities the Pope ſhew'd his Enemies, and the aſſiſtance he gave them, could not be offended thereat; becauſe that according to the Maxims of *Rome*, approv'd of and allow'd by thoſe of the Religion his Majeſty had juſt made profeſſion of, he could not hope to be acknowledg'd for what he was in effect, 'till the Pope had himſelf abſolv'd him from his pretended Hereſie. As for the Duke, he could blame no body but himſelf for the ill ſucceſs of his Negotiation, after the three ſucceſſive notices which the Pope had given him, that he could not conſider him but as Duke of *Nevers*, that is to ſay as a private Nobleman. He could not find fault with the Inquiſition neither, becauſe it might extend its Juriſdiction to Eccleſiaſticks, who were found in the Company of a Nobleman that had no Character to protect 'em. Their *Credentials* and their *Inſtructions* were of no ſervice to them, becauſe the Pope did not acknowledge the Sovereignty of a Prince that had not as yet been receiv'd into the Roman Church, ſince he was not yet reconcil'd to him that could open him the door thereof; beſides which, they came on the behalf of Prelates, who had encroach'd on the Pope's Juriſdiction, in a reſerv'd Caſe. In this Example the *Duke of Nevers* was not diſagreeable to *Clement*, but the Prince that employ'd him was, as well as the Subject of his Embaſſie. The following Example bears a great proportion to what I have now ſaid.

After the Emperor *Charles* V. had reſign'd the Imperial Dignity into the hands of the Electors, *Ferdinand* his Brother, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, thought himſelf oblig'd to notifie his Election to Pope *Paul* IV. who being in poſſeſſion of the See of *Rome*, and pretending that the reſignation of the Imperial Crown ought to have been made into his hands, and not into thoſe of the Electors, *refus'd to admit Ferdinand's Embaſſador*. He maintain'd, that it was only in the caſe of Death that the Electors could proceed to a new Election, and that without that, the Election was faulty, becauſe that amongſt the Electors there were three Hereticks. He ſent a Meſſenger to meet *Martin Guſman* (whom *Ferdinand* employ'd in that Embaſſie) to tell him he would do well *not to come to Rome*, 'till ſuch time as the matter was adjuſted by the ſeven Cardinals he had appointed to examine it, and who being all of 'em well affected to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, would without doubt give ſatisfaction to *Ferdinand*. *Guſman*, out of deference to the Pope's Orders, retir'd to *Tivoli*, from whence he gave the Emperor an account of what had happen'd to him; whereupon he receiv'd Orders to return home, if the Pope did not do him juſtice in few days. *Martin Guſman* inſtead of obeying, did notwithſtanding go to *Rome*, not in the Quality of Embaſſador, as he ſaid, but in a private Capacity, under a pretext of viſiting the Holy Places and Churches. He even ſaw the Pope, who gave him Audience *in the preſence of ſome of the Cardinals*. He therein repreſented the juſt ground the Emperor had to be angry, and to reſent ſuch unworthy uſage: He told him *Ferdinand* had been choſen King of the *Romans*, not only with the participation of *Clement* VII, but even at his Suit: That afterwards to ſucceed in the Empire, it was not neceſſary to proceed to a new Election, becauſe the King of the *Romans* ſucceeded in his

his own Right, as ſoon as ever there was an *Interregnum*, either by death, or otherwiſe: That the Enemies of the Roman Catholick Religion would rejoyce at the miſunderſtanding they ſhould obſerve between the Pope and the Emperor, who was the only cauſe of the Devotion ſome of the Princes of *Germany* ſtill preſerv'd for the See of *Rome*, and for the Catholick Church: That *Ferdinand* could not without grief and indignation ſuffer his Imperial Dignity to be diſputed, which his Brother and himſelf had with ſo much difficulty maintain'd againſt ſo great a number of Princes, and ſo many People that had oppos'd the ſame. The Pope told him that the Affair being of the laſt importance, he had laid it before an Aſſembly of Cardinals to examine into it, who would not fail to diſcharge their Conſcience. *Martin Guſman* was hereupon forc'd to retire, and *Ferdinand* could get no other ſatisfaction during the Life of *Paul*. But immediately upon his deceaſe, *Francis de la Tour* who had ſucceeded in the room of *Guſman*, was acknowledg'd as the Emperor's Embaſſador by the College of Cardinals, and by Pope *Pius* IV. preſently after his exaltation. The refuſal *Paul* IV. made to admit the Embaſſador, was by ſo much the more offenſive, as the Emperor and all the Empire were concern'd therein: But however he did not thereby violate the *Law of Nations*, tho' it is true he uſurp'd and arrogated to himſelf a Temporal Authority that did not belong to him, whereas *Clement* made uſe of the Spiritual or Eccleſiaſtical Power which the Canons and Poſſeſſion give the Pope. This difference oblig'd *Philip* II. King of *Spain*, who had a concern for the intereſt of the Emperor his Unkle, to order *John of Figueroa* Governor of *Milan* to go to *Rome*, and to back *Martin Guſman*'s Endeavours. *Figueroa* had ſome time before caus'd a ſmall Officer of the Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Milan* to be Cudgel'd, whereupon he had incurr'd the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, of which he had not been abſolv'd according to the formalities in that caſe. This occaſion'd the Pope to forbid his coming to *Rome*, which gave *Figueroa* ſo ſenſible a diſpleaſure, that retiring to *Gaeta*, he fell Sick, and dy'd a few days after. Here it was the Perſon of the Embaſſador that was not acceptable, and in whom there was ſuch an impediment, which according to the Maxims of the Court of *Rome* was a lawful one; ſo that not only the *Law of Nations* was not thereby offended, but the King likewiſe had no reaſon to complain.

In the Year 1600, the *Arch-Duke Albert* ſent *Charles Count of Egmont*, and the *Preſident* of the *Council of Luxemburg*, to ſeveral Princes of *Germany*, to acquaint them with his acceſſion to the States of *Flanders* and of *Burgundy*, to exhort them to live in a good underſtanding with him; to caſt on the United Provinces the Inconveniencies that were occaſion'd by the vicinity of the War, and to excuſe thoſe they receiv'd from the Arms of *Spain*. *The Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Heſſe* refus'd to hear them, and ſent them back at the end of two days; notifying to them by their Counſellors, that if the *Arch-Duke* would have them think he had no hand in the diſorders, of which the Empire had ſo much reaſon to complain, he ought to put an end to them, and puniſh the Authors thereof. Here it was not the Embaſſadors that were diſlik'd, but the Parties were not ſatisfy'd with their Prince.

Guſtavus Adolphus King of *Sweden*, in order to juſtifie his invading *Germany* about fifty years ago; ſays in his *Manifeſto* among other things, that contrary to the *Laws of Nations*, his Embaſſadors had receiv'd the affront of being ſent back, and that they had been refus'd admittance in *the Aſſembly at Lubeck*, without giving them leave to repreſent the Grievances they had orders from him to complain of. That upon the firſt advices of their arrival, it had not been thought enough to forbid 'em approaching the place where it was held; but that matters were carry'd to that pitch of inſolence and bravado, *as to forbid 'em entring into Germany, at the peril of their Lives*. He ſet forth that there was not any People ſo barbarous as not to confeſs that this it ſelf was a ſufficient reaſon to juſtifie his reſentment; whereupon one of the greateſt Men of thoſe times expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms: *A Prince muſt be altogether inſenſible not to reſent ſo groſs an affront, that violates the Law of Nations, and touches Sovereigns in the moſt ſenſible part*. The Emperor could not hinder a foreign King from ſending his Miniſters to an Aſſembly of the Empire: By making *Prohibitions on pain of Death* to the Embaſſadors of a Prince who was not a declar'd Enemy of the Empire, he violated the *Law of Nations*; and even if he had not violated them, he ſo groſly offended the Prince concern'd, that his Arms were ſufficiently juſtify'd thereby. It is with reaſon ſaid, that the outrage that is done to a publick Miniſter, touches the Honour of the Maſter in the moſt ſenſible part. If a Prince may be injur'd in his Picture, he with much more reaſon may be ſo in his Miniſter, who repreſents him after a much more noble and lively manner. I here give the ſentiment of no leſs a Man than *Cardinal de Richelieu*.

In the Year 1648. ſoon after the Concluſion of the Peace of *Munſter*, the *Commander de Souvré*, who was *Embaſſador from the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem*, to *France*, went to *Holland* in the ſame Capacity, to lay claim to the *Commanderies* that Order pretends to have a right to within the extent of the United Provinces. The States liv'd in perfect Amity with the *Great Maſter*, who during the War, had given a ſafe retreat in the Port of *Malta* to the *Dutch* Ships, and had handſomly treated thoſe who Commanded them; ſo that the States being ſatisfied therewith, his Embaſſador ought not to have been diſagreeable to them; yet nevertheleſs they could not have treated him in a more diſobliging manner than they did. The Embaſſador being arrived at *Roterdam*, gave notice thereof to the States, and deſir'd at the ſame time, that they would give the neceſſary Orders for his Reception. The States firſt ſignify'd to him, that 'till then there had not been ſeen any Embaſſador from the great Maſter in thoſe Countries, ſo that they could not reſolve upon any thing relating to the Ceremonies of his Reception, without the advice of the States of the Provinces, their Principals. However, they had no ſooner made this An-

ſwer, than they reflected, that it was deficient as to the Reſpect which is due to the *Law of Nations:* and that, in ſending back after this manner the Miniſter of a Prince that was acknowledg'd for Sovereign by all the World, who had oblig'd the State a thouſand ways, and who reclaim'd his own after the uſual Method in ſuch Caſes, they offended all the other Princes of Chriſtendom, who intereſted themſelves in the Welfare of the Order. They, out of this Conſideration, ſent him word a few Days after, that they were ready to receive him with all the Honours due to his Character; but that they found themſelves oblig'd to let him know, that they could not acknowledge the Great Maſter with reference to the Commanderies that are ſituate in thoſe Provinces. *Monſieur de Souvre*, exaſperated at this Anſwer, which he ſaid was unjuſt, and which at leaſt was not very Civil, re-took the Road to *France*, after he had ſent the States a formal Proteſtation againſt their Proceedings. The States ſent it him back again, and intreated him, at the ſame time, to come to the *Hague* and receive the Honours which were preparing for his Reception; but he that was to deliver this Meſſage, did not find him at *Delft*, from whence he was gone in order to return to *France*. The Complement was to be made without reſerve: but the States General however regiſter'd the Reſerve in the Archives of their ſecret Reſolutions. This Precaution was needleſs, ſince it could not give a Right to the Provinces, who were in Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Commanderies without any Title, and, as it was ſaid, without any Colour of Juſtice. In this caſe it was nothing elſe, but the Subject-matter of the Embaſſy, that render'd the Embaſſador diſagreeable, and that made him be ſent back after ſo rude a manner, as would not have paſs'd unreſented, had it not been for the Civil Wars of *France*, which hinder'd at that time thoſe Fleets to be fitted out, that have ſince done ſo much Miſchief in the *Mediterranean*.

When the Buſineſs an Embaſſador has to negotiate is odious, his Perſon cannot be acceptable. Pope *Boniface* VIII. intending in the Year 1296, to bring the *Sicilians* under the Obedience of *Charles* of *Anjou*, ſent into the Iſland the Biſhop of *Urgel*, and *Boniface* of *Calamendrana*, Maſter of the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, accompany'd by the Archdeacon of the Church of *Urgel*, and by *John Perez de Navales*, Embaſſadors from *James* II, King of *Arragon*, who were to exhort 'em to reconcile themſelves with *Charles*. But the Embaſſadors of the holy Father being enter'd into the Port of *Meſſina*, were not ſuffer'd to land, nor to enter the Town, to receive the Audience they had demanded. The *Sicilian* Lords ſignify'd to them by a Gentleman, whoſe Name was *Peter d'Anſe*, that the States of the Kingdom had reſolv'd to acknowledge no other for their King than Prince *Don Frederick*, Brother to the King of *Arragon*. This Gentleman, laying his Hand to his Sword, added to his Diſcourſe, that that ſhould give them Peace: and that they would not be oblig'd to Parchment and Wax for it; which was what the Embaſſadors brought them: That they ſhould forthwith depart the Iſland, or prepare themſelves to die immediately. They were forc'd to be gone, for fear of truſting their Perſons in a Place where the *Laws of Nations* would not have been much reſpected; no great Conſideration being had thereto, amidſt the Diſorders of Civil Wars. The *Sicilians* violated it, not in refuſing to admit the Embaſſadors, but in threatening their Lives.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who did not without Reluctancy enter into the Intereſt of the deceaſed King of *Sweden*, *Charles Guſtavus*, quitted it, as ſoon as *Poland* (having recover'd it ſelf from its firſt Surpriſe) found the means to make him change his Party, by promiſing him the Sovereignty of the Ducal *Pruſſia*. He preſently comply'd; but before he declar'd himſelf, the King and the Senate of *Poland* thought fit, that he ſhould make an Overture of Agreement to the King of *Sweden*, in order to diſpoſe him to a Peace. He ſent him for this end in the Year 1658, *Otto* Baron of *Suerin*, his firſt Miniſter, and *Daniel Weiman*, Chancellor of *Cleves:* who being arriv'd at *Kiel* the 13th of *May*, were there viſited by the Prince *Palatine* of *Sultsbach*, and by Count *Slippenbach*, who were come thither on purpoſe; the firſt from *Gottorp*, and the other from *Wiſmar:* and within a few Days the King ſent to deſire them to come to him at *Flensburg*. They arriv'd there on the 19th; and after they had communicated their *Letters of Credence*, the King ſent one of the Gentlemen of his Houſhold to complement them, but he ſtill delay'd giving them Audience. It was rumor'd, tho' falſly, that the Baron of *Suerin*, diſcourſing with the Prince of *Sultsbach*, had diſcover'd, that they had Orders to urge the King to reſtore the Royal *Pruſſia* to the Crown of *Poland:* to take a Sum of Money in lieu thereof, and to fix the ſame: as alſo to demand the Reimburſement of what Expences the Elector had been at in aſſiſting him: and that for the Diſcharge thereof he would yield up the Town and Bayliwick of *Stetin*. It was moreover ſaid, that the Embaſſadors were to declare to the King, that the Elector was ſo far engag'd with *Poland*, that he was oblig'd to riſque his all with it. *Suerin* had ſaid nothing of all this; but the King of *Sweden*, who was but too well aſſur'd of the Engagement the Elector had enter'd into with *Poland*, imagining that the Intention of the Embaſſadors from *Brandenburg* was to declare War againſt him, if he did not grant all their Demands: and fearing leaſt in the Audience, Diſputes might ariſe, that would only ſerve to provoke the already exaſperated Minds, he was deſirous to ſound them a little, before he gave them Audience. To this purpoſe he employ'd three of his Miniſters, and gave 'em to underſtand that he deſir'd, that thoſe of *Lunenburg* and *Heſſe* ſhould be preſent at the Audience they demanded. *Suerin*, who was a Man of great Ability, ſaid, it was not cuſtomary to enter upon Negotiation before Audience granted: that they had Orders to ask it; and that they could not conceive, what could be the Deſign of having any other foreign Miniſters by, who had no Qualification to be ſo, either as Witneſſes or Parties. The Miniſters of *Sweden* ſaid, that the King their Maſter, being perſuaded the Elector had treated with the *Poles*, he could not give Audience to his Miniſters without a previous Information. Upon this Declaration the two Embaſſadors from the Elector reſolv'd to retire. But before they ſet out, they wrote to Count *Slippenbach:*

penbach: That the King of *Sweden* having invited them to come to him at *Flensburg*, they could not doubt of *their Perſons being agreeable to him*: that it was a thing without Precedent, to require they ſhould declare their Commiſſion to any other than his Majeſty himſelf; that having no Orders to do ſo, they were on the point of returning, to give his Electoral Highneſs an account of what had paſs'd: and entreated the King to honour them with his Commands. The Count made anſwer, that the King would not admit 'em to Audience, till they had a Full-power to reſtore a good Underſtanding between the Elector and him; becauſe without that, he could conſider the Embaſſadors but as his Enemies, or as Aſſociates with them: and that he would not ſuffer them to make mention of a Peace with *Poland*. The Meſſenger that carry'd this Anſwer, did not come time enough to find the Embaſſadors, who had already left the Place; whereupon it was ſent after them by a Trumpeter. The Baron of *Suerin* and *Weiman* complain'd of this Procedure in a Writing, which was publiſh'd on the 14th of *Auguſt*, wherein they ſay, That in the manner they were treated, the *Law of Nations* had been violated. The *Swedes* anſwer'd it about two Months after, in a kind of Manifeſto, where they ſet forth: That it was true, the King their Maſter had deſir'd the Elector would ſend his Embaſſadors to his Majeſty, to ſee if thereby he could cure himſelf of the Diſtruſt he had of his Electoral Highneſs's Conduct: that they had been receiv'd with Civility: that his Miniſters could not deny, that the Alliance had been violated on the part of the Elector; and that there had been already ſo many Overt-Hoſtilities on that ſide, that the King could not act otherwiſe than he did: That he was ſenſible the Elector's Intention was very different from what his Miniſters would have made it be believ'd: this was the Reaſon he would not give them Audience, till he had div'd into the Secret of the Matter: That the Embaſſadors finding themſelves in an ill Caſe, had rather ſtolen away than retir'd: That in delaying to give Audience to Embaſſadors that were Friends, *and in refuſing it abſolutely to Enemies, the Law of Nations was not violated*: and that the Advices he receiv'd on all hands, oblig'd him to uſe a great deal of Circumſpection. The King of *Sweden* knew the Elector had treated with his Enemies, and that he was going to declare himſelf openly, becauſe his Majeſty would not grant him Conditions, which he look'd upon to be neither juſt nor honourable. The King was too brave to comply with his Enemies Deſires againſt his Inclination: and indeed he did not yield to 'em, till he had loſt his beſt Troops in the Iſland of *Funen*, which Misfortune affected him ſo ſenſibly, that it would not ſuffer him to ſurvive the Diſgrace. It was not here the Embaſſadors that were diſagreeable to him, but the Embaſſy it ſelf did not pleaſe him.

The King of *Sweden* did nothing that was offenſive to the *Law of Nations*. A Sovereign, who is abſolute in his Dominions, cannot be compell'd to receive Miniſters if they are not agreeable to him. *Charles*, the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, had ſent into *Spain* the *Protonotary Artus de Bourbon*, and *Peter de Miraumont*, who not being able to get Admittance into *Barcelona*, ſent a Meſſenger to the States of *Catalonia*, to tell 'em, that they were oblig'd to give 'em Audience; as well out of reſpect to the Prince, who ſent 'em to them particularly, as out of the Conſideration they ought to have, and which the *Turks* themſelves had, for the Miniſters of Chriſtian Princes. But I can't tell whether it can be concluded from hence, that a Prince, who refuſes to admit a Miniſter that is not agreeable to him, violates the *Law of Nations*. He that is injurious to a publick Miniſter, is injurious alſo to the *Law of Nations*; but he that does not admit him, fails only in the Friendſhip and Civility which he owes to the Prince that ſends him. *Alphonſo* V, King of *Arragon* and of the two *Sicilies*, ſurnam'd the *Magnanimous*, ſent in the Year 1425 to the King of *Caſtile*, *Peter de Peralta*, Steward of his Houſhold, *Francis Sarçuela*, *John Olzina* his Secretary, and *John Martinez de Buigos*, to be Witneſſes to the ſigning of the Arbitration the two Kings had agreed upon, in the Perſon of *John*, King of *Navarre*, Brother to *Alphonſo*. The Intelligence theſe Embaſſadors had at the Court of *Caſtile*, giving the King ſtrong Suſpicions, *he would not permit them to enter into* Valladolid, where the Court then was, and he ſent them word to go to *Medina del Campo*, and to ſtay there till further Orders. *Alphonſo* was offended hereat, and when he publiſh'd on the 4th of *June* in the ſame Year, a *Manifeſto* for the Juſtification of his Arms, he takes notice of this Refuſal, as of one of the Cauſes of the Rupture; but he does not ſay, that the King of *Caſtile* had violated the *Law of Nations*. The ſame *Alphonſo*, and *John* his Brother, being ready in the Year 1429, to enter *Caſtile* with an Army, gave the King an account why he did ſo, by *Don John de Luna*, Lord of *Illueca*, *Peter* of *Peralta*, *Francis* of *Sarçuela*, and *Garzia Aznar d'Anon*. As ſoon as the Embaſſadors were arriv'd at Court, the King of *Caſtile* order'd them to go to a Village call'd *Aillon*, in which Place he would let them know his Intention: and upon Advice ſome time after, that the King of *Arragon* had enter'd *Caſtile* with an Army, he ſent them word, that they had nothing to do but to return home, and that he would not ſee them.

It is ſometimes matter of Prudence in a Prince not to admit him whom he ſhall be oblig'd to ſend back; and to prevent thereby a Scandal, for which it would be difficult to make Reparation. *George Villers*, Marquis and Duke of *Buckingham*, having procur'd to himſelf the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary, immediately after the Marriage of the Queen of *England*, notwithſtanding there were already two Embaſſadors in *France* on the part of the King of *Great-Britain*, behav'd himſelf ſo little to the Satisfaction of the Court, that when he had a mind to return thither in the Year following, 1626, Cardinal *Richelieu* notify'd to him, not to give himſelf that trouble, becauſe *his Perſon would not be acceptable*: the Reaſons why, were communicated to the Earl of *Holland*, who had remain'd in *Paris* ever ſince the Queen's Departure. The Earl repreſented to the Queen Mother, that to reject after that manner, a Miniſter that was all-powerful in his Court, would at once break off all good Correſpondence betwixt the two Crowns: And

that the little Complaiſance that had been ſhewn to him in *France*, was the Cauſe of the *French* being ſo little conſider'd in *England*. But the Queen gave him no Satisfaction to his Complaint, and did not ſcruple to tell him, That the Court of *France* would ſooner reſolve upon a War than endure an Embaſſador, who, for very weighty Reaſons, *could not be agreeable to the King*. The Earl gave the Duke an Account thereof, and counſell'd him not to think of a Journey, from whence he could hope for nothing but Mortification. If one has but ever ſo little Knowledge of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, it is impoſſible to be ignorant of the Cauſe of the Rupture that follow'd ſoon after, or of the raſh and impertinent Love the Duke was conceited with in his firſt Voyage. His Deſign was to appear with ſo much Splendor and Magnificence in the ſecond, that he might thereby make an Impreſſion on ſome Perſons of the firſt Rank and Quality of the Kingdom. The Diſappointment fill'd him with Spite and Malice, and he was ſo enrag'd to find his Thoughts diſcover'd, that he reſolv'd upon a War which coſt him his Life, and ruin'd the Party of the Religionaries in *France*.

Some time after, the King of *Great Britain* having diſmiſs'd the *French* Domeſticks belonging to the Queen, ſent *Montaigue* to the King of *France*, to acquaint him with the Reaſon thereof, but he could not get Admittance. In the Year 1627, after the Deſcent the *Engliſh* had made in the Iſland of *Ré*, the Duke of *Buckingham* imagining the Court of *France* would be glad to receive ſome Overture of an Accommodation, ſent thither a Relation of his, nam'd *Aſhburnham*, to make it. This Gentleman had no *Letter of Credence* but from the Duke, who being at that time but only General of the *Engliſh* Army, his Miniſter was conſider'd and treated but as a Drummer or Trumpeter would have been conſidered and treated. The King would not ſee him, and it was reſolv'd, he ſhould not be ſpoke to from him: On the contrary, he was ſtrictly obſerv'd, and was ſent away after ſuch a manner, as gave ſufficient Teſtimony how much his Maſter was hated and deſpiſed.

It would be very difficult, or rather altogether impoſſible, to inſtance in all the Conſiderations that may render the Embaſſador or Embaſſy diſagreeable; wherefore I ſhall content my ſelf to ſtop at the Examples, and to make ſome Remarks thereupon, when they ſhall be neceſſary. In the Year 1494, Pope *Alexander* VI. ſent *Francis Piccolomini*, Archbiſhop and Cardinal of *Siena*, in the Quality of Legate, to *Charles* VIII, to do him Honour at his Entrance into the Eccleſiaſtical State; but the King gave him to underſtand, that he would not ſuffer him to come to Court, and oblig'd him to return home. This Cardinal, who has ſince been Pope under the Name of *Pius* III, being a Friend to the King of *Naples*, could not be ſo to *Charles*; nor, on that account, be acceptable to him. In the Year 1480, the Pope gave the Quality of *Legate* to *Alfonſo de Carillo*, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, but *Ferdinand the Catholick* was ſo ſenſibly offended at the Procedure of the Pope, who had nominated him to the *Legation* without firſt acquainting him therewith, that he gave Orders to *Gonçale de Betete*, his Embaſſador at the Court of *Rome*, to take his leave of the Pope and come away, and to bring along with him all the *Spaniſh* Prelates. The ſame *Ferdinand* would not admit the Biſhop of *Arezzo*, Nuncio from *Julius* II, becauſe he was a *Florentine*.

The Pope has that Conſideration for the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, that, moſt commonly, he makes known to their Miniſters the Qualities of the Nuncios he deſigns to employ in theſe two Courts. *Alexander* VI, known by the Name of *Rodriguo Borgia* before his Exaltation, while he was Legate to *Sixtus* IV, had a mind to get into *Barcelona*, to try to diſpoſe the Inhabitants to an Obedience. *John* II, King of *Arragon*, who beſieg'd the Town, gave his Conſent thereto, but the Inhabitants would not admit him, but oppos'd him, and could not be prevail'd upon to let him enter the Place. *Clement* VIII. deſiring, after the Abſolution of King *Henry* IV, to ſettle a Miniſter near him, and having made choice of the Biſhop of *Mantua* for that purpoſe, he made mention of him to *Doſſat*, as of a Subject very capable of maintaining a good Correſpondence between the Court of *France* and the See of *Rome*. He did the ſame with reference to the Biſhops of *Modena*, and of *Camerin*, who ſucceeded the Biſhop of *Mantua*. And when a Legate was to be ſent into *France*, on occaſion of the War in *Savoy*, Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, the Pope's firſt Miniſter, got a Liſt of all the Cardinals, and examin'd, with Cardinal *Doſſat*, the Qualities of thoſe who were fit for it. It is true he did not do this when he ſent thither Cardinal *de Medicis*; becauſe he knew that that Cardinal, who had openly enough diſtinguiſh'd his Zeal for the King's Intereſt, could not be diſagreeable to him. Cardinal *Doſſat* ſays, on this Occaſion, in the Letter he wrote to *M. de Villeroy* on the 17th of *January* 1599, That there was a Diſcourſe as if a Nuncio would be ſent into *France*, and that he believ'd the Pope would talk with him about it before he nominated him: *As he is wont to do with the King's Miniſters on the like Occaſions*. When he does otherwiſe, it is reaſonable to think that there is not a very good Underſtanding between the *Vatican* and the *Louvre*. As for Example: When in the beginning of the Pontificate of *Paul* V, the Lord *Ubaldini*, who was afterwards made a Cardinal, was ſent Nuncio into *France*, altho' the King oppos'd his coming, becauſe he knew him to be a Penſioner and Partiſan of *Spain*; and ſince that, the Archbiſhoprick of *Urbin* has been refus'd him, notwithſtanding both the King and Queen earneſtly ask'd it for him. Immediately after the Promotion of Cardinal *Ludoviſio*, who took the Name of *Gregory* XV, the *French* Embaſſador made preſſing Inſtances to the *Cardinal Nephew* to have either *Bagny*, *Lucellay*, or *Frangipani* nominated to the Nunciature of *France*; but as ſoon as ever he ſpoke to him about it, the *Cardinal Nephew* told him he had already giv'n his Word to *Corſins*, Clark of the Chamber, and pray'd him to get him accepted at Court. The Embaſſador accordingly wrote about it, and repreſented, that it would be a difficult matter to oppoſe with Succeſs the Intention of the *Cardinal Nephew*; and that it would not look very well to diſoblige the *Cardinal Protector*, at the

the very beginning of his Uncle's Pontificate, ſince moreover that Prelate had *Qualifications that would render him agreeable.*

The Emperor refus'd to grant a Paſſport for the Cardinal of Lyons, who was to go on the part of *France* to the Congreſs at *Cologn*. There was no other Objection to his Perſon but his eminent Quality, which would have oblig'd the other Plenipotentiaries to have had too great a Deference to him. This Refuſal was diſobliging, and yet it never came into the Thoughts of *France* to ſay, that the Emperor had violated the *Law of Nations*.

The *Spaniards* being inform'd, after the Death of *Lewis* XIII, that that Court had ſome Thoughts of ſending Cardinal *Mazarin* to the Aſſembly of *Weſtphalia*, oppos'd it, becauſe it was he, as they ſaid, who had manag'd the Intrigues that the Prince of *Sans* had carry'd on, to cauſe an Inſurrection in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The *French* on their ſide ſhew'd a diſtruſt of Cardinal *Roſetti*, who was to perform the Function of Mediator between the two Crowns, and oblig'd the Pope to recall him from *Cologn*, on account of the Intereſt they ſaid he had made in *England* with the *Queen Mother* of *France*, which had caus'd Cardinal *Richelieu* to ſuſpect him. *Michael Ghiſlery*, while he was only a Dominican Frier, was ſent to *Bergamo* in the Quality of Inquiſitor, and executed his Function with ſo much Rigor and Severity, that he was not contented to examine into the Actions and Sentiments of his Predeceſſor, but was alſo for extending his Juriſdiction over *Vittorio Soranzo*, the Biſhop of the ſaid Town. It is well known that the Inquiſition has not an abſolute Eccleſiaſtical Power in the State of *Venice*; wherefore *Nicholas de Ponte*, who had the Office of *Podeſta* there, not being able to bear the Inſolence of the Frier, expell'd him out of his Government. Some Years after this, *Michael* being choſen Pope, under the Name of *Pius* V, the Republick, when it nominated the four Senators to go and make their Submiſſion to him, put *Nicholas de Ponte* at the Head of this ſolemn Embaſſy. The Senate knew nothing of what had happen'd at *Bergamo*, neither did *Nicholas* remember any thing of it, or believ'd at leaſt that the Pope had forgot it: But he remember'd it but too well. He would not ſee him, and oblig'd the other Embaſſadors to receive Audience without him. In the Year 1541, Pope *Paul* III. ſent *Michael de Silva*, Cardinal *de Viſeo*, in the Quality of Legate, to the Emperor *Charles* V, to endeavour to diſpoſe him to make a Peace with *Francis* I. The Cardinal was very much out of the King of *Portugal*'s Favour, and the Emperor, who liv'd in the moſt intimate Confidence with that King, apprehending leſt the Court of *Lisbon* ſhould take Umbrage at this Legation, was very uneaſy at it, and complain'd thereof, as if the Pope had a Deſign to ſet him at Variance with the King of *Portugal*. This oblig'd the Pope to recall not only the Legate, but alſo the Biſhop of *Bergamo*, who had accompany'd him; and who, as being his Friend, was to have remain'd Nuncio at *Lisbon*. That Miniſter that is not agreeable to the Court where he negotiates, cannot be ſerviceable to him that employs him.

Zachary Delfini, Nuncio to the Court of *Vienna*, and *John Francis Commendon*, Nuncio Extraordinary in *Germany*, were ſent by Pope *Pius* IV. to the Provinces in thoſe Parts, to invite 'em to meet at the Council of *Trent*, either perſonally, or by their Deputies. The Princes and other Proteſtant States were aſſembled at *Naumburg* in *Miſnia*, whither the two Nuncios reſolv'd to go to them. I cannot tell whether they acquainted the Princes with their Intention; but this is certain, that no body went out to meet them, neither did they receive any Civilities at all at their Arrival. So that theſe Prelates, finding that in two Days time no body took notice of them, reſolv'd between themſelves, that the one ſhould go to the Elector *Palatine*, and the other to the Elector of *Saxony*; and accordingly they deſir'd Audience of theſe two Princes, who ſignify'd to them, that as they were but a part of the Body that was met about the publick Buſineſs, they could not grant 'em a particular Audience, without firſt communicating it to the other Princes and Deputies. The Aſſembly hereupon reſolv'd to give them a publick Audience, and that no particular Conferences ſhould be had with them, becauſe they were to be conſider'd as Embaſſadors from the Enemy of their Party. Upon this Reſolution they were ſent for in a Coach, accompany'd by ſome Gentlemen, and ſeveral Guards, who march'd at the Head of the Horſes. No body met 'em at their Arrival; they found no body in the Antichamber, and all the Honour that was done to 'em, was, that the whole Aſſembly roſe as ſoon as the Nuncios enter'd, and no body offer'd to ſit down till the Nuncios had taken their Places. They both ſpoke, one after another, but they receiv'd no other Anſwer than that they would take their Propoſals into Conſideration. They were carry'd back in the ſame Coach, and with the ſame Cortege, which had attended them to their Audience; and about an Hour after, three Counſellors, from ſo many Princes, brought back to the Nuncios the Pope's *Letters of Credence*, and told them, that the Aſſembly at their firſt receiving them, did not obſerve, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſtyles the Princes their Maſters, his Sons: That they did not acknowledge him for their Father, neither would they paſs for his Sons, nor receive his Letters. Three Days after, the Aſſembly declar'd to them, by ten Deputies, that they had no other Anſwer to make them, but that the Princes their Maſters would have no Communication with the Biſhop of *Rome*. The two Nuncios, at their Departure from *Naumburg*, ſeparated. *Commendon*, whoſe Diviſion comprehended *Saxony* and the Northern Kingdoms, went to *Bruſſels*, and from thence to *Lubeck*, under the Conduct of a Gentleman whoſe Name was *Gaſpar de Schoneich*, whom the Emperor had given him, that he might travel with the greater Safety. Being come to *Lubeck*, and not being willing to run any riſque after what had happen'd at *Naumburg*, they ſent to deſire *Frederick* II, King of *Denmark*, to ſend them a Paſſport. The King made no Anſwer to *Commendon*; but he wrote to *Schoneich*, that if he would come alone to *Copenhaguen*, he ſhould be welcome, and that he ſhould receive Honours on his account that

ſent him. As for the *Nuncio*, he found that in the time of the deceaſed King, no Correſpondence had been held with the Court of *Rome*; ſo that not being able to enter on any Negotiation with the Pope's Nuncio, 'till he had deliberated with the States of his Kingdom, he could not at preſent admit him to Court, nor give him Audience. He deſir'd *Schoneich* to impart this to *Commendon*, and render it acceptable to him. *Eric* the Son of *Guſtavus*, who Reign'd at that time in *Sweden*, had ſome thoughts of making his Addreſſes to *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, and was juſt upon the point of ſetting out to explain himſelf to her in Perſon. This oblig'd him to write to *Commendon*, that being ready to put to Sea, as ſoon as the wind would permit him, he was willing to give him notice thereof; to the end that if he thought it proper, he might come to him in *England*, where he might communicate to him the ſubject of his Commiſſion. He moreover added, that to facilitate his paſſage, he ſent him a Paſſport, tho' he believ'd, that *Commendon, being a Publick Miniſter, had no occaſion for it.* Upon the receipt of this Letter, the Nuncio ſet out again for *Bruſſels*, with a deſign to take Shipping in *Flanders*, as ſoon as he ſhould be inform'd of the paſſage of the King of *Sweden*. He was in hopes the *Queen* would permit him to go to *London*, for the ſake of ſo illuſtrious a Gueſt. However, conſidering afterwards that the Queen might be againſt it, and that he ought to riſque nothing, he alter'd his Mind, and went back to *Italy*. The King of *Sweden* did not ſecure the Nuncio by writing to him that as *a publick Miniſter* he had no occaſion for a Paſſport; for he thereby deceiv'd the *Nuncio*, and was deceiv'd himſelf.

Commendon flatter'd himſelf with vain hopes, ſince the ſame Pope *Pius* IV. deſigning to ſend the *Abbot Martinengue* into *England*, to exhort *Queen Elizabeth* to ſend her Deputies to *Trent*, order'd him to wait in *Flanders* for a Paſſport, which the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador was to procure him at *London*. The *Queen* refus'd to ſend him one, and told the Embaſſador that three Reaſons chiefly hinder'd her from admitting the *Pope's Nuncio*. The firſt whereof was, that the Convocation and opening of the *Council* had not been notify'd to her, as it had been to other Princes. The ſecond, that the ſaid Council was neither free nor Chriſtian; and the third, that the *Nuncio* under the pretext of coming to deſire her to ſend her Deputies to it, came in reality to animate her Subjects to a Revolt. She added, that it was not without Example, that in preceding Reigns the Pope's Miniſters had been refus'd admittance into *England*; ſince *Queen Mary*, tho' a Catholick, would not ſuffer him that was bringing the *Cardinals Hat to Pettey* to enter the Kingdom. Which is worthy obſervation, becauſe the *King of Sweden* ſays in his Letter to *Commendon*, that his *Character* would ſerve him for a Paſſport. However I ſhall not enlarge upon this now, by reaſon I ſhall ſpeak more amply to it in Chapter 17. I ſhall only add here, that if theſe Miniſters of the Pope were not acceptable to the reſpective Princes they were ſent to, it was not on account of any defect in their own Perſons, but becauſe they would hold no correſpondence with their Maſter, and that their Commiſſion was not approv'd of.

Delfini and *Commendon* had before them the Example of *Peter Paul Verger*, who being *Nuncio* in *Germany* ſome years before, obtain'd indeed a Paſſport, which permitted him to render himſelf at the *Aſſembly of Smalcald*: But when he ſent to demand Audience of the Elector of *Saxony*, this laſt ſignify'd to him, that whereas the Affair, about which he would confer with him, concern'd the general Intereſt of all the *Princes of the Union*, the particular Audience he might give him, would be of no manner of uſe: So that the *Nuncio* might addreſs himſelf to the *Aſſembly*, where the *Elector* would not fail to promote, to the utmoſt of his intereſt, whatever he ſhould think would conduce to the glory of God, and the Eſtabliſhment of the truth of the Goſpel. The *Nuncio* being come to *Smalcald*, obtain'd for all this a particular Audience of the Elector, to whom he deliver'd the two Briefs the Pope had written to him; the one as to an Elector, and the other, as to one of the Directors of the Circle of the upper *Saxony*; inviting him both in the one and in the other, to be preſent at the Council. The *Elector* receiv'd the two Briefs, and having laid them upon a little Table, without opening them, He withdrew with ſome of his Counſellors into a Cloſet, from whence he ſent word to the *Nuncio*, by the aforeſaid Counſellors, that the Princes preſſing him to come to the *Aſſembly*, upon Affairs of very great importance, the *Nuncio* ought to excuſe the fault he committed againſt the Rules of Civility, but that he would ſoon let him know his intention concerning the two Briefs. The ſame *Nuncio* could never obtain Audience of *Philip Landgrave of Heſſe*, notwithſtanding he ask'd it with Zeal and Earneſtneſs.

The States of the United Provinces have often refus'd, as well before as ſince the Union of Utrecht, to admit the Emperor's Embaſſadors, and thoſe of ſeveral Princes of *Germany*, becauſe they expected from 'em no other Propoſals but ſuch as were prejudicial to their Liberty and Intereſt. In the Year 1579, *Charles Nutzel, Lord of Sunderpfull*, Counſellor to the Emperor in the Council of *Hungary*, being advanc'd as far as *Cologn*, with a deſign to paſs into *Holland*, there to make ſome overtures of accommodation with the King of *Spain*, deſir'd a Paſſport of the States. They gave him to underſtand that they knew the ſubject of his Journey; that his Labour would be loſt, and therefore he would do well not to give himſelf the trouble.

This did not hinder him from going to the *Hague*, and preſenting to the Aſſembly of the States General Letters from the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire, who were met at *Ratisbone*; but he was ſent away with the ſame Anſwer that had formerly been given thoſe who had made the like propoſals. In the Year 1599, *Salentin, who had been an Elector and Arch-Biſhop of Cologn, Herman Count of Manderſcheit*, and the ſaid *Charles Nutzel*, ſolicited the States for a Paſſport, which they thought neceſſary to them for their better ſecurity in their Journey. The States notified

to them, that they knew the Contents of their Commiſſion, and that it was needleſs for them to come, becauſe they would receive no other Anſwer, than what had been already given to thoſe who had made the ſame propoſal. No Paſſport was ſent them, and they would not hazard themſelves without one. Nevertheleſs in the Year 1600, the States ſent a Paſſport to *Count de Manderſcheit*, and to *Charles Nutzel*, becauſe they did not come to make Propoſals of Peace; but only to treat about the Intereſts of the Princes and States of the *Lower Saxony*, who were very much incommoded by the Neighbourhood of the Arms of the United Provinces, as well as by thoſe of the Arch-Duke.

John II. King of *Arragon* in his own Right, and King of *Navarre* in Right of his Wife, did not love *Charles* Prince of *Viana* his Son, to whom the Kingdom of *Navar* belong'd ſince the death of his Mother; and the Prince being continually Caballing againſt his Father, there was conſtantly one Negotiation or another between them. The *Catalonians* lov'd the Prince; and the King, to try to bring them over to his Intereſt, ſent to them in the Year 1641, *the Protonotary Anthony de Nogueras*, with Orders likewiſe to ſalute the Prince, after he had ſeen the Eſtates of the Province. But the States refus'd to hear him, till he had paid his Reſpects to the Prince; who, without giving *Nogueras* time to make his Complement, ſaid to him, " I am ſurpriz'd at two things, *Nogue-*
" *ras*; the firſt is, that the King my Father
" ſhould ſend you hither; *ſince the Perſons*
" *ſent ſhould always be agreeable to thoſe to*
" *whom they are ſent:* and the other, that you
" ſhould be ſo audacious as to preſent your
" ſelf before me, ſince when I was a Priſoner
" in *Saragoſa*, you had the boldneſs to come
" with Pen Ink and Paper to interrogate me;
" urging me very much concerning the great
" Crimes, and the pretended Treaſons of which
" I was accus'd. I am willing you ſhould
" underſtand, that it never comes into my
" mind, but I am ſo mov'd thereat, that I am
" no longer my ſelf. I am willing alſo to let
" you know, that were it not for the reſpect
" I have for my Father, and for ſome other
" Conſiderations, you ſhould not go away
" from hence with that Tongue that dar'd to
" interrogate me, nor the Hand that wrote the
" the Depoſitions. And that you may no
" longer irritate my patience, I deſire and
" command you to retire from before my
" Eyes, becauſe they cannot bear the ſight of a
" Man that would have laid ſo many Crimes
" to my Charge. *Nogueras* would have reply'd, but the Prince ſilenc'd him, and made him retire; telling him that his Reply would only ſerve to provoke him the more, and therefore he would have him be gone. He had leave the next day however to come to the Aſſembly of the Eſtates, but the Prince would not admit him any more to his preſence. I am ſenſible that *Nogueras*, whom the King ſent to the States of *Catalonia* his Subjects, and to the Prince his Son, had not the Character of Embaſſador, properly ſpeaking; tho' at that time the *Catalonians* gave that Quality to their Miniſters, as well as to thoſe that were ſent to them: But that does not hinder this Example from being a very powerful confirmation of the poſition I laid down, that the Embaſſador ought to be agreeable.

I don't think there is any room to doubt of it; yet nevertheleſs I ſhall here ſet down what *Jerome Zurita* ſays of *Gutierre de Fuenſalida*. This Nobleman being in the Year 1505, Embaſſador from *Ferdinand the Catholick*, to the *Arch-Duke Philip*, and the *Princeſs Jean* his Wife, Son-in-Law and Daughter to *Ferdinand*, took Audience one day of that Prince, in the preſence of *Maximilian*, *Philip's Father*; to whom, amongſt other things, he ſaid, that he had deſir'd the King his Maſter more than once to permit him to repair to him; *becauſe perceiving very well that his Perſon was not agreeable to his Highneſs, it was impoſſible for him to ſerve him in that Poſt:* That the King did did not make him any anſwer to that Article, till he wrote to him; that if his Majeſty did not grant him the liberty he begg'd, he would take it of himſelf, becauſe he was reſolv'd not to ſtay in a Court where they look'd over their ſhoulders at him: That hereupon the King had wrote to him; That he was far from commanding him to do a thing that was capable of receiving an evil interpretation, and that might make it be believ'd there was no great Love betwixt him and his Children, ſince he recall'd his Embaſſador: That therefore he would not do it, unleſs the *Arch-Duke* himſelf gave him to underſtand that he would no longer endure him, and that he ſtrictly forbid him going away without the expreſs leave of his Highneſs; who might order the matter as he thought fit, *ſince it could not be pleaſing to him to reſide in a Court where he imagin'd he was not acceptable.* The *Arch-Duke* made anſwer hereto: That it depended on the King his Maſter to recall him, or let him remain, according as he ſhould think it proper: That if he had a mind his Embaſſador ſhould retire, he might go; and if he commanded him to ſtay, he might remain, and be aſſur'd he ſhould be well receiv'd, and well us'd. The *Arch-Duke* was not uneaſie to have this Miniſter recall'd, tho' he was diſagreeable to him, becauſe he was ſenſible he ſhould get nothing by the Change; and that *Ferdinand* would entertain near him an Embaſſador that ſhould obſerve the Counſels and Carriage of *Don John Manuel*, of whom we ſpoke in the preceeding Chapter; and that ſhould ſerve him as a Comptroller, a Cenſor, and a Pedagogue with thoſe Princes.

The Arch-Duke might eaſily have learn'd of the King his Father-in-Law, how to have rid himſelf of a vexatious Miniſter, and ſhut out an Embaſſador that is diſagreeable. *Ferdinand* had diſmiſs'd the ſame Year, tho' after a very obliging manner at leaſt in appearance, *Andrew del Burgo*, a *Cremoneſe*, who had negotiated with him on the part of *Maximilian the Emperor*; but he ſignified at the ſame time to the Emperor, that he deſir'd him (if for the future he thought fit to ſend any body to him) to make choice of a Miniſter whoſe intentions were good and ſincere, and that would not carry on Intrigues in his Court, to the prejudice of the quiet of his Kingdom. Some time after *Maximilian*, without reflecting on what *Ferdinand* had ſignify'd to him, ſent Orders to

Andrew

Andrew del Burgo, who negotiated his affairs in *England*, to go from thence into *Spain*, to reſide on his part in that Court. *Ferdinand* having Advice thereof, diſpatch'd Orders to the Governors of all his Maritime Towns, that in what place ſoever *Andrew* ſhould arrive, not to ſuffer him to come to Court, becauſe he would not admit him, nor ſuffer him to reſide in *Spain*. *Andrew* Landed at *Laredo*, where he was no ſooner got on ſhoar than the Governor ſeiz'd him, and having ſet him and his Retinue on board another Veſſel, he ſent him back to *England*, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances he made to let him be ſent to Court, where he promis'd to give the King all the ſatisfaction he could poſſibly deſire from *Maximilian*. But the Governor, who had his Orders what to do, executed them punctually. The Emperor was very much offended thereat, and *Don John Manuel* (who continu'd to do *Ferdinand* the ſame ill Offices with him, which he had done him before with *Philip* who was dead) ſaid the Emperor ought to ſend into *Spain* an Embaſſador that ſhould have fifty thouſand *Germans* at his heels; and then he would not be deny'd *what was not refus'd to the Turks or the Moors*, but might then Command as abſolutely there, as he did in *Germany*. *Maximilian*, who was accuſtom'd to make a great deal of noiſe, was contented to uſe ſome menaces, and caus'd Propoſals to be made in *England* for a League againſt *Ferdinand*; but they vaniſh'd into air. *Andrew del Burgo*, who was not agreeable at that time, was ſince, after *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had come to an agreement concerning the Government of *Caſtile*.

What *Don John Manuel* ſaid, that the *Turks* and *Moors* Embaſſadors are not refus'd Admittance, is true; and he might have added, that thoſe of declar'd Enemies are receiv'd, provided there be nothing in their Perſons, nor in their Commiſſions, that can diſpleaſe or offend. The Inquiſition that employs Fire and Sword againſt pretended Hereticks, ſuffers the very *Jews*, becauſe it fears the one more than the other. *Maximilian* ſent back into *Spain* a Miniſter, whom he knew, or ought to have known, was not agreeable there; for which Reaſon he could blame no body but himſelf, for the Affront *Ferdinand* gave him, in ſending back his Embaſſador, becauſe he had been one of the principal Inſtruments of the Diviſions that oblig'd *Ferdinand* to go out of *Caſtile*. There is no Prince but would have done the ſame, and if *Ferdinand* could have juſtify'd all his other Actions as well as this, he would have eſcap'd many a ſevere Line that blacken very much his Reputation; and have left Poſterity a very foul Portraiture of him. The *Law of Nations*, in protecting Miniſters againſt Violence, does not for that pretend to do any to Princes; nor does not pretend to take from them the Liberty of acting conformably to their Intereſt, and of preſerving the Quiet of their State, which might poſſibly be diſturb'd by an impertinent and vexatious Miniſter. Neither does it hinder them from reſenting the Wrong another Prince has done them; nor from ſending away the Miniſter of a Prince, that has not ſhewn a due Reſpect to theirs. *Philip* II. refus'd to give Audience to *William Wade* the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, becauſe Queen *Elizabeth* had diſmiſs'd *Don Bernardin de Mendoſa*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, for having carry'd on Intrigues againſt the Tranquillity of the State, and prejudicial to the Safety of her *Royal Perſon*. The ſame Queen would not ſee *Alexander Humes*, Embaſſador from *Scotland*, becauſe *Robert Bowes*, the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, had not been well treated in *Scotland*. In theſe Caſes the Embaſſadors would be acceptable, if the Embaſſy it ſelf was ſo. In the Year 1672, at the beginning of the War, and in the height of the Diſorders of the United Provinces, the States ſent to the King of *France*, *Mrs. de Ghent*, *de Groot*, and two others; of whom the one remain'd ſick, or counterfeited being ſo; and the other was diſown'd by the States of his Province. Their Errand was to deſire the King to give Peace to their State; but he would not ſee them, but referr'd them to thoſe of his Miniſters, that had follow'd him. The two Perſons I juſt nam'd, were very agreeable, and the Propoſals they were to make, ought to have been ſo likewiſe; but then their Principals were not ſo.

That Prince that will not admit a Miniſter becauſe he is not agreeable, ought to be more reſerv'd to the Embaſſador, who being lik'd at his firſt coming, becomes diſagreeable in the Courſe of his Negotiation. The Refuſal that is made to receive an Embaſſador, may vex the Prince who ſends him; but a Miniſter that has been admitted cannot be diſmiſs'd without Scandal: and the leaſt Violence that is offer'd him, injures at the ſame time the *Law of Nations*. The moſt uſual, and moſt natural way, as well as the moſt warrantable, for Princes to get rid of Miniſters that are diſagreeable to them, is to complain of their Conduct to their reſpective Maſters: and if it be thought proper to proceed to ſomething that ſhews a greater Reſentment, to refuſe them Audience, till ſuch time as their Maſters either re-call or juſtify them. This has been the Practice of thoſe Princes, that have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Equity and Moderation, even in Caſes, where the *Law of Nations*, allow'd them to do a great deal more. It was never the Intention of the Court of *Spain* to marry the *Infanta* to the Prince of *Wales*; and yet it could not endure, that the Court of *England* ſhould ſhew a Reſentment, on the juſt Occaſion that of *Madrid* had given it. The Difficulty rais'd there concerning the Reſtoration of the Elector *Palatine*, and the indirect Procedure of the firſt Miniſter, had oblig'd the King of *Great-Britain* to accommodate himſelf to the good Diſpoſition of his Parliament; ſo that *Don John de Mendoſa*, Marquis of *Inoyoſa*, and *Don Carlos Coloma*, Embaſſadors from *Spain*, knowing that the Duke of *Buckingham* had moſt contributed thereto, reſolv'd to uſe their utmoſt Efforts to put him out of the King's Favour; for which purpoſe they accus'd him of an abominable Treaſon. They ſpread a Rumor, and even carry'd it to the King's Ear, *That the Duke of* Buckingham, *with the Conſent of the Prince of* Wales, *labour'd with the Parliament, to break off the Negotiation, which was carry'd on in* Spain *for the Marriage, and for the Reſtitution of the* Palatinate. *That the Intention of the Prince and Duke, was to force the King to conſent to a Rupture; and for default of Compliance therewith, to relegate*

gate him to one of his Countrey Houſes; and to tranſfer the Royal Power into the Hands of the Prince, who was to be effectually put into Poſſeſſion of the Regal Dignity. This Calumny, was not only capable of ſetting the King againſt the Prince his Son, and to change the whole face of Affairs, by removing him, who had the whole Management thereof; but alſo to caſt the Kingdom into the utmoſt Confuſion. The King ſlighted this Information of the Miniſters of *Spain*; and the Duke diſſembled their Treaſon, becauſe he could not propoſe to puniſh it. However, on account of the Murmurs of the People, the Affair was laid before the Council, and from thence before the Parliament: where ſome of the Members were of Opinion, that theſe Perſons ought to be proceeded againſt, and that they ought no longer to enjoy the Benefit of their Character, which they had diveſted themſelves of, by becoming Informers of a Crime, wherein the Publick had an Intereſt to know the Truth. In this kind of Aſſemblies, there are at any time but very few Members that have any Knowledge of the *Law of Nations:* yet there were ſome who repreſented, *That they could not examine judicially, Perſons that might ſhelter themſelves under their Character of publick Miniſters, and whom the King of* Spain *would not fail to own:* But that the Hainouſneſs of their Crime ought to be repreſented to them, by the Speakers of both Houſes: that they ſhould be urg'd to detect the Authors of this Calumny: and given to underſtand, that for default thereof, they ſhould be proceeded againſt as Impoſtors; and that they ought to be taken into Cuſtody, till ſuch time as their Maſter was made acquainted with the matter. Others were of Opinion that Satisfaction ſhould be requir'd of the King of *Spain*; and in caſe of Refuſal, War declar'd againſt him. But the King, who had no mind to embroil himſelf, was contented to make Complaints of it to the King of *Spain:* and ſuffer'd the Embaſſadors to take their Audience of Leave with the uſual Ceremonies. They deſir'd another, wherein they pretended to juſtify themſelves: but one of the Secretaries of State was ſent to 'em, to require they would explain themſelves. They would not do it; and they were ſuffer'd to go away without receiving the King's Preſent; and without having the Coaches and Barges which generally conduct Embaſſadors, when the Court is ſatisfy'd with 'em. What they had done was approv'd of in *Spain*, where their Service was rewarded, inſtead of giving Satisfaction to the King of *England.*

The Marquis of *Mirabel*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, had been very buſy in thoſe Intrigues Cardinal *Richelieu* broke the neck of, on the Day call'd there-from, the Day of the *Dupes* or *Bubbles*, by removing the Queen Mother, and by the Diſgrace of ſeveral Noblemen; ſome whereof were taken into Cuſtody, and others quite diſcarded and baniſh'd; nay there were ſome that loſt their Lives on the account. The Cardinal having no other way to ſhew his Reſentment to the Embaſſador, ſent him word by *M. de Guron*, one of the Introductors, that the King not being ſatisfy'd with his Behaviour, expected he ſhould make no Delay to return to *Spain:* and that if he had any particular Buſineſs, that requir'd he ſhould make any longer ſtay in *France*, he might retire to *Orleans.* The King notify'd to him at the ſame time, that what he did in this matter, *refer'd only to the Perſon of the Marquis* de Mirabel; and that in Conſideration of his Maſter, with whom he would continue to keep a good Correſpondence, he would give Orders that he ſhould receive all the good Uſage that was due to his Character. And accordingly, when two of his Sons, going from *Bourg la Reine* (where the Marquis was lodg'd) to ſee the Houſe of *Berny*, had an unlucky Encounter with the Servant of a *French* Gentleman, in which the Embaſſador himſelf was hurt; care was taken to ſend him an *Exempt*, and two of the Life-Guards, to conduct him him ſafe to the Frontiers. Cardinal *de Richelieu* mingled in this Action a little particular Reſentment, and would not have the patience, to wait for Satisfaction from the King of *Spain.*

What I juſt mention'd happen'd in the Year 1632. Two Years after, *Don Chriſtoval de Benavides* and *Benavente*, who ſucceeded the Marquis *de Mirabel*, ſpeaking one Day to *M. Seguier*, Keeper of the Seals of *France*, concerning the Rupture that was likely to enſue between the two Crowns, and the Succour the King gave the *Hollanders*; expreſs'd himſelf with heat againſt Cardinal *de Richelieu*, as againſt the only Cauſe, as he ſaid, of this Miſunderſtanding: and did not ſcruple to add, *that he was a Man that had neither Honour, Faith, nor Religion.* The *Keeper of the Seals*, who could not bear the firſt Miniſter ſhould be us'd after this ſcurvy manner, as being not only his intimate Friend, but alſo his Benefactor, got up, and oblig'd the Embaſſador to withdraw. *Don Chriſtoval* being come to himſelf, and reflecting that his Paſſion might be of ill Conſequence to him, was for juſtifying himſelf through the Mediation of the Emperor's Miniſter; but his Excuſes were not allow'd of; and the Queen ſignify'd to him, that ſhe would not ſee him, if he did not make the Cardinal Satisfaction. The Embaſſador would fain have had it believ'd, that *M. Seguier* had not very well underſtood the *Spaniſh* Tongue, and deny'd what he ſaid: But this was not ſufficient, and upon Complaints the Cardinal made thereof, the King caus'd him to be reprimanded by *Bonthiller*, Secretary of State.

M. de Blainville, who was firſt Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to *Lewis* XIII, and his Embaſſador to *Charles* I, King of *Great-Britain*, in the Year 1626, was of a very difficult and uneven Temper; and had every Day one Squabble or other at Court. But that which put him quite out of favour with the King, was his hindering the Queen from being preſent at the King's Coronation, on account of ſome Ceremonies, that the *Roman* Church does not approve of. It was alſo known, that it was he had perſuaded the Queen not to be ſatisfy'd with the Place which was prepar'd for her to ſee the Cavalcade, when the King went to the Parliament at the firſt Meeting thereof: and that he fomented the Seeds of Diviſions which ſome of the *French*, and eſpecially the Clergymen, caſt into the Mind of this Princeſs. For which Reaſons the King of *England* ſignify'd to him, by my Lord *Conway*, one of the Secretaries of State, not to preſent himſelf any

more before him; and that he ſhould likewiſe refrain viſiting the Queen. *Blainville* made anſwer, that he did not receive his Orders from the King of *England*; that he was there to execute thoſe of the King his Maſter, and that no body ſhould hinder him from diſcharging his Function; he at laſt grew ſo angry, that he ſent two or three times upon the heels one of the other, to demand Audience. The Refuſal he receiv'd made him perfectly mad; ſo that the King, out of regard to the King of *France*, rather than to ſatisfie the Embaſſador, ſent him word that he would make no difficulty to grant him Audience on any affairs relating to the King his Maſter; but if he offer'd to ſpeak of any thing elſe, he would leave him, and not lend him an Ear. *Blainville* reply'd, that he was not in *England* for his own particular Affairs, but for thoſe of the King his Maſter: and that the Refuſal to give him Audience, did not refer to his own Perſon, but to the Prince that employ'd him. Till that Day he had been lodg'd and defray'd at the King of *England*'s Expence: but after this Miſunderſtanding, he would neither be lodg'd nor treated, and ſo retir'd to *Greenwich*. He from thence diſpatch'd a Courier to *France*, to acquaint the Court with what had happen'd to him; but he was prevented, and all the foreign Letters were ſtopp'd, till it was known what Effect thoſe the King had ſent thither had produc'd; which was this, that *Blainville* receiv'd Orders from his Maſter to have more Complaiſance for the King of *England*; to accommodate himſelf to his Will; to get handſomly out of the preſent Miſunderſtanding, and then to take leave of the Court and return home. *Blainville* was forc'd to obey; and after he had ſeen the King twice privately, he took his Audience of Leave publickly. He was paſſionate in all his Conduct, and diſcover'd but little Reaſon in his Anſwer to the King: who had a Right to forbid him ſeeing the Queen, and refuſe him Audience, till he had ſignify'd to the Court of *France* the juſt ground he had to complain of him. Nay he might have oblig'd him to leave the Kingdom where he was Sovereign: and if in ſo doing the King tranſgreſs'd either the Rules of Civility, or offended the *Law of Nations*, it was the King of *France*'s buſineſs to reſent it, and not the Embaſſadors to contend with a powerful Monarch. Princes are oblig'd to ſtand by their Miniſters. Thoſe that have Honour never fail to do it; and thoſe that know themſelves, know likewiſe how far they ought to carry their Reſentment. The King of *England* did not offend the King of *France*. On the contrary, he made uſe of the Means all Princes ought to uſe, to get rid of a Miniſter that is diſagreeable to them, by making him be recall'd by the Prince that employ'd him. The Conſtable of *Montmorancy*, who was firſt Miniſter of *France* under *Francis* I, being ſenſible that the Nuncio ſent his Court Advices, which were very prejudicial to the King's Service; and moreover did very ill Offices to the Conſtable in particular, complain'd thereof to the Pope, who recall'd this diſagreeable Miniſter. The Miniſter of the United Provinces, of whom I ſpoke heretofore, was the Averſion of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who at that time had no reaſon to love his Maſters, nor to cultivate their Friendſhip: and yet inſtead of cauſing him to retire, he made intereſt at the *Hague* to have him recall'd. It was by the ſame Means that he freed himſelf of *Roſenhan*, Embaſſador from *Sweden*; and that the Eſtates of the United Provinces would have rid themſelves of *Appleboom*; and it ought to be the ſame way, that Princes ſhould always free themſelves, not only of diſagreeable Miniſters, but alſo of thoſe that ſhall make themſelves odious by Treaſons, and by Crimes which the *Law of Nations* does not protect. But for as much as I ſhall treat more amply on this Subject in Chapter XXIX, I ſhall end this with an Example, the Circumſtances whereof are particular enough.

Philip de Commines takes notice, that ſome time after the Deceaſe of *Charles*, the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, the Emperor *Frederick* III, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to the Low Countries, to conclude the Marriage between the Hereditary Princeſs of thoſe rich Provinces, and his Son *Maximilian*, to whom ſhe had been promis'd ſome Years before. The People of *Ghent* kept her in their own Town, where ſhe was ſtrictly obſerv'd; and withal, ſhe was in a manner beſieg'd with a Council, which was by ſo much the more troubleſome, as the major part of thoſe that compos'd it, oppos'd her Marriage. The Duke of *Cleves*, her near Relation, who deſign'd her for his Son, being inform'd that the Embaſſadors of *Frederick*, the Chief of whom were *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria* and the Biſhop of *Metz*, of the Houſe of *Baden*, were arriv'd at *Bruſſells*, caus'd the Council to write to 'em, to remain there till further Orders: imagining that theſe Gentlemen being offended at the Affront, or diſguſted at the Put-offs, with which they were to be amus'd, would return back to *Vienna*. But the Embaſſadors, who had a ſecret Intelligence in the Cabinet, and particularly with the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Burgundy*, Mother-in-law to the Princeſs, whoſe Intention they knew, purſu'd their Journey; arriv'd at *Ghent*, and demanded Audience, in which they ſecur'd themſelves of the Succeſs of their Negotiation. The Council would have oblig'd the Princeſs to remit the Embaſſadors to them, that they might there be inform'd of its Reſolution and Will; but ſhe was reſolv'd to marry, and by that means get out of the Subjection of her Tutors; wherefore ſhe acknowledg'd immediately the Letter ſhe had written by her Father's Orders, to the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*, as alſo the Ring ſhe had ſent him: and gave very well to be underſtood, that ſhe would not go from the Promiſe ſhe had formerly made. The Councils Refuſal to admit the Embaſſadors, not being conformable to the Intention of the *Sovereign*, who was at Age to diſpoſe of her Perſon and Inclinations, was impertinent: and the Authority it aſſum'd, to encroach upon the Rights of their Princeſs, was criminal. The *Embaſſadors*, the *Embaſſy*, and the *Prince* that ſent them, were agreeable to the Princeſs, and they ought to have been ſo likewiſe to her Council, who had a greater Regard to their Intereſt than to their Duty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Inſtructions.

IT is commonly ſaid, that it is ſufficient *to ſend an able Man, and let him act as he ſhall think fit.* However, I don't believe that they who ſpeak thus pretend by it that an *Embaſſador* ought to go upon his Commiſſion, without *Inſtructions.* It is requiſite, and even neceſſary, he ſhould know his Maſter's Intention, and be inform'd of his Will, in reference to the Affairs he is to negotiate; and all that ought to be expected from him, is, that the Prince ſhould rely on the Ability of the Embaſſador for the Management and Execution thereof. This, I muſt confeſs, is, what it is not neceſſary to ſay any thing to him of. But altho' it be ſuppos'd that the Miniſter, whom the Prince pitches upon for an Employment of this Nature, poſſeſſes all the Qualifications requiſite to form an accompliſh'd Subject; and that he even has a perfect Knowledge of the Court where he is going to reſide or negotiate; and that it be not doubted, but his Sufficiency may ſupply what may be wanting to his *Inſtructions*, which can never give him all the Light neceſſary for his Conduct; yet there are nevertheleſs ſeveral Particularities, of which he muſt of neceſſity be duly inform'd. *M. de Villeroy*, writing on the 30th of *May*, 1607, to Preſident *Jeannin*, Embaſſador at that time from *France* to *Holland*, ſays, That in his Letter of the 14th he had given him an *Inſtruction*; but for all that, it was the King's Intention, and his, that he ſhould make uſe of that, and all the others he ſhould for the future ſend him, as he himſelf ſhould think fit: *Becauſe being upon the Place*, ſays he, *you are better able to judge what is moſt expedient for the King's Service. His Majeſty has a full Confidence in you, and in thoſe Gentlemen who aſſiſt you. Wherefore he expects that you ſhall cut out, and pair off at your Diſcretion.* Notwithſtanding this, *Jeannin* and his *Collegues* had their *Inſtructions*, and from time to time receiv'd Orders, which made a part thereof, and were to regulate their Actions; to which they might give what Form and Turn they ſhould think moſt proper, to accompliſh the Intention of their Maſter. The King himſelf makes uſe of much ſtronger Expreſſions in the Letter he writes to him, of the 17th of *April* 1608, where he ſays, *I put ſo much Confidence in you, and in the Care you have for the good of my Service, that you will make a better Choice of what ſhall be conducive to the Promotion of my Service, than I am able to preſcribe, or command it you from hence.* The Terms of their firſt *Inſtruction*, which bears date on the 22d of *April* 1607, cannot be more formal, nor more expreſſive than they are. *His Majeſty orders the preſent Memoir to be drawn up and deliver'd to them, to ſerve them as a Teſtimony of his Intentions and Commands, and not to preſcribe to them any ſet Rule in what they are to execute.* To which *Villeroy* adds, in the firſt Letter he writes to the Preſident, *The King expects you ſhould conſult your ſelf, for the principal Inſtructions, concerning what you ſhall have to do in this Journey.* But all Princes are not ſo magnanimous, nor ſo knowing, as *Henry* IV. was; neither are all Embaſſadors ſo wiſe and experienc'd as Preſident *Jeannin:* Notwithſtanding which, he had two very good *Inſtructions* about him when he came to the *Hague.* All Buſineſs is not of the ſame Nature, nor all Courts are not of the ſame Conſtitution. I ſay, that the Orders the Prince gives, or ſends from time to time to his Miniſter, make a part of his *Inſtructions. Doſſat* ſays, in one of his Letters to *Villeroy*, "The other Points of your "Letter which I do not particularize, are for "all that in as great, if not greater, Eſteem "and Recommendation with me, each accor-"ding to its Importance. But it is ſufficient "I tell you in general, that I have taken good "notice of them for my *Inſtruction*, and that "I ſhall execute what they contain, as Occa-"ſion ſhall require.

The Marquis *de Fontenay-Marüeil* had been three Years Embaſſador in Ordinary at *Rome*; but when the King of *France* ſent him thither, in the Year 1647, Cardinal *Mazarin* himſelf gave him the Memoirs of his *Inſtructions*, wherein he makes him ſenſible, that the State of Affairs was ſo alter'd, under the Pontificate of *Innocent* X, that having no manner of Reſemblance with that wherein the Marquis left them under *Urban* VIII, he could not act any longer upon the ſame Principles. He was to negotiate there very intricate Matters, and very diſagreeable to the Pope and his Miniſters; the Reconciliation of the *Barberins*, the conſigning *Beaupuy* into the King's Hands, and the Promotion of Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Brother. The Pope mortally hated the Cardinal, and his Inclinations being altogether *Spaniſh*, it was neceſſary to let the Embaſſador know the State of the Court of *Rome*, and the Pope's Humor, by giving him notice, that he would ſucceed much better if he rather compell'd that timorous Mind than endeavour'd to perſuade it; and that if he made a right uſe of the Diſcontent of the other Princes of *Italy*, who were not ſatisfy'd with *Innocent*, he would bring him to Reaſon. The Cardinal, who knew the Affairs of thoſe Parts, even better than he did thoſe of *France*, and apply'd himſelf as much to them, fill'd his *Inſtructions* therewith, and without the Knowledge thereof it had been impoſſible for the Embaſſador to have ſerv'd the King, according to the Intention of the firſt Miniſter. The ſame Genius may be obſerv'd in the *Inſtructions* he caus'd to be given to Preſident *Gremonville*, to the Abbot of St. *Nicholas*, to *Pleſſis Beſançon*, to the Abbot *Bentivoglio*, &c. for *Rome*, *Venice*, *Florence*, *Modena*, and *Parma*. To ſay all in one Word: The *Inſtructions* ſerve to inform the Embaſſador of the Will of the Prince, and of ſeveral things which he cannot learn elſewhere.

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I am willing to believe, that excepting the eſſential Particulars, which make the Subject of the Embaſſy, the moſt general *Inſtructions* are the beſt, to an able Miniſter. He knows that his Employment ought to have, for Object, the Preſervation of Friendſhip between the two Princes: That it is he that preſents the Letters, his Prince writes to him with whom he reſides: That he is oblig'd to execute the Orders which are ſent him: To take Care not to do any thing againſt his Maſter's Intereſt: That he muſt ſend continual and ſincere Advices, and protect the Subjects of his Prince. Theſe are things that it would be needleſs to recommend to an Embaſſador, tho' he knew his Buſineſs very indifferently. And on the other ſide, it is impoſſible to take notice in his *Inſtructions*, of all the Accidents that may happen, or of all the Precautions he ſhould take; but then, this is what is ſupply'd by freſh Orders, which are ſent him from time to time; as well in reference to the Advices he himſelf gives, as to thoſe Occurrences that change the State of Affairs.

The Embaſſador indeed ought to deſire his *Inſtructions* may be very particular, eſpecially when he is charg'd with any intricate Negotiations: He ought to examine very ſcrupulouſly every Point thereof; to get explain'd to him what may be obſcure and ambiguous; to procure the Alteration of what he judges may obſtruct or hinder the Succeſs of his Negotiation; to cauſe that to be put out which may render his Conduct ſuſpected or odious, or his Perſon ridiculous; and get that inſerted which may recommend either the one or the other, and procure a greater Satisfaction to his Maſter. He ought alſo to conſider, that the more general his *Inſtructions* are, the more he has to anſwer for in reference to the Event of the Affairs he has to negotiate; becauſe he is in a manner *Guarantee* for thoſe, the Succeſs whereof is expected from his Ability and Prudence.

In the Year 1570, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent *Walſingham* (one of the compleateſt Wits *England* has afforded) to *Charles* IX. King of *France*, and ſhe chiefly recommended to him the Intereſt of thoſe of the reform'd Religion. It was a Matter of the greateſt Nicety, and he had to do with a King and a Queen, who were the moſt diſtruſtful and the moſt unfaithful of all Princes. The King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral *de Chaſtillon*, were their Averſion, and yet it was chiefly in their Favour that *Walſingham* was to act particularly. The *Inſtructions* the Queen gave him, at his entring upon his Employment, is a Piece ſo well turn'd that nothing can be ſeen ſtronger, nor more judiciouſly adapted to ſo difficult a Subject. Nothing came from the Queen but what was ſo, nor from the Miniſter in whom ſhe confided; but as they contain'd a mixture of an Intrigue, which the King of *France* might conſider as a *Domeſtick Affair*, in which ſhe had no Concern, it was neceſſary to furniſh the Embaſſador with a Mean that might make his Negotiation be born with, ſince it was not in it ſelf agreeable. In this View ſhe order'd him, in his *Inſtructions*, to make a Proteſtation at the very firſt; that it was not the Queen's Intention to protect another's Subjects, not to ſpeak in their Behalf to the Prejudice of their Sovereign's Intereſt; that what ſhe did was out of an extraordinary Affection to the King's Perſon, and to the Tranquillity of his Kingdom; that ſhe thought herſelf oblig'd to put him in mind how pernicious their Counſels were, who would willingly hinder him from granting Liberty of Conſcience to an infinite Number of Perſons, of all Qualities and Ages, to whom it had been already promis'd by formal Edicts; and who afterwards would not refuſe to pay a blind Obedience to the Commands and Will of the King; that ſhe was ſo fully perſuaded that the Spirit of Rebellion had no Concern with the Actions of thoſe People, that if ſhe did at any time perceive but the leaſt Appearance thereof, ſhe would be the firſt herſelf, not only to condemn them, but alſo to unite her Arms to the King's, to help to puniſh and exterminate them. *Walſingham* having learn'd the Queen's Pleaſure in his *Inſtructions*, deſir'd to be inform'd of her Intention, in reference to ſome Particulars which were not taken notice of in them. He deſir'd to know, whether, in caſe the King (who was infirm, and beſtow'd a great deal of time on his Diverſions) ſhould remit him to the Queen his Mother, or to *Monſieur*, he ſhould treat with them: That ſince the King had not Patience to be entertain'd long with ſerious Affairs, whether he might not negotiate in Writing, and by Memorials, thoſe that were of Importance, and requir'd ſome length of Time and Application: And whether in that Caſe the Queen would not think it more proper for him to make uſe of the *Italian* or *Latin* Tongues, in order thereby to avoid evil Interpretations, that might be given to ill-turn'd *French* Phraſes: After what manner he ſhould govern himſelf towards the *Engliſh* Rebels which had retir'd into *France*: And what Rank he ſhould take when he appear'd in publick Aſſemblies with the *Spaniſh* and *Portugal* Embaſſadors. This *Inſtruction* had no room; becauſe the King of *France* gave his Subjects, who made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, a Peace which was more fatal to them, than all the paſt Wars had been bloody; but that does not hinder the Diſcovery of many Tokens of the Queen's Addreſs, and of *Walſingham*'s prudent Conduct. The ſecond *Inſtruction* that was given to Preſident *Jeannin* on the 6th of *Auguſt* 1608, is, in effect, nothing elſe than an *Illuſtration* of the Articles which he himſelf had propos'd to the King's Council, that he might thereby be the better inform'd of his Majeſty's Intentions.

On the contrary, there is ſomething very inconſiderate in the Procedure of the *Scotch Biſhop*, who having receiv'd the impertinent *Inſtructions* of Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, undertook to juſtify in *France* the Marriage ſhe had contracted with the Earl of *Bothwel*, and was for making an Apology for both the one and the other, in an Audience the King gave him in the Preſence of all the Court. The Miniſters, who were on the part of *France* in *Scotland*, had inform'd the Queen Mother of the State of Affairs in that Kingdom. So that it was known there, that the carrying off the Queen, which ſhe ſaid was done by Violence, had nevertheleſs been concerted with herſelf; and that *Bothwel*, whom ſhe had juſt marry'd,

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was one of the Aſſaſſins of her firſt Husband. So that the Biſhop made himſelf ridiculous, and only proſtituted his own Reputation as well as the Queen's. *Paul Dzialinsky*, who got ſo little Credit by his Embaſſies to *Holland* and *England*, would not have been expos'd to the Affronts he there receiv'd, if he had well examin'd his *Inſtructions* before he charg'd himſelf therewith.

After all, the *Inſtructions* are a ſecret Inſtrument which the Embaſſador is not oblig'd to communicate to the Court where he negotiates: Nay, I dare affirm that he ought not to produce it, without a Neceſſity, and an expreſs Order. In the Year 1560, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent into *Scotland Robert Bowes*, with Orders to make preſſing Inſtances to have the Duke of *Lenox* remov'd from the King's Perſon, who was at that time very young. Thoſe of the Council of *Scotland* ſaid, that it was ſo ſevere and unjuſt a thing, that not being able to believe the Queen had given him any ſuch Orders, they deſir'd to ſee them. *Bowes* ſaid, he would not ſhew them, and that all he could do, was to let the King and two or three of his Confidents ſee them. The *Scotch* were not ſatisfy'd therewith. But the Queen was ſo diſpleas'd at their Procedure, that ſhe recall'd her Embaſſador, and refus'd to give Audience to him they ſent to juſtify their Action.

In the Year 1643, *Walter Strickland*, Miniſter from the Parliament of *London*, preſented a Memorial to the States General, wherein he ſpoke of the Prince of *Orange* with little Reſpect. He was urg'd to ſhew his Orders, but it was a kind of Violence which could not well be juſtify'd. They that did it, either did not reflect on what they did, or elſe they were very willing to offend his Maſters. We have ſeen within ſome Years a Miniſter, who having been ſent by a powerful State to one of the firſt Princes of *Germany*, began his Negotiation by laying his *Inſtructions* on the Table. But all that can be ſaid of it is, that it was the Action of a Fool, in the utmoſt Extent of the Signification of that Epithet. It is an unheard of thing, that a Miniſter has been compell'd to ſhew his Orders, and they who force him to do it offer Violence to the *Law of Nations*.

The Publick would be very much oblig'd to him that would give it a Collection of *Inſtructions*, at leaſt of the moſt important ones, of which Extracts may be found in Hiſtory; and there are ſome curious Perſons that have collected a great many. For altho' they do not diſcover to us the true Cauſes of the Motions, yet they contribute very much to the forming of the Judgment, and give us fine Precepts for politick Prudence. The two *Inſtructions* Queen *Elizabeth* gave to *Francis Walſingham*; thoſe the Duke of *Nevers* carry'd to *Rome* on the part of *Henry* IV; the two others the ſame King gave to preſident *Jeanning*, for the Negotiation of the Peace of the United Provinces, are very excellent Pieces. Nothing can be added to the Inſtructions Pope *Urban* VIII. gave to Cardinal *Ginetti* for the Aſſembly of *Cologn*, not to thoſe that were given in *France* to *Mrs. d'Avaux* and *Servien* for the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*. I juſt now mention'd thoſe Cardinal *Mazarin* gave the Marquis *de Fontenay Mareüil*, which is a Product worthy of that Miniſter's Wit; whoſe Letters to the Embaſſadors, who were on the part of *France* at *Munſter*, are ſo many curious *Inſtructions*.

What I juſt now ſaid concerning the Treatment *Walter Strickland* received at the *Hague*, is founded on the *Law of Nations*; becauſe the Embaſſador (after he has preſented his *Letters of Credence*, and had them approv'd) ought to enjoy the Effect thereof purely and ſimply; and has no farther Occaſion to fortify or authorize his Negotiation, by producing other Inſtruments, unleſs he be invited, or that he himſelf deſires to make a particular Treaty, for which he muſt neceſſarily have a *ſpecial Power*. It is what I ſhall ſpeak of, when I have ſaid a Word or two concerning *Letters of Credence* in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XV.

Of Letters of Credence.

THE Bulls the Popes give to their Legates ſerve them inſtead of *Letters of Credence*, and of *General Powers*. They expreſs their Character, and make known their Authority and Faculties; for which Reaſon I ſaid, that *Legates* are as *Plenipotentiaries*; their Power being, by ſo much the greater, that thereby the Pope extends his own, even to the Prejudice of Sovereigns, upon whom he has already uſurp'd but too much. *Credentials* are neceſſary to the Embaſſador, as well becauſe they expreſs his Character, and make him known to the Prince to whom he is ſent, as becauſe without them he is not able to negotiate. It is true, they are not ſo abſolutely neceſſary, but that ſometimes a Man may be a publick Miniſter without them: However this is what happens very rarely. And then, to make good the Deficiency thereof, he muſt be provided with ſome other Inſtrument, Powers, Procuration, Paſſport, or what they call in *Holland Actus ad omnes Populos*, to make his Quality known and reſpected. *Albert*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, and Sovereign Prince of *Flanders*, gave to King *Henry the Great* the Quality of *My Lord*, and the Title of *Majeſty*; but after the King's Death he chang'd his Stile, and refus'd the ſame Titles to his Succeſſor; and upon this Difficulty the Court of *France* refus'd to admit his Embaſſador. Nevertheleſs, as amongſt the other Infirmities of the Government, which were remarkable during the Minority of *Lewis* XIII, there was alſo that of having too much Confidence in the Court of

Spain; the Affair was put into negotiation, and it was reſolv'd that Audience ſhould be granted to the Arch-Duke's Embaſſador: But that inſtead of preſenting *his Letters of Credence to the King, he ſhould communicate them to the Secretary of State*, to the end his Quality might not be unknown. Likewiſe on the difficulty the Emperor made to give the Title of Majeſty to the King of *France*, during the Negotiation at *Munſter*; It was propos'd, amongſt other Expedients, that in order to keep up to thoſe Civilities Princes owe to one another, and which the Queen was oblig'd to obſerve on occaſion of the death of the Empreſs, the Emperor ſhould not write, but ſhould notifie his affliction by a Gentleman ſent for that purpoſe, who ſhould have no Letters, but only a Paſſport containing the ſubject of his Journey.

This is what depends on the Prince who receives the Miniſter, if he be perſuaded of the intention of the Prince that ſends him, it is ſufficient. He may acknowledge him as ſuch, and even treat him as an Embaſſador, if he pleaſes; tho' the uſual method is to give *Letters of Credence*, in which the Quality of the Miniſter is expreſs'd. In the Year 1643, *William Boreel*, and *John de Reede de Renſwoude* being arriv'd at *London* in the beginning of *January*, went from thence to *Oxford*, they return'd to *London* in the Month of *March*, and notwithſtanding they had no *Letters of Credence* from the Eſtates to the Parliament, yet they preſented a Memorial to each of the two Houſes. This Memorial was not in due form, and yet the Parliament was ſo deſirous to be acknowledg'd by a powerful Republick its Neighbour, that it gave the Embaſſadors of the States to underſtand, that if they had any thing to propoſe to the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, they would make them an anſwer. The Embaſſadors did not explain themſelves then; but being return'd from their ſecond Journey to *Oxford*, from whence they came in the Month of *June*, they ſignify'd to both Houſes that they had ſomething to propoſe to them. They were anſwer'd, that if they demanded Audience, they might preſent a Memorial, and it ſhould be given them. They deſir'd it on the fifth of *July*, and had it on the eighteenth, and it was not till then they preſented their *Letters of Credence*. It was not much to the ſatisfaction either of the one or of the other: But I obſerve in this Example, that the Parliament which had not treated the Embaſſadors very well, becauſe they were ſuſpected by it to be partial, being willing to juſtifie its proceedings, declar'd they would have negotiated with them, *even tho' they had had no Credentials for the Parliament*; becauſe the Parliament being ſenſible they had the Character of Embaſſadors, could not doubt of their having orders to ſpeak, nor of their being own'd.

I have ſaid, that the *Letter of Credence* makes known the Quality of the Miniſter, and particularly that of Embaſſador, which ought to be very expreſly taken notice of in it. In the Year 1600, *M. d'Alincourt* was ſent to *Rome*, to Compliment Pope *Clement* VIII. He was a Knight of the Order, and Governor of *Lions*; but what rais'd all his other qualities, was that of *M. de Villeroy* his Father, who was Secretary of State, and one of the chief Miniſters to *Henry* IV. His *Letter of Credence did not give him the Character of Embaſſador*; and yet the Pope not giving himſelf the leiſure to read it, *made him ſit down*, and treated him as an *Embaſſador*.

The Pope having made this ſtep, and perceiving afterwards that his *Credentials* did not give him that Character, ſpoke to *Cardinal Doſſat* about it; who having foreſeen what would happen, had entertain'd *M. de Sillery* Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France* therewith; and it was agreed between 'em, that *M. d'Alincourt* ſhould paſs for an Embaſſador. They therefore told the Pope that it was no very extraordinary thing with *France* to omit expreſſing the Character in its *Letters of Credence*; more eſpecially when the Birth or Dignity of the Miniſter did not admit of any Quality inferior to that of Embaſſador. They ſatisfy'd the Pope ſo well hereof, that he acquieſced to it, and ſaid he would then continue to treat him as he had begun. He could not now be off of it, and the Cardinals were oblig'd to follow his Example. All the Foreign Miniſters made him the firſt Viſit, and did him all the other uſual Civilities; which they could not help doing, after what the Pope and the Cardinals had done before. The King approv'd of the dexterity of his Miniſters, and gave his conſent that *d'Alincourt* ſhould be conſider'd as an Embaſſador. But *Cardinal Doſſat* will give me leave to doubt of what he ſays, that it is no very extraordinary thing in *France* to omit the Quality of the Miniſter in their *Credentials*. On the contrary, it is what the Court of *France* is very exact and very punctual in; and I don't believe that *M. de Villeroy* had omitted any thing through neglect in thoſe of his Son. The King was far from diſallowing what *Cardinal Doſſat* had done, becauſe he had obtain'd an Honour for his Miniſter, which he did not pretend to.

In the Year 1648. the *Elector of Brandenburg* ſent to the *Hague*, *Philip Horn*, *Otto de Suerin*, *Wirich de Bernſau*, and *John Portman*. They arriv'd there, without giving advice of their coming; they had no Entry made them, but they were Conducted to Audience with a greater Cortege than the States are accuſtom'd to give to any Miniſters of the ſecond Order. They pretended to be treated as Embaſſadors, and were for having the Conferences held at their Houſes, as is generally practis'd with thoſe belonging to Crown'd Heads. They were given to underſtand that there would be no difficulty in gratifying them, *but that the Character was not expreſs'd in their Letters*, for which deficiency, they could not grant them all the Honours they deſir'd. They caus'd their *Letters of Credence* to be alter'd, and after that, the Conferences were held at their Houſes.

The Example of *De la Barde* may ſerve alſo to this purpoſe. He had his *Letters of Credence*, which made him be conſider'd at the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*, as a Miniſter of the ſecond Order. The Court of *France* had nominated him to the Embaſſie of *Switzerland*, and the Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries of that Crown, urg'd the *Nuncio* to give him the Style of Excellency,

cellency, and to pay him the first Visit. But the *Nuncio* said, He could by no means comply with their Request, because he would not set an Example that no body else would follow: That *M. de la Barde* did very good Services to the Assembly; but should he grant what they desir'd, he would become altogether useless to it, since the other Ministers would never give him the Title of Excellency, and that he himself, after he had obtain'd it of the *Nuncio*, would be for obliging them to it. The *Venetian* Embassador refus'd it likewise for the same Reasons; so that *de la Barde* was forc'd to be contented with the Honours they were willing to do him. He made suit to the Ministers that were on the part of the Emperor at *Osnabourg*, to distinguish him from the other Ministers of the second Order: That since they could not treat him as Embassador, they at least would avoid treating him as a Resident; and that provided he was but treated in the third Person, after the *Italian* manner, he would not pretend to the place of Honour, either at Visits or Conferences. He had *Letter of Credence* to the *Swiss-Cantons*, which could not make him be consider'd at *Munster*, nor at *Osnabourg*.

In the Year 1613, the Republick of *Venice* sent *Gregory Barbarigo* Embassador to the *King of Great Britain*, and gave him *Letters of Credence* for him. The intention of the Republick, as well as its interest was to continue the Treaty it had concluded some Years before with the *Grey Leagues*, and therefore it had order'd *Barbarigo* to make some stay at *Coire*, and to try to renew the Negotiation as he pass'd by. During the stay *Barbarigo* made there, it came to be known that he carry'd on Intrigues, which gave such a jealousie of him, that the People began to murmur thereat, and to threaten to offer violence to him. To prevent the same, he was for hiring the House of one of the Burger-Masters; who told him, that if he had orders to Negotiate with the *Grey Leagues*, and to reside in the Town, he ought to make it known, that the *Triumvirs* might be made acquainted therewith, who would give him Audience. *Barbarigo* answer'd, that he had nothing to negotiate with the *Leagues*, but had business to treat of with the *French* Embassador, and for that Reason he was oblig'd to make some stay at *Coire*.

He was born with for the sake of the *French* Embassador, and yet he gave no notice to the *Triumvirs*: He did no Civilities to the Magistracy, and information was given that he held Cabals very prejudicial to the quiet of the Countrey. He continu'd to live after this manner, till perceiving that the *Pittag* or General Assembly was going to order him to withdraw, because he was troublesome to 'em; and fearing lest he should be affronted, by reason that for want of Character he was not there in safety, and that he could not without hazarding his Person continue his Cabals, he bethought himself to demand Audience. He therein told 'em, that the Senate of *Venice*, who sent him into *England*, had thought fit to Command him by a new Order, to stop in some Town in his passage, and there wait for the Articles it had thought necessary to add to his Instructions. That he had for that purpose made choice of the Town of *Coire*, and that he laid hold of the opportunity of the present Assembly, to assure it of the affection the Republick had for the *State of the Leagues*. He that discharg'd the office of Interpreter to *Barbarigo*, added, that the Embassador desir'd the Assembly to grant him safety for his Person, and to take him into their protection; because the Senate would be apt to resent any violence offer'd to its Minister, against those of the *Grisons*, who either resided or pass'd through the State of *Venice*. The Assembly was surpriz'd at this discourse, and sent him word by the *Triumvirs*, accompany'd by a Deputy from each *League*; that the *Leagues* would always return the friendship the Republick expres's'd for it, but that the Embassadors actions and his words did not agree: That he gave Treats, and had Conventicles, wherein such things were talk'd of, that might trouble the tranquillity of the State: That they would always discharge all the good offices could be expected or desired from their good Neighbourhood; provided the Republick did the like on its part, and that Affairs were left in the same state they were then in. After they had signify'd this Resolution to *Barbarigo*, it was left with him in Writing, and he retir'd into *Switzerland*. I was willing to set down all the particulars of this small History, because on this occasion the question was started, whether the *Law of Nations* would have been violated in his Person, in case he had not been treated with all the respect that is due to publick Ministers; and it was agreed, *That a Man is no publick Minister, if he has not Letters of Credence for the Sovereign of the place where he pretends to reside for some time, and by which he requires to be consider'd in that Quality. Barbarigo* at his going from *Coire*, had left his House Furnish'd; for which reason the *Triumvirs* who believ'd he would return, and desiring to be inform'd by the *Communities* how they should behave themselves if he did come back. They wrote them word, that if he should return, they should give him to understand, *That he was not to be born with any longer in that Countrey, after the Intrigues he had practic'd there against the publick quiet.* *Charles Paschal*, who was at that time Embassador from *France*, to the *Grisons*, and who has written a *Treatise of the Embassador*, highly approves of the *Communities* procedure.

The *Republick of Venice* had the same Notion, when she would not let the *Credentials* be deliver'd to *Andrew Gritti*, till he was ready to take upon him the Quality of publick Minister. *Andrew* had been made Prisoner of War at *Brescia*, and having been brought into *France*, his Wit and Conduct acquir'd him the estem of the King, and the love of all the Nobility; insomuch that he was allow'd to come to Court, and appear there, not as a Prisoner, but almost like an Embassador. He receiv'd now and then Propositions there, which he communicated to the Senate; who not being satisfied with its Allies, hearken'd to them. He even laid the Scheme of an Alliance with *Ferrier*, whom *John James Trivulce* had sent to *Venice* with the King's participation. After the Project was concerted and approv'd of by both

both Parties, the Senate ſent it into *France* by the Secretary of the Council of *Ten*, and at the ſame time gave him *Letters of Credence* for *Gritti: who notwithſtanding was not to make uſe of them, unleſs he enjoy'd a perfect Liberty.* The King being inform'd of the Intention of the Senate, gave *Gritti* his Liberty, as ſoon as the Secretary arriv'd. It was then he took the Quality of Embaſſador, *by virtue of his Letters of Credence*; and that he concluded and ſign'd the Treaty he had negotiated while he was Priſoner of War, and not as a Miniſter. To ſpeak more exactly, we ſhould ſay, that he had not negotiated; but that hearing the Propoſitions which were made him, and ſending them in writing to the Senate, he had given an Opportunity for the Negotiation which was carry'd on at *Venice*, and was ſince finiſh'd in *France*.

The ſame ought to be ſaid of all other Negotiations, which are perform'd without *Letters of Credence*, and without the expreſs Orders of the Prince that is concern'd. *Enguelbert* Count of *Naſſaw*, who was in the Service of the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*, whoſe Subject he was; being made Priſoner of War in an Action near *Bethune*, was conſtantly telling the *French*, that if he was ſet at liberty, he would ſo well repreſent to *Maximilian*, how wrongfully he made War againſt the King, that he would diſpoſe him to give his Majeſty Satisfaction: and he made ſo many Overtures to this purpoſe, that at laſt he had leave to pay his Ranſom, and was diſmiſs'd. He had penetrated into the true Intentions of the Court of *France:* ſo that at his Return into *Flanders*, he wrote to *Maximilian*, who was then at *Francfort*; and obtain'd leave of him to go back to *France* and conclude the Bargain. He came thither in the Company of the Lord *Deſcordes*, Marſhal of *France*, and negotiated ſome time with the Duke and Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, who had there the chief Direction of Affairs. He could not then conclude any thing; but upon the Aſſurance he gave, that he would diſpoſe *Maximilian* to do whatever ſhould be reaſonable, they ſent along with him the Biſhop of *Lombez*, who was alſo Abbot of St. *Denis*, the Lord *de la Roch-Choüart*, and *Peter de Sacierges*, Maſter of the Requeſts, who concluded the Treaty of *Francfort* the 20th of *July* 1489. The Count of *Naſſaw* was not a Miniſter while he was a Priſoner of War, and was ſo only after he return'd with *Letters of Credence*.

The Duke of *Longville* having been taken Priſoner at the Battel of *Guinegaſte*, and carry'd into *England*, he there made the firſt Overtures of the Marriage between *Lewis* XII, and *Mary*, Siſter to *Henry* VIII, but without *Credentials*. So that to that time he could be look'd upon but as a Priſoner of War, who having the Liberty to go and come upon his Parole, and leave to be every Day at Court, labour'd to reconcile the two Kings, out of a Motive of particular Affection. But after he had made it known in *France*, that the Diſcourſes he had had in *England* relating to the Marriage, had not been diſagreeable; and that *Letters of Credence* were ſent him, with Power to conclude the ſame, he ought of neceſſity to be eſteem'd a *Miniſter*; becauſe it was only in this Quality, that he ſign'd and concluded the Treaty. Thus the *Sieur de Bertonville*, being made a Priſoner, when the Emperor *Charles* V. enter'd *Champain* with an Army, was ſet at liberty by *James de Medicis* and *Francis de Somale*, Counſellors to *Charles*; who told him at his Departure, that if in *France* there was any Diſpoſitions to a Peace, there was a great deal on their ſide, by reaſon the Emperor was weary of the War. *Bertonville* acquainted *Annebault* therewith; and this laſt having made a Report thereof to the King, this Overture was reliſh'd, and *Bertonville* was ſent back to *Flanders* with the Bailiff of *Dijon*, who brought it to be reſolv'd, That *Annebault* and *Nueilly* on the one part, and *Gonzagues*, with *Granvelle* on the other, ſhould have a Meeting: as accordingly they had, and concluded the Treaty. It is true, that *Gabriel de Guzman*, Confeſſor to Queen *Eleonora*, had gone ſome Journeys to and fro, and had prepar'd the Minds of the Parties.

If more modern Examples are requiſite, the Marſhal *de Grammont* having been taken Priſoner at the Battel of *Norlinguen*, on the 3d of *Auguſt* 1645, was conducted to *Ingolſtad*, where his Exchange was regulated for the Count *de Glehen*, whom the *French* had taken in the ſame Action. But before the Priſoners were effectually exchang'd, and while the Marſhal was ſtill at *Ingolſtad*, the Elector of *Bavaria* ſent his Coach for him, and had him brought to *Munick*. The Prince of *Condé*, who did not know the Elector's Intention, ſent him word by a Trumpeter, that if he did not ſend back the Marſhal to *Ingolſtad*, he would ſend the Count *de Glehen* to the *Bois de Vincennes*. But he was ſoon made eaſie. The Elector's Deſign was to entertain the Marſhal with his true Intereſt, and to aſſure him how well he was affected to the King's; by that Mean laying the Foundation of that good Underſtanding, which ſome Years after reſtor'd Peace to *Germany:* and acquir'd vaſt Advantages to *France*, which are to this Day very vexatious to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It cannot be ſaid that the Marſhal was a Miniſter, nor even that he negotiated, *becauſe he had no Letters of Credence*. He did no more than hearken to the Overtures the Elector of *Bavaria* made him, in order to make a Report thereof at his Return into *France*.

The Count *de Liche* was a Priſoner of War at *Lisbon*, at the time Prince *Don Pedro* confin'd his Brother *Alphonſo*, in order to take from him his Wife, Crown and Liberty. *Don Pedro* judg'd at firſt that Peace was abſolutely neceſſary for his better Eſtabliſhment: and the *Portugueſe* deſir'd it ſo ardently, that to obtain it, they had offer'd great Advantages to *Caſtile*; even to the leaving it ſome Marks of Sovereignty. But the Negotiation on that account not ſucceeding, *Don Pedro* renew'd it with the Count *de Liche*, who having begun the Treaty without *Credentials*, procur'd a Full-power from *Madrid* to labour it in Conjunction with the Earl of *Sandwich*, the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, who came to *Lisbon* for that purpoſe. The *French* Embaſſador would have oppos'd it, but that did not hinder the Treaty from being ſign'd on the 31st of *January* 1668. Before the Count *de Liche* had receiv'd his *Letters of Credence* and *his Powers*, he was neither Embaſſador nor publick Miniſter, and after he had receiv'd

ceiv'd them, he was no longer a Priſoner of War, no more than *Andrew Gritti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*. All that theſe Gentlemen did, *before they had their Letters of Credence*, could not be properly call'd Negotiation, but barely a Preparative to the true Negotiation, of which the publick Miniſter alone is capable.

Not only a Priſoner cannot ſet up to be a Miniſter, be his Quality what it will; but alſo an Embaſſador (tho' he does not loſe his Character, when he is made a Priſoner, to the Prejudice of the *Law of Nations*) cannot diſcharge his Functions of publick Miniſter; becauſe he is depriv'd of the Liberty to execute his Maſter's Intentions. In the Year 1474, *John* II, King of *Arragon*, and *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, Princes of *Caſtile*, ſent to *Lewis* XI, King of *France*, *John Raimond Folch*, Count of *Cardona* and of *Prades*, *Bernard Hugh de Rocaberti*, *Caſtellan* of *Ampoſta*, and the Conſtable *Peter Peralta*, to try to terminate the Diſpute *John* and *Lewis* had concerning the County of *Rouſſillon*. *Lewis*, who was not at *Paris*, would not ſuffer the Embaſſadors to come to him, but oblig'd 'em to treat with his Council; but not being able to conclude any thing, they made their Proteſtation in their Maſter's Name, and went away. When they came to *Pont S. Eſprit*, they were forc'd to go back to *Lyons*, where a Guard was ſet over them, notwithſtanding the Paſſport they had of the King. Some Days after, they were told they might be gone, if they would revoke the Proteſtation they had made at *Paris*. They did revoke it, after they had proteſted afreſh againſt the Violence that was offer'd them. Hereupon they were ſuffer'd to depart; but they were ſtopp'd again at *Narbonne*, and during their Stay there, the King invited them ſeveral times to come to him where he was; giving them ſome hopes he would make Satisfaction to the King of *Arragon:* but they return'd for anſwer, *That they had now no Power to negotiate, nor to hear any Overture of a Treaty: That the King their Maſter being inform'd of the Violence which had been offer'd them, and that they were not treated as Embaſſadors, had revok'd his Powers, and was reſolv'd to reject whatever Propoſitions ſhould be made, ſo long as they were Priſoners.*

Private Perſons may make and receive Overtures and Propoſals of Accommodation, tho' they have neither *Letters of Credence* nor Commiſſion; provided their Intention be good, and that their Deſign be to direct all they do to the Service of the Publick, and to the Advantage of the Sovereign. Every good Citizen, and every Man of Probity, is oblig'd to ſerve his Countrey with the Talent God has given him: and provided he do not aſſume to himſelf a Power which he has not, nor does not involve the publick Authority, he may enter upon Conferences, that have no other view than the Welfare of the State and of the Prince, and that cannot prejudice either the one or the other. In the Year 1612, the *Trivulces*, having a mind to alienate ſome Rights or Territories, which they had in the Countrey of the *Griſons*, the *Leagues* ſent the Judge of one of their Communities to *Milan*, to treat with them about it. The Partiſans of *Spain* gave immediately Advice thereof to *Alphonſo Caſſati*, Embaſſador from the *Catholick* King to the Cantons, and to the *Leagues*, who being then at *Milan*, caus'd the Judge to be ſo narrowly obſerv'd, that at his alighting from his Horſe in the Inn; he was preſently accoſted by a Prieſt of his Acquaintance; who after the firſt Civilities, offer'd his Service to him, and would needs accompany him every where, to ſhew him the fineſt Palaces of the Town. The Prieſt having walk'd his Man up and down ſome time, contriv'd to bring him to the Palace of *Don John de Velaſque*, Conſtable of *Caſtile* and Governor of *Milan*, juſt as he was coming from Maſs, accompany'd by *Alphonſo Caſſati*. They ſtopp'd at our Stranger, and the Governor ask'd him, why the *Leagues* had refus'd a Paſſage to the *German* Troops which he had ſent home. He added, that he deſir'd to live in a friendly Correſpondence with them; and after that he left him in the Hands of *Caſſati*, who made an end of Catechizing him. He told him, that the *Griſons* ought to make their Profit of the good Diſpoſition the Governor had expreſs'd to him: That his Countrey might draw very great Advantages from ſo good a beginning; becauſe if he was willing to burthen himſelf with the Intention and Orders of the Governor, the *Griſons* might make a beneficial Treaty with him, and obtain by it the Demolition of the Fort of *Fuentes:* and that nothing but *France*, and the Proteſtant Miniſters could hinder it. The Judge anſwer'd, *that he had not the Quality of a publick Perſon*, and that he came to *Milan* only upon ſome particular Affairs. *Caſſati* reply'd, that he was ſenſible of it; but however it need not hinder him from communicating to ſome of his Countreymen what he had entruſted him with: That he would thereby do a great piece of Service to his Countrey; and that he might acquaint him with the Sentiments of his Superiors at his Return to *Milan*, whither he knew he was to make a ſecond Journey in ſome time. As ſoon as the Judge return'd to *Coire*, he did not fail to make a Report to the *French* Embaſſador, and to ſome of the Chief of the *Griſons* of the ſame Party, of the Converſation he had had with *Caſſati*. The Embaſſador was very glad to ſee the *Spaniards* had met with a Man of that Integrity; and was for having *the Judge continue his private Negotiation when he came to* Milan; upon this Foundation however, that he ſhould take away from *Caſſati*, all hopes of ruining or altering the Alliance the *Griſons* had with the King his Maſter. The Judge was no ſooner arriv'd at *Milan* the ſecond time, than he ſaw *Caſſati* in the Inn; but it was only to make him a ſmall Compliment, deferring to the Day following to entertain him about Buſineſs; as he accordingly did, rendering himſelf at the Inn at the Hour he had appointed him. He at firſt ſhew'd him a Writing, containing the Conditions, upon which the Governor promis'd to demoliſh the Fort of *Fuentes*. The Judge ſeeing that one of the firſt was, that the *Griſon*'s Paſſes ſhould be open to the *Spaniards*, and ſhut up to all others, gave back the Writing to *Caſſati*, and told him, he would by no means charge himſelf with Propoſitions which had been ſo often rejected by his Superiors. *Caſſati*, inſtead of being diſheartned, reply'd immediately, that ſome other Means muſt then be thought of, and that

an Agreement might be made, if it could but be known, what it was the Leagues desir'd of the Governor: The Judge made answer, That he could not tell; *That he was not a Minister*, but however he believ'd he might with Safety say, They requir'd nothing but the Execution of the Treaty made in the Year 1531. This Answer broke off the Negotiation. *Charles Paschal*, who relates all these Particulars in his Embassador, adds, That the Judge said so much at his Return home, that he, and the two Gentlemen to whom he communicated all that had pass'd at *Milan*, were sensible that it was only an Artifice in *Cassati*, who was endeavouring to get the Treaty, the *Grisons* had made with *France*; alter'd. And indeed the Orders he was to procure from *Spain*, for the Demolition of Fort *Fuentes*, did not come: So that Affairs remain'd in this State till in the Year 1627 the *Grisons* drove out the *French*, and flung themselves into the Arms of the *Spaniards*. The Judge could, as a private Person, hear the Propositions which were made to him for the Benefit of his Countrey, and might, without a Crime, speak his own Sentiments, so long as he did not engage the State; and particularly in a Republick, where every Inhabitant has a greater share in Affairs than in a Monarchy.

Even Kings themselves do not find fault with their Subjects and Officers for receiving innocent Propositions, which do them no Prejudice, and which on the contrary may bring their Designs to pass. The Preliminaries of the Treaty, which was concluded on the 9th of *October* 1495, between King *Charles* VII. on the one part, and the confederated Princes of *Italy* on the other, were regulated by People, who had neither *Letters of Credence*, nor *Powers*. *Charles* stopp'd in *Piedmont* after the Battel of *Fornova*, and seeing there was no likelyhood of relieving the Duke of *Orleance*, who was besieg'd in *Novara*, let it be known that he had no Reluctancy to treat with the Confederates; who on their side long'd to see *Italy* freed from the *French*, but no body would make the first Overture. It happen'd that *Charles* having sent *Philip de Commines* to *Casal*, on occasion of the Death of the Marchioness of *Montferrat*, at the same time that Count *Albertin Boschetto* came thither on the part of the Marquis of *Gonzagues*, who commanded the Confederate Army; these two Deputies fell into a Discourse on the Subject of a Peace, and of the Benefit which would accrue to all *Christendom* therefrom. They carry'd it so far, that the Count perceiving the *French* were well enough dispos'd, wrote to the Proveditors of the *Venetian* Troops about it, who lent an Ear thereto; and having communicated the Affair to the Duke of *Milan*'s General, they agreed at last that the King should be desir'd to send his Deputies to a Place between *Bolgari* and *Camariano*, which had been pitch'd upon as the most commodious to both Parties. This was executed the Day following. *Gonzagues* and the Proveditor *Contarini* were sent on the part of the Republick; the Duke of *Milan* sent *Bernardin Visconti*; and the King of *France* deputed thither the Cardinal St. *Malo*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshal *de Giez*, *Piennes* and *Commines*. This last became a Minister in this Commission; but he had no *Letters of Credence* when he regulated the Preliminaries with *Boschetto*, who had none neither.

Supposing then, that the *Credentials* confer the Character to the Minister, and that they make him known to the Prince, to whom they are directed, that he may secure him his own Protection, and that of the *Law of Nations*; it follows from thence, that those Princes, who have no Knowledge of the Character, are not oblig'd to respect the Minister: Neither do they violate the *Law of Nations*, if they treat him upon the level with other private Persons. In the Year 1572, Queen *Elizabeth*, who was very jealous of all the Negotiations which were carry'd on in *Scotland*, had made an Agreement with the King of *France*, that the one should not negotiate there without the other, but Matters should be left in the State they were then in. However, as she had reason to distrust the Sincerity of Queen *Catherine* of *Medicis*, she caus'd all Passengers to be so strictly observ'd, that, excepting Merchants, known to be such, and those who had Passports, all that took that Road were stopp'd. *Du Croc, who was going to* Scotland *in the Quality of Embassador from* France, *had the same Fortune; was taken into Custody, and brought up to* London. It made a great Noise in *France*, where it was talk'd of as of a Breach of the *Law of Nations*. But *Walsingham* told the Queen Mother that *Du Croc* having been taken into Custody but by virtue of a general Order, and of the Prohibition the Queen had made, that no body should go thither without a Passport, he ought to blame himself for the Disgrace which had happen'd to him; because he might have prevented it by taking a Passport, and that the *Law of Nations* had not been violated at all in reference to him. Queen *Catherine*, who knew she had not observ'd the Agreement, and that Queen *Elizabeth* had grounds to be jealous of *Du Croc*'s Negotion, found herself oblig'd to hearken to Reason. An Embassador, that does not make himself known in the Countrey through which he passes, ought not to complain of the Occurrences that oppose his Passage. It is in this Case that what the Emperor *Charles* V. said in reference to *Merveille*, is acceptable, *viz. That there is no Obligation to respect a Minister if he does not make himself known publickly.*

Henry II, King of *France*, sent the Order of St. *Michael* to *Edward* VI. King of *England*, by the Marshal *de St. André*. *Mary*, Queen Dowager of *Hungary*, Governess of the Low Countries, endeavour'd to seize the Marshal at his Return, as he pass'd from *Dover* to *Calais*. *Henry*, coming to a Rupture some time after with the King of *Spain*, takes notice in his *Manifesto*, that *Mary* had done an Action against the Peace; but he does not however reproach her with having violated the *Law of Nations*, in offering to seize his Embassador, because the Marshal was not such, in reference to *Mary*, nor to the King of *Spain*. *Selim* II, Emperor of the *Turks*, being on the point of breaking with the Republick of *Venice*, and having requir'd of it the Island of *Cyprus*, sent into *France* a *Chiaoux* nam'd *Mamut Bey*, to see how his Enterprize was relish'd there. He address'd himself to *Ferrier*, Embassador from *France* at *Venice*, who being unwilling to

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let him proceed in his Journey till he had himſelf been made acquainted with the Intention of his Court, diſpatch'd an Expreſs thither; but before the Courier came back, the the Senate put the Chiaoux into Cuſtody, and ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Verona*, where he remain'd till the Peace. The Embaſſador reclaim'd him, and the King made preſſing Inſtances for his Liberty; till being inform'd that the *Turk* had no other Commiſſion but barely to try to penetrate into the Sentiments of the *French*, in reference to the *Cyprian* War, he acquieſc'd in the Reaſons of the Republick, which repreſented to him, *that a Sovereign Power acknowledges no publick Miniſter who has not Letters of Credence to it.*

St. Amant, who has made himſelf known by his Poems, being willing to make himſelf known alſo by his Negotiations, accepted in the Year 1650. of a Commiſſion, which might give him Admittance to Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*. The Queen of *Poland* was brought to bed of a Princeſs, and he offer'd to carry the News thereof to *Stockholm*; but *he forgot to take Credentials with him.* Whereupon *Chanut*, to whom he addreſs'd himſelf, told him, he could not aſſume the Quality of Miniſter; and that his own Word was not ſufficient to make him be treated as an Envoy. *St. Amant*, by undertaking that Journey without *Letters of Credence*, acted more like a Poet than a publick Miniſter, and made it appear that there is a great deal of Difference between the Profeſſion of the one and the Function of the other. Theſe Examples make it plain, that the Embaſſador that negotiated for the Court of *Sweden*, in that of *Poland*, ſpeaks very improperly, when he ſays, That the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who had threaten'd to have him cudgell'd, had thereby violated the *Law of Nations*. The Embaſſador cannot make himſelf be reſpected, but by the Prince, for whom he has *Letters of Credence*; the other Princes can only conſider and treat him as a private Perſon. If they do any thing beyond that, it is only out of an Exceſs of Civility, which is not of Obligation.

Letters of Credence are, for the moſt part, diſpatch'd out of the *Chancery*; that is to ſay, they are ſeal'd with the ſmall Seal or Signet, and counterſign'd by a Secretary of State, or by ſome other Miniſter who diſcharges that Function. However, that is not abſolutely neceſſary; as well becauſe in *Germany* and other Places, where the Princes ſign the Diſpatches themſelves, they very rarely let them be counterſign'd; as becauſe it depends on the Prince to whom the Miniſter is ſent, to content himſelf with the Form that is given them, and he may have the ſame Conſideration for a Letter of the Cabinet as for a *Chancery* Diſpatch.

When Princes employ a Confident in an Embaſſy, they ſometimes add to the *Letter of Credence* a particular Letter of Recommendation, as a Token of their Confidence. Queens, tho' they are neither Regents nor *Tutrices*, charge ſometimes the Embaſſador with their particular Letters, either to teſtify the Eſteem they have for his Perſon, or the Friendſhip they have for the Prince to whom he is ſent; but theſe cannot be properly call'd *Letters of Credence*. Thoſe that Princes and Sovereign States write to Queens, or to Miniſters of the Court where the Embaſſador goes to negotiate, are not ſo neither; they are only mere Letters of Civility, which often might be very well ſpar'd. The Court of *Spain* is very jealous of 'em, and will have that Honour reſerv'd to the King alone, as being due to none but the Sovereign, excluſively of all others; which is very true. They have not been always ſo nice. *Vincent Trou* and *William Lippomano*, who went in the Year 1581. to compliment *Philip* II. on his Succeſſion, or on the Conqueſt of *Portugal*, carry'd *Letters of Credence* for the Cardinals of *Auſtria*, of *Toledo*, and of *Granvell*, for the Duke of *Alva*, &c.

The Embaſſadors whom Princes ſend to the *Switzers* have a *Letter of Credence* for all the *Cantons* in general, one for the Catholick *Cantons*, one for the Proteſtant *Cantons*, and one for each particular *Canton*. The Miniſter communicates his *Letters of Credence* by means of the Maſter of the Ceremonies, or of the Introductor of the Embaſſadors, to the Secretary of State, or to that Officer of the Prince's Houſhold, who is to give Order for the Reception, which is what cannot be done till his Quality be known. In the Year 1638, the Sieur *Forbus* being arriv'd in *France*, on the part of the King of *Poland*, and inſiſting on being treated as an Embaſſador, the Count *de Brulon*, one of the Introductors, went to him, and deſir'd to ſee his *Letters*, or *Paſſport*. It appear'd that in his *Letters* he had the Quality of *Nuncius*. He alledg'd that in his Countrey no Diſtinction was made between the Quality of *Nuncius* and that of *Legatus*; but the King of *France* underſtood it otherwiſe, and the Court treated him as an Envoy, as well in his Audiences, as in the preſent, which was only a Gold Chain worth about four or five hundred Crowns. In the ſame Year another *Poliſh* Gentleman, nam'd *Dembisky*, taking the Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, in order to forward his Buſineſs, which was to negotiate the Liberty of Prince *Caſimir*, who was then a Priſoner at *Salon* in *Provence*, deſir'd to ſee the King without Ceremony; and when he was for taking his Audience of leave, he pretended to be treated as an Envoy; but as his *Letters* did not give him any Quality, he receiv'd no Civility at all; nay, he was ſent back without a preſent. It might be ask'd, whether the Pope ought not to have treated *d'Alincourt* after the ſame manner, being his *Letters of Credence* gave him no Character, any more than *Doſſat's* did to him, when in the Year 1598. he went on the King's part to *Venice*, and to *Florence*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Embaſſador's Powers.

THE *Powers*, with reſpect to an Embaſſador, are nothing elſe, than what a Letter of Attorney is in reference to a private Perſon. The word is new in that acceptation, as well as that of *Plenipotentiary*; and it is not above eighty Years ſince Miniſters did not diſdain the Quality of *Procurators*, even in the Treaties they made on the part of Crown'd Heads. *Doſſat* was a Biſhop, and did the buſineſs of *France* at *Rome*, when in the Year 1598, he made a Treaty with the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, for the Reſtitution of the Iſlands of *If*, and of *Pomegus*; and yet he therein takes no other Quality than that of *Procurator*. The *Powers* are an eſſential Inſtrument of the Embaſſie, when a Treaty is either to be made or concluded, or a particular affair of Importance negotiated; in which caſe it behoves each Party to be ſure of the other, as to the execution thereof. After the concluſion and execution of the Peace of *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, *France* had often made an Overture to the Queen and Miniſters of *Sweden*, for a new Alliance: *Chanut* never mention'd it at *Stockholm*, but he found there a ſtrong inclination for it, and carry'd back formal aſſurances thereof. But as the Civil Wars in *France* (the ſucceſs and conſequences of which were apprehended in *Sweden*) chill'd very much the firſt heat for it, and *Chanut* receiv'd Orders to repair to the Aſſembly at *Lubeck*; he prevail'd with the Queen that the Alliance ſhould be negotiated in that Place, and regulated betwixt him and *Salvius*. *Chanut* had indeed Orders to Treat, but he had not *Powers in a due form:* Wherefore at their beginning to talk of Affairs, *Salvius* deſir'd to ſee his *Powers*. *Chanut* told him he had expreſs Orders Sign'd by the Count *de Brienne*, Secretary of State, and ſhew'd 'em to him. *Salvius* reply'd, *that thoſe Orders were very good, but that they could be of no uſe but to the Bearer; and that it was neceſſary he ſhould have formal Powers, without the Communication whereof he could not enter with him on a Negotiation for a Treaty of Alliance.* The Queen of *Sweden* told the *French* Agent the ſame thing, and that on thoſe occaſions, it was requiſite to be in poſſeſſion of, and to communicate, *Powers* drawn in good form: That there was a great deal of difference between a Miniſter who had no *Powers* at all, and he that has 'em, tho' they be imperfect; becauſe that upon the ground of the one, the Negotiation may ſtill be continued, and without the other, there was no making ſo much as a beginning.

What I have here ſaid, has room alſo in reference to the *Legate*; becauſe that although his *Bulls* and his *Faculties* give him a great Power, yet they are in reality no more than *Letters of Credence*, which give no *Power* to the *Legate*, except the Function of his Legation. Cardinal *Barberin* was Treated with, ſo long as he ſpoke only of a ſuſpenſion of Arms, and of the Reparation the Pope demanded for the affront which had been offer'd him, in ſeizing ſome places which had been put into his hand by way of *Depoſitum*, in the *Valteline*. But the minute he began to talke of the Securities that might be taken for the Roman Catholick Religion, which was to be preſerv'd in the ſame Countrey; that is to ſay, of an eſſential Point, and which made one of the chief Articles of the Treaty of *Madrid*, which the Pope pretended to have alter'd: He was ask'd *whether he had a formal Power* for that Affair. He made anſwer that he had not, but he would engage that what he did ſhould be approv'd of. The Pope ſaid as much to the *French* Embaſſador, and on this aſſurance there was ſo much the leſs difficulty made to enter into Conference with him on that Subject, becauſe the *French* Miniſters did not intend to come to a Concluſion. The King by cauſing the *Legate* to be ask'd whether he had a formal *Power* for the Affair he negotiated, confirm'd what has been univerſally receiv'd: That a *General Power*, of what extent ſoever, and whatever Clauſes may be added thereto, is not ſufficient for a particular Treaty. *Jeannin* and *Ruſſi* had very ample *Power* to Negotiate at the *Hague*, but when an Alliance between *France* and the United Provinces began to be talk'd of, the King ſent them a ſpecial *Power* for that purpoſe on the 24th of *November*, 1607, tho' but ſix weeks before he had ſent them the *Powers* of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

In ordinary Affairs the Embaſſador has no need of a *ſpecial Power*. The *Portugal* Embaſſador diſputing the Rank with that of *Hungary* at the *Council of Trent*, ſaid this latter had no *Authentick Powers*; but the Fathers of the Council declar'd, that the *Letters of Credence* were ſufficient. And indeed there are a thouſand occaſions, and a thouſand affairs, wherein *Powers* are not only unneceſſary, but alſo where they would be altogether of no uſe; and there are very few Embaſſies where it is requiſite to employ Plenipotentiaries. For the moſt part, Embaſſies are only marks of an outward Friendſhip which Princes ſhew one to another; or elſe are only effects of their Civility, Curioſity, or Jealouſie. Some are merely to obſerve the Prince to whom they are ſent, or elſe to remove the Miniſter himſelf to a greater diſtance. The Employment that is given out of a Court to a Miniſter who has been its Confident, is an infallible ſign of his diſgrace, and the Embaſſie that is ſo given him, is no better than an honourable Baniſhment. The digreſſion I ſhall make in alledging ſome Examples, ſhall not be very long. The Count *de Lude* being jealous of the Credit *Philip de Commines* had with *Lewis* XI. procur'd him a Commiſſion, which kept him

him ſome time employ'd on the Frontiers of *Poicton* and *Britany*; and his Embaſſie to *Venice* and *Florence* was only a conſequence of the ill offices the Lord of *Chaumont* did him to the King, for having ſpoken in favour of the Inhabitants of *Dijon*. In the beginning of the Reign of *Francis* II. the *Duke*, and Cardinal *de Guiſe* having a mind to remove the Princes of the Blood from Court, procur'd the Princes of *Condé*, and of *La Roche* upon *Yon*, to be ſent to the King of *Spain*, and gave to the King of *Navarre*, and to the Cardinal of *Bourbon* the Conducting of the Queen, Wife to *Philip* II. *Roger de Saulary*, Lord of *Bellegarde*, and Mareſchal of *France*, had been much in the favour of *Henry* III. while he was Duke of *Anjou*, and King of *Poland*; but as the laſt Favourites had no great difficulty to remove the firſt, with this weak and unconſtant Prince, the King to get rid of *Bellegarde*, nominated him to the Embaſſie of *Poland*; giving him for Collegue *Gui du Faur de Pibrac*, with Orders to excuſe his ſhameful retreat, and to endeavour to preſerve a Crown to him, which he had deſpis'd and abandon'd. *Pibrac* went thither; but *Bellegarde* under a pretext to take a turn at Home to ſettle his Domeſtick Affairs, retir'd to *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, and laugh'd at the King. The Republick of *Venice* being perſuaded that the Emperor *Charles* V. would be able to beſtow the Dutchy of *Milan* on ſome private Nobleman, after the death of *Francis Sforza*, reſolv'd to make an Alliance with him, and to renounce that with *Francis* I. which had been honourable and uſeful to it. *France* had its Partiſans in the Senate, who had ſtrongly oppos'd this Reſolution; inſomuch that the Senators who had been the cauſe of its being taken, and had procur'd themſelves to be nominated, to go and acquaint *Charles* therewith, under the pretext of complimenting him on the Victory he had gain'd over the *Turks* at *Tunis*; being apprehenſive that during their abſence ſome alterations might be made in Affairs, procur'd the Embaſſie to *Rome* to be given to thoſe of the greateſt Credit and Intereſt amongſt the oppoſite Party.

I don't think that this ſort of Embaſſadors have any need of *Powers*. I moreover ſay that *Powers* are not ſo neceſſary to the Miniſters who are the bearers thereof, as to the Commiſſioners or Embaſſadors that treat with them, and whom it behoves to be well aſſur'd that what they ſhall negotiate and treat of with the Plenipotentiaries, ſhall be approv'd of and ratify'd, although the *Powers* how ample and abſolute ſoever they may be, have always ſome relation to the ſecret Orders the Miniſters receive, which may be chang'd and alter'd, and often are, according to the Conjunctures and Revolutions of Affairs. The Embaſſador's Plenipotentiaries who were on the part of *France* at *Munſter*, did not ſcruple to ſay upon all occurrences, that they had writ, or would write to the Court, and that they would wait for its freſh Orders. And notwithſtanding thoſe of *Sweden* boaſted they had an abſolute power to make Peace, on ſuch Conditions as they themſelves ſhould think reaſonable; yet it is certain that there did not a Mail arrive, but brought them freſh Orders; and that in affairs which were any whit of moment, they came to no Reſolutions, till they had conſulted the Queens pleaſure, and the Opinion of the Senate at *Stockholm*. *Chanut*, the *French* Embaſſador there, ſometimes work'd a change in their Sentiments; and *Oxenſtiern* did not make any ſtep but under the conduct of the Chancellor his Father.

However, the *Powers* ought not to be limited at all, nor refer to the Inſtructions; becauſe being Conditional, they would no longer be a *full Power*. The Cardinal *Spada* had Orders from Pope *Urban* VIII. to treat with *Lionne* for the accommodating the difference the *Barberins* had with the Duke of *Parma*, concerning the Dutchy of *Caſtro*. They had let ſlip into the *Powers* of the Cardinal this Clauſe, *Servatâ Inſtructionis formâ*; but *Lionne* caus'd it to be taken out, becauſe it deſtroy'd or impair'd the *Powers*. It is true at the ſame time, that the Prince may reſerve to himſelf in the *Powers* the faculty of Ratifying: But even in that Caſe, the *Power* is not full, unleſs the Ratification be made mention of, as of a thing of courſe, which gives the laſt form to the Treaty. In Simple *Powers* generally this Clauſe is inſerted, *That upon the advice the Embaſſador ſhall give of the State of the Negotiation or Treaty, the Prince ſhall deliberate on the directions he ſhall give him for the Concluſion thereof*; and then the Embaſſador's *Power* is limited, ſo that he cannot ſign the Treaty, without receiving a more expreſs Order than what his firſt *Powers* contain'd. On the firſt of *May*, 1572, Queen *Elizabeth* gave a *Power* to *Francis Walſingham* to enter upon a Negotiation with the Miniſters of *France*, for a Treaty of Commerce; but ſhe reſerv'd to her ſelf the faculty of ſignifying to him her laſt Intention, after the Negotiation ſhould be in a greater forwardneſs.

It is moſt certain, that the *Powers* are at leaſt as neceſſary to him that treats with the Miniſter, as to the Miniſter himſelf, as it will appear by the following Example. The Invaſion with which *Philip* the Bold, King of *France*, threaten'd the Kingdom of *Arragon*, in the Year 1285, oblig'd the King, *Peter* the Great, to ſend to *Sancho* the Brave, King of *Caſtile*, a Gentleman whoſe Name was *Peter de Bolea*, to endeavour to bring him into his Intereſt. This Gentleman, who for all *Powers* had only a ſimple *Letter of Credence*, was at a great loſs, finding the King of *Caſtile* very little diſpos'd to act for the intereſt of the King of *Arragon*; inſomuch that being apprehenſive leſt he ſhould declare in favour of *France*, he told him, that if he would but promiſe to remain neuter, the King of *Arragon* would give him the Town of *Calatayud*, after the War was at an end. *Sancho* remain'd neuter, and perceiving that *Peter* had made an advantageous Peace enough with *France*, he demanded of him the Town *Bolea* had promis'd him. The King of *Arragon* ſaid, that the Gentleman he had ſent him, had neither Order nor Power to promiſe any thing: But that he might not be wanting in any thing he ow'd to a King whoſe Friendſhip was dear to him, he ſent him back the Gentleman, to be diſpos'd of by him, as he pleas'd. *Bolea* acknowledg'd to the King of *Caſtile*, that he

had no Orders to offer him any thing; but that it was the great Affection he had for the King his Maſter, which had oblig'd him to make thoſe Offers; thereby to put him out of thoſe Dangers, the Junction of the Arms of *France* with thoſe of *Caſtile* made altogether inevitable. The King of *Caſtile* commended his Zeal, and what he had done; treated him, and ſent him back to his Maſter. He could blame no body but himſelf, for having too lightly given Credit to the Saying of a Miniſter, who, according to the Rules of his Profeſſion, did not ſcruple mingling a little Artifice with his Probity. Provided Embaſſadors do but gain their Point, they do not make much Scruple about the Means. The King of *Caſtile* ought to have had this Promiſe in Writing: and before he accepted of it, have had an authentick Copy of the *Power* by virtue of which it was made. And the King of *Arragon* on his ſide, who would have the King of *Caſtile* give Credit to what that Gentleman ſhould ſay to him on his part, was not oblig'd to own all that his Envoy had done without Orders: and he did more than he was oblig'd to do, in putting into the Hands of the King of *Caſtile*, the Perſon of whom he might complain for having cheated him; but who, however, had done a very ſignal Service to his Maſter.

What was taken notice of in the beginning of this *Chapter*, in relation to Cardinal *Barbarin*, ſhews that ſometimes a Miniſter may be treated with, although he have no *Powers*, provided he be of Quality ſufficient to make what he does be approv'd, and that he have Authority enough for that purpoſe. After the Death of *Henry* III, King of *France*, the King of *Navarre*'s Right of Succeſſion to the Crown could not be conteſted; becauſe, as the Cuſtom of *Paris* ſays, *the Dead gives Seiſin to the Living*, and by that Mean all *Frenchmen* were become his Subjects. Yet nevertheleſs, as there was a Faction form'd in the State, and the King was willing to allow of Conferences with the Deputies of the Duke *du Maine* and of the *League*, there was a Neceſſity to conſider them as publick Miniſters, and to make them enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. In the Year 1593, the Miniſters of both ſides met in the Village of *Surene*; and before they enter'd upon Buſineſs, a Communication of *Powers* was requir'd. The King's Deputies produc'd a very ample one; but the Commiſſion of the *Leaguers*, gave them no other *Powers*, *but to hear the Propoſitions, and to report the ſame:* So that ſome Difficulty was made to enter into Conference with them. But the Archbiſhop of *Bourges*, who was Chief of the King's Deputation, told his Collegues, that thoſe of the *League* were Perſons of that eminent Quality, and had ſo much Credit with the Party, that as it could not be doubted, but they would prevail with their Principals to approve of what they ſhould agree to in the Conferences, he was of Opinion they might be ſafely treated with; and upon this Conſideration the Conferences were continu'd. Among the Deputies whom the States of the United Provinces ſent into *England* in the Year 1585, *Jacob de Griſe*, Bailiff or *Eſcoutette* of *Bridges*, and *Noël Caron*, Burgermaſter of the ſame Town, had no *Powers*; yet that did not hinder the Queen from admitting them with the reſt; becauſe ſhe knew they would be own'd, and that their Principals would ratify what ſhould be concluded with them.

For although there be no Safety at all to conclude with a Miniſter who has no *Powers*: and that there be none, even to enter into a Negotiation with him, whoſe *Powers* have not their due Form; yet it is ſufficient however, that he who, notwithſtanding that, is willing to negotiate with a Miniſter who has no *Powers*, or whoſe *Powers* are imperfect, is contented therewith. In the Year 1645, the Viſcount *de Bregy*, Envoy from *France*, having regulated betwixt the King of *Poland* and himſelf, the Conditions of the Marriage with the Princeſs of *Mantua*, took Audience in the Senate, where the Contract was to be approv'd of: but he could not ſatisfy all the Senators, who ſaid, that all the Princeſſes Eſtate was litigious, and that the King was not ſafe therein. *Bregy* reply'd, that being acknowledg'd in that Court for a publick Miniſter, he was ready to give all the Security that could be deſir'd from a Man of his Character. He was anſwer'd, that they did not diſpute his Quality; but *that it was requiſite to ſee, whether he had a ſufficient Power*, to give Security in ſo important an Affair. *Bregy* ſaid, his *Power* was compris'd in his Inſtructions, which he drew out of his Pocket. His Inſtructions were very authentick, counterſign'd by a Secretary of State; and the Senators would have been ſatisfy'd therewith, if he had ſhewn them the Article that mention'd the Queens Portion.

Bregy ſaid, it was ſufficient the King had ſeen it, and was ſatisfy'd therewith. Hereupon the Senators got up, in order to go and acquaint the King with what had paſs'd in the Conference. But the King told them that there was ſome Incivility, in the Inſtance the Senators had made concerning the *Powers*: that it was a Matter that related to himſelf: that he had ſeen them, was ſatisfy'd therewith, and ſafe therein. The Senators had reaſon to ask to ſee the *Powers*, becauſe it belong'd to them to regulate the Queen's Dowry: and they ought not to be contented with the Inſtructions, nor the Extract that *Bregy* might have given them thereof.

The *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries, who were at *Munſter* in the Year 1644, inſtead of communicating *Powers* that were in common to 'em all, had each of them their reſpective *Powers*, which gave them a Faculty to negotiate and to conclude, *in conjunction with their Collegues*, whoſe Number or Names were not expreſs'd therein. So that to retard or perplex the Negotiation, they needed but to excuſe themſelves on their *Powers*, which hinder'd them from acting without the other Plenipotentiaries their *Collegues*. The *Mediators* made the ſame Reflection, and oblig'd the *Spaniards* to get their *Powers* amended. But that they might not be oblig'd to enter into freſh Diſputes on the account of Form; the Model of an Inſtrument was agreed upon, which the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries and thoſe of *France* ſign'd, and put into the Hands of the *Mediators*. It was alſo agreed amongſt them, that upon a Declaration, which was made on all hands, that the *Powers* ſhould be drawn up after that manner, the

the Negotiation ſhould in the mean time be continu'd. Theſe *Powers* may ſerve for a Precedent to all thoſe that may be given to Embaſſadors for the time to come. They may be found amongſt the Acts of the Negotiation of *Munſter*, under the Date of the 20th of *September* 1643, which is that of the firſt *Powers*, which were not reform'd till the Year 1645.

Thoſe Princes that have a mind to get out of Perplexities, do not diſcontinue a Negotiation, tho' there be ſome Deficiency in the *Powers*. The Embaſſadors, that were on the part of the Arch-Duke at *Vervins*, had *Powers*, wherein the *Spaniards* took notice that King *Henry* IV. beſought them for Peace. The Miniſters of *France* complain'd thereof: but as that great Soul was above thoſe little Artifices, he order'd his Embaſſadors to continue the Treaty, and that the *Powers* ſhould be exchang'd and communicated, but juſt when the Treaty was ready to be ſign'd.

However, the ſureſt and ſafeſt way is not to enter upon Buſineſs till the *Powers* are communicated. *Francis* I, King of *France*, would not ſuffer his Mother, the Queen *Regent*, to go to *Cambray*, till he had ſent to *Bruſſels* to know, whether *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, with whom ſhe was to treat, had a ſufficient *Power* for the purpoſe. In the Year 1640, the Cardinal Infant, ſignify'd by Writing to the Nuncio *Scotti*, and to *Angel Cornaro*, Embaſſador from *Venice* to the Court of *France*, that if the King would ſend ſome Perſon to *Peronne* with due *Power*, he would likewiſe ſend his Plenipotentiary to *Cambray*, that they might together agree upon a Place where a Truce might be negotiated and concluded. The King made anſwer, that he would not refuſe deputing ſome body; but he would firſt ſend to *Bruſſels*, to be inform'd *whether the Cardinal Infant had Power* from the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, to treat of a Truce for ten or twelve Years. In the Year 1642, the King of *Great-Britain* and the Elector *Palatin*, ſent their Miniſters to *Ratisbonne*; becauſe mention was there to be made of an Accommodation for the Elector. The Embaſſadors requir'd the Reſtitution of the upper and lower *Palatinate*, together with the Electoral Dignity; tho' at the ſame time there was no likelyhood at all of obtaining it; as well by reaſon of the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Oppoſition, as becauſe it was againſt the Emperor's particular Intereſt, who had ſufficiently explain'd himſelf on that Head. Yet nevertheleſs the Emperor, to make it be believ'd he had a mind to gratifie the King of *England*, caus'd the Embaſſador to be ask'd, what the King his Maſter would do for the Empire, if the Elector was reſtor'd. The Embaſſador made anſwer, that in ſuch caſe, the King of *Great-Britain* would make an offenſive and defenſive Alliance with the Emperor and the Empire. He was then ask'd, *whether he had Power for that*, and he was urg'd to ſhew them; but he ſaid, he would not communicate them, till he was aſſur'd of the Reſtitution of both the *Palatinates*, with the Electoral Dignity. The Emperor, apprehending leſt the Embaſſador ſhould be provided with a ſufficient *Power*: and being ſurpris'd at ſo high a Demand, ſignify'd to him, that in the State the Affairs of *England* then were, the Power of the King alone would not be a ſufficient Security, and that the Parliament muſt joyn therein. The King of *Denmark*, and the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, who had manag'd this Affair as *Mediators*, offer'd to be *Guarantees for the Power*; but the Emperor, who had no reaſon to fear any thing from *England*, and who would not hear ſpeak of Reſtitution, broke off the Negotiation; tho' it did not appear that the *Powers* were defective. It was only a very bad Pretext. The Emperor could not, without offending the King, require a *Power* from the Parliament. When a Prince has a mind to do a thing, he does not refuſe entering upon Buſineſs, tho' it ſhould happen that the *Powers* have not their due Form, as I ſaid before; more eſpecially when he has no room to doubt, that what the Miniſter does will be approv'd of.

Ferdinand de Velaſco, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, going at the beginning of this Century, to compliment King *James* on his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, had alſo Orders to make an Alliance with him. Inſtead of paſſing the Sea in Perſon, he ſent to *London* Preſident *Richardot*, the Count *de Taxis*, and two other Miniſters, that they might get the Treaty in a Readineſs to be ſign'd at his Arrival. The Council of *London*, examining into the *Powers* of theſe Embaſſadors, found that they were but *Subalterns* and *Subdelegates*: and that they had no other *Power* than what the Conſtable had given them. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners made a Difficulty to enter into Conference with them; but the King would have the Negotiation carry'd on with theſe Miniſters; and ſaid, that they ſhould not boggle at the Words, *to cauſe to be treated*, which were inſerted in the Conſtable's *Powers*. That it was the Buſineſs of Advocates to wrangle about Words; and that Princes ought to act after a more noble manner. King *James* was for treating with *Spain* at any rate, for which reaſon he ſuffer'd himſelf to be eaſily perſuaded, that the Conſtable's *Powers* had been drawn by thoſe *Philip* II. had given for the Treaty of *Vervins*. The *Spaniards* at firſt urg'd to have a League offenſive, which they afterwards reduc'd to a defenſive one, and at laſt were contented with a ſimple Treaty of Friendſhip and Commerce. Hiſtory takes notice, that in the Conferences the King's Commiſſioners yielded them the Place of Honour. It was their Due, not only becauſe they were Strangers, and that the Conferences were held in the Council Chamber; but alſo becauſe they were conſider'd as Embaſſadors from the King of *Spain*, and in the ſame Quality they had had at *Vervins*.

John Zapoli, King of *Hungary*, being driven out of his Dominions by the Arms of *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, he retir'd into *Poland*, to *Jerome Laski*: whoſe Birth, Merit and Eſtate, put him amongſt the firſt Noblemen of the Kingdom. *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, had had for his firſt Wife *John*'s Siſter: and on that account, as alſo becauſe he had ſome Jealouſy of the neighbouring Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he did not take ill the good Uſage that unhappy Prince receiv'd without his Participation. *Laski*, who alone was at all the Expence, judging that none but *Soliman*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, could reſtore *John* to his Throne, or had Generoſity enough to undertake it, reſolv'd

ſolv'd to go himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, as Embaſſador from the King of *Hungary*. He had no other *Credentials*, nor other *Powers*, than ſome Letters of Recommendation from *Sigiſmund* to two or three *Baſſha's* of the *Divan*. *Ferdinand* ſent thither *John Oberdansky*, a *Hungarian* Gentleman, that he might thwart *Lasky's* Negotiation; but he was not able to hinder him from obtaining the Inveſtiture of *Hungary* for his Friend, *John* being to pay Homage for the ſame to *Soliman*. The *Turkiſh* Army enter'd into *Hungary*, whither *John* went to the Grand Seignior, who promis'd to reſtore to him all the Conqueſts he ſhould gain upon *Ferdinand*. This was the Effect of the Interceſſion and Negotiation of *Lasky*, who having made himſelf known at the Port, had no great Difficulty to acquire the Eſteem of the *Turkiſh* Emperor, who for certain was a very great Prince, and who was willing to give to the Merit of this Gentleman, the ſame *Credence* he could have given to the *Letters*, or *Powers* of the King of *Poland*.

Here it might be ask'd, Whether *the Faculty* the two Kings of *France* and *England*, *Francis* I. and *Henry* VIII, gave to the Cardinal of *York*, to make a Treaty between thoſe two Princes, on ſuch Conditions as he himſelf ſhould judge reaſonable, was a *full Power*, ſince he was rather their Arbitrator than their Plenipotentiary; and that it was rather a Submiſſion which the two Kings made to him, than any *Power* that they gave him.

Thus, when *Leo* X. offer'd his Mediation for a Peace between *Maximilian* the Emperor and the Republick of *Venice*, he did not require a *Power* to negotiate, but that thoſe two Potentates ſhould abſolutely acquieſce in his Will. The Pope having repreſented to both Parties the Intereſt they had to put an end to ſo long and vexatious a War, which ruined themſelves, and was the Deſtruction of *Italy*, gave them to underſtand, that if they approv'd of it he would take upon him the whole Management of the Negotiation, and that he would ſo regulate their Intereſts that they ſhould be both ſatisfy'd therewith. The Senate conſented to it at laſt, tho' not without great Reluctancy. The greateſt Difficulty, which had till then hinder'd it from coming to an Agreement with the Emperor, was concerning the City of *Verona*, which the Emperor pretended to belong to the Empire; and relating to the Sum of Money the Republick was to pay, as well for the Charges of the War, as for the Places and Rights *Maximilian* was to yield up to it, either as Emperor or as Arch-Duke. The Senate therefore caus'd a Compromiſe to be made, wherein mention was made of the Terms in which the ſaid Sum ſhould be paid, and ſent it to the Pope with the uſual Submiſſion. *Leo* was not contented herewith, but requir'd an *Abſolute Power*, without Condition or Reſtriction; and ſo well ſatisfy'd the Republick, that he would have the ſame Conſideration for its Intereſts, as if they were his own; that he would determine nothing without the Embaſſador's Participation; that it ſent him a very *full Power to make Peace on ſuch Conditions as he ſhould think juſt and reaſonable*. The Embaſſador, when he deliver'd theſe *Powers* into the Pope's Hands, told him, That the Senate knew there would be found ſome Difficulties in the Affair, by ſo much the greater, as their Enemies being ſenſible of the Pope's ample Power, would perhaps be for preſſing his Holineſs to grant them ſuch Conditions, as it ſelf ſhould judge to be neither juſt nor reaſonable. And in effect the Pope met with ſuch great Obſtacles, that the Biſhop of *Gure*, who came to *Rome* at the time the Pretenſions of the Parties were under Examination, judging that the Buſineſs was to be drawn out in length, the *Spaniards* had leiſure to break off the Truce, which oblig'd the Republick to have Recourſe again to their Arms; and no farther mention was made of the *Power* the Pope had procur'd himſelf. There is no colour to ſay, that the Pope was a Plenipotentiary, becauſe it is well known that a Plenipotentiary is in effect but a Mandatary or Procurator, and the *Full Power* is nothing elſe but a Procuration *cum Libera*. Nor can it be doubted, that the Plenipotentiary is oblig'd to give an Account of his Negotiation to the Prince who gave him the Power, by the ſame Reaſon which obliges a Procurator to give an account of his Adminiſtration to his Maſter. This is what could not be ſaid of the Pope, who would not have ſubmitted to it, nor have had that Deference to the Republick. He would not act as an Arbitrator neither. So that it may be ſaid that he was a Mediator in effect; but ſuch a Mediator as could oblige the Parties to receive the Law from him, and ſuch as he pleas'd to give them. It is well known, that Sovereigns have a great many ways to get out of theſe kind of Engagements, when they become prejudicial to their Intereſts; but that does not hinder it from being very dangerous, to give too large a Power to a potent Mediator; and that, in Affairs where the Damage cannot be repair'd, neither by diſowning, nor by the Death of the Plenipotentiary.

Francis I. being unwilling to let the Emperor *Charles* V. annex the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Crown of *Spain*, and yet loath to reſolve upon a Rupture with him, diſcharg'd his Reſentment on *Charles* Duke of *Savoy*, and ſent an Army into his Countrey under the Command of Admiral *Chabot*, who in a little time took all the beſt Places the Duke had either on this ſide or beyond the Mountains. The Progreſs of his Arms was ſtopp'd by the Cardinal of *Lorain*, whom the King had ſent into *Italy* with a *very ample Power to make a Peace*. The Emperor was there then, and the Cardinal was no ſooner arriv'd, than he oblig'd *Chabot* to conſent to a Suſpenſion of Arms, againſt the Opinion of all the General Officers of the Army, and to the irreparable Damage of the King's Affairs. The Cardinal went beyond his Power, and the Admiral did not know his, when he receiv'd Orders of this Nature from him, who had no Right to lay Commands on a General, who receives them only from his Sovereign immediately. Indeed it prov'd of very ill Conſequence to him. The Fault he committed coſt him his Eſtate and his Reputation, and would have coſt his Life, without the powerful Interceſſion of his Relations and Friends, who obtain'd his Pardon. The Cardinal's Crime remain'd unpuniſh'd, on account of his Dignity; and alſo becauſe that even in thoſe Days the Houſe of *Guiſe* was ſo powerful,

powerful, that King *Francis* made a very bad, but too true a Prognoſtick for the Kings his Succeſſors.

The *Powers* that are in common to ſeveral Plenipotentiaries ought of neceſſity to contain this Clauſe, *That in caſe of the Death or Abſence of one or two of them, the other, or the reſt of them may carry on the Negotiation*; becauſe that for want thereof, the Death, or the Abſence of one of them, makes all the *Power* uſeleſs. When the Queen Regent of *France*, and *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, met at *Cambray*, the Republick of *Venice* deputed thither two Embaſſadors, *Juſtiniani* and *Navager*; but the laſt being dead, the Council of *France* did not think fit to let the other go to *Cambray*, but made him ſtay at *St. Quintin*. Preſident *Jeannin*, *Buzanval* and *Ruſſi* were compriz'd in the ſame *Powers*, with this Clauſe, *That all of them together, or two of them in the Abſence of the third, might act, negotiate, &c.* But foraſmuch as the *Powers* took no notice of the Death of the third, *Jeannin* wrote to *M. de Villeroy* immediately after the Death of *Buzanval*, *That they were without Powers and without Commiſſion*; and that of neceſſity they muſt either have freſh ones, or at leaſt a Declaration by which the King ſhould notify his Pleaſure, that he and *Ruſſi* ſhould continue to negotiate according to his Intention, notwithſtanding the Death of *Buzanval*. This was judg'd ſo neceſſary, that new *Powers* were ſent them on the 7th of *October* 1607, and this does not admit of any Diſpute.

At Congreſſes, where there are many Plenipotentiaries of ſeveral Parties, whoſe Intereſts are either oppoſite or different, the *Powers* are communicated by the Hands of the Mediators, as may be obſerv'd in many Places of this Treatiſe. The Count of *Aversburg*, who was on the part of the Emperor at *Oſnaburg*, refus'd to communicate his *Powers* to the Embaſſadors of *Sweden*, becauſe the Mediators were at *Munſter*. The King of *Denmark* had been Mediator there for ſome time; but after the *Swedes* had invaded *Holſtein*, and ſome other Provinces of *Denmark*, his Miniſters had left the Congreſs. The Imperialiſts, to excuſe the Difficulty they made to communicate their *Powers* to the *Swedes* at *Oſnaburg*, which was founded on the Abſence of the *Daniſh* Miniſters, ſaid that this Communication was not neceſſary, becauſe the *Powers* were drawn according to the Model agreed upon at *Hamburg*. But the *French* Miniſters reply'd, That admitting they were ſo, the Imperialiſts could not avoid communicating them; if it were but to compare them with the Model, and to ſee whether they were conformable thereto.

The *Powers* are a particular Inſtrument which makes a part of the Treaty, after this has been ratify'd according to the Terms agreed upon. So that although no Clauſes ought to be ſuffer'd to ſlip in, that may be prejudicial to the Rights and Pretenſions of any of the Parties concern'd, yet if it ſhould happen that there did, they can have no Conſequence, if there is not time to have them amended; becauſe it is the Treaty it ſelf that regulates thoſe of the one and the other, and that alters or ratifies the Contents of the *Powers*. The Embaſſadors from *Poland* and *Sweden* being met at *Lubeck*, in the Year 1652, to endeavour to prolong the Truce between the two Crowns, or to convert it into a perpetual Peace, put their *Powers* into the Hands of *Chanut* the *French* Embaſſador, who there diſcharg'd the Office of Mediator. After they had been communicated on both ſides, the *Swedes* found fault with the *Powers* of the *Poles*, becauſe the King of *Poland* took therein the Quality of hereditary King of *Sweden*; and yet they were contented with the Promiſe the Embaſſadors of *Poland* made, that they would get them alter'd. This Difficulty being taken away, *Chanut*, believing there was now none left, was for entring upon Buſineſs, and putting the Matter in Agitation; but when he ſpoke to the *Swedes* about it, *Roſenhan* declar'd, *That they had expreſs Orders not to begin to negotiate till the Powers were effectually exchang'd.* On the other ſide, the *Poles* proteſted that they would not part with their *Powers* till the Treaty was concluded. *Chanut* would have had both Parties to have lodg'd them in his Hands till the Concluſion of the Treaty; but the *Swedes* Inſtructions and Orders were ſo preciſe in this Point, that they did not dare to admit the leaſt Relaxation or Temperament thereupon, but conſtantly maintain'd that the *Powers* ought to be exchang'd before they enter'd upon Buſineſs. This was mere *Chican*, becauſe the *Powers* being lodg'd in the Hands of the Mediators, the *Swedes* would have been ſure of being ſafe. They could not doubt, but the Defects obſerved in the *Poliſh Powers* would be rectify'd, becauſe the Republick of *Poland* not being willing to engage it ſelf in a freſh War for the King's ſeparate Intereſt; and much leſs for an imaginary Title, there was nothing could hinder it from reforming the *Powers*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Paſſports and Safe-Conducts.

NOtwithſtanding the King of *Denmark*, writing to *Schoneich*, who had Orders from the Emperor to conduct *Commendon*, the Pope's Nuncio, through *Germany*, and from thence as far as the two *Northern* Kingdoms, takes notice in his Letter that *Schoneich*, as a publick Miniſter, had no Occaſion for a *Paſſport* or *Safe-Conduct*; yet I think I may ſay with Authority, that there are infinite Encounters, where the Embaſſador would hazard his Perſon and his Maſter's Dignity, if he did not put himſelf under the Protection of the publick Faith by the mean of a *Paſſport*. Thoſe Princes only, to whom Embaſſadors and publick Miniſ-

ſters are ſent, are oblig'd to ſecure to them the protection of the *Law of Nations*.

The Republick of *Poland* deſigning to ſend Embaſſadors into *France*, to carry thither the decree of Election in favour of *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Charles* IX, deſired a *Paſſport* for them from the Emperor, and ſome of the Princes of *Germany*. However, taking into Conſideration that the Emperor who had made Intereſt to procure that Crown for the Arch-Duke *Erneſt* his Son, might refuſe to grant one; and that the other Princes had without doubt reſpect enough for him, to make ſome difficulties in the matter, ſhe let them ſet out. Theſe Embaſſadors being arriv'd at *Leipſick*, wrote to *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*, and excus'd themſelves *for having enter'd his Countrey without giving him a previous notice thereof*. The Elector made anſwer to them, that he was much ſurpriz'd to underſtand they were advanc'd ſo far before they knew his Intention in reference to their paſſage: That he commanded his Officers to treat them with Civility, *but not to ſuffer them to depart from thence*. *Monluc* Biſhop of *Valencia*, who had been Embaſſador from *France* to *Poland*, and who was the Perſon that had moſt contributed to the Election of *Henry*, was as a Conductor to the *Poliſh* Embaſſadors; and repreſented to them, that the reſpect the Elector had for the Emperor, would oblige him to make ſome wry faces, but that it was not his intention to ſtop them, and ſo well perſuaded them thereof, that they purſu'd their Journey. Before they ſet out, they ſent a Gentleman to the Elector, (who at a good diſtance from thence was taking the diverſion of Hunting,) to deſire a Paſſport from him, of which they did not deſign to make uſe, ſince before the return of their Courrier, they had got through *Thuringia*, into the Countrey of *Heſſe*; and *Monluc*, tho' he had the Quality of Embaſſador going to *Poland*, reflecting that neither his Character nor the *Law of Nations* could ſecure him from the violence he had reaſon to be apprehenſive of in *Germany*, where he was liable to be ſtop'd, or otherwiſe outrageouſly dealt with for want of *Paſſports*, diſguiz'd himſelf, and paſs'd into *Poland incognito*, and with a ſmall Retinue.

During the firſt Wars of the Low Countries, *Key* or *Cains Rantzou*, whom the King of *Denmark* had ſent into *Spain*, taking with him a Convoy of *Spaniſh* Horſe, was met between *Namur* and *Bruſſels* by a Party from *Bergueſopzoom*, who having beaten their Enemies, carried *Rantzou* into their Garriſon, without his making himſelf known to any but the Governor of the Place. There was found about him a Letter that the King of *Spain* wrote to the Duke of *Parma*; he was taken in an Enemy's Countrey, and without any *Paſſport* from the State to protect him from ſuch ſort of diſgrace. Nevertheleſs the Governor of *Bergues* no ſooner was inform'd of his Quality, than he ſet him at Liberty, that he might go to the *Hague*, where he made great complaints of the ill Treatment he had receiv'd. They endeavour'd to excuſe what had happen'd, his Goods were reſtor'd to him, he receiv'd ſeveral other Civilities, and had ſince a Gold Chain ſent him. All this did not hinder the King of *Denmark* from picking a Quarrel with the States. He ſaid they had violated the *Law of Nations* in the Perſon of his Miniſter: He Arreſted a Fleet of *Dutch* Merchant-Men in the *Sound*, and would not ſuffer it to paſs, till the Proprietors had paid the Sum of thirty thouſand Crowns for reparation of the Injury he ſaid had been done to him. The King was very much a *Spaniard* at that time, and let ſlip no opportunity of affronting the States whenever he could. But they who made him believe that the *Law of Nations* had been violated on this occaſion, were miſtaken themſelves, or elſe had a mind to impoſe upon him. The States could not divine the Quality of a Gentleman who had been found in an Enemy's Countrey, under the Convoy of Enemies, and who had no *Letters* for the State, where he pretended to be conſider'd as a Publick Miniſter. The King of *Denmark* violated the publick Faith, by ſeizing the Ships of private Men, againſt whom he had iſſu'd out no *Letters of Reprizal*. The Count *de Harcourt* Embaſſador from *France* in *England*, being oblig'd to go to the King at *Oxford*, did not rely ſo much on his Character, but that he took a *Paſſport* from the Parliament of *London*. In Civil Wars no great conſideration is had to the *Law of Nations*, and one cannot be too well provided againſt the Inſolence of thoſe who acknowledge neither Maſter nor Diſcipline.

But without that, a Prince is not oblig'd to admit the Embaſſador of his Enemy, nor to reſpect him in a place where his Arms may act according to the Laws of War, without violating the *Law of Nations*. There were not ſo many Years employ'd in Regulating the differences *France* and *Sweden* had with the Emperor, and to redreſs the Grievances of all the Princes of the Empire, as were conſum'd in making the Treaty of the Preliminaries, of which the *Paſſports* of the Deputies were the moſt momentous part. I took notice in the fourth Chapter of this Book, that the Emperor made ſome difficulty to grant *Paſſports* to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, notwithſtanding the King of *France*, who deſir'd 'em for them, as for his Allies, conſented at firſt, that their Miniſters ſhould aſſiſt there but as private Perſons. The *Nuncio*'s *George Bolognetti*, and *Rainucci Scotti*, with *Aloyſio Contarini* the *Venetian* Embaſſador, made preſſing Inſtances to prevail with the King to deſiſt from his demands in favour of the Proteſtant Princes. But perceiving that Cardinal *Richelieu* was obſtinate in the matter, they made two Propoſitions that they believ'd ought to be acceptable to all Parties concern'd. The one was, that the Emperor ſhould cauſe *Paſſports* to be diſpatch'd for ſome particular Perſons that ſhould be nominated to the Aſſembly, who might there remain in ſafety with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, but ſhould not appear as Publick Miniſters; yet nevertheleſs ſhould have the Liberty to ſend and receive Courriers. The other Propoſition was, that the Emperor ſhould cauſe a general *Paſſport* to be drawn, for all thoſe who ſhould have any Buſineſs at *Cologne*, where the Congreſs was to be held, with the ſame privilege of diſpatching and receiving Expreſſes. But theſe two Overtures were

were not approv'd of at *Vienna*; and the third was alſo rejected, by which the Proteſtant Princes were permitted to acquaint the *French* Miniſters with their Intereſts; by which means it would not be neceſſary they ſhould themſelves ſend Miniſters to the Aſſembly. *France* demanded *Paſſports* chiefly for the *Swedes* and for the *Hollanders*. The Emperor ſaid that the firſt were to meet at *Lubeck*, according to the firſt Propoſal; and that if they had any need of *Paſſports* for that, they might demand them; and for the others, that they had no occaſion for them, by reaſon of their Neutrality. However the Emperor ſuffer'd himſelf to be overcome, granted the *Paſſports* that were ask'd him for the ones and the others, and declar'd that he would authorize the Plenipotentiaries, who were on his part at *Cologne*, to iſſue out *Paſſports* or *Safe-Conducts* for the Princes, who not being yet reconcil'd to him, would ſend their Miniſters to *Cologne*, *there to remain in the Retinue of the French Embaſſadors*. The Emperor rather choſe to have thoſe Princes depend altogether on *France*, and give themſelves up to it, than to ſuffer they ſhould treat immediately with him, and without the intervention of a Sovereign and equal Power. This Declaration was made in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1638. but before theſe *Paſſports* were got ready, Cardinal *Richelieu* told *Angel Cornaro*, who had ſucceeded *Contarini* in the Embaſſy of *Venice*, that the King requir'd particular *Paſſports* for the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and for Duke *Bernard* of *Saxe-Weimar*, as being Princes whom *France* diſtinguiſh'd on account of their affection to the Good Cauſe, and the Services they did to his Crown; pretending however that they ſhould not ſend their Miniſters to *Cologne*. *France* made two Objections to this Declaration. The one was, that the Emperor iſſu'd out his *Paſſports* by his Plenipotentiaries, inſtead of having them diſpatch'd in his Chancery, and Signing them himſelf; and the other, that no mention was made therein of the ſafety of the Expreſſes, which nevertheleſs was one of the beneficial parts of the *Paſſports*. It moreover took notice, that the Declaration run, that the Miniſters of the Proteſtant Princes ſhould be in the Retinue of the *French* Plenipotentiaries; from whence they inferr'd, that out of that they would not be in ſafety: As alſo that it ſpoke of the Crime of high Treaſon, and ſo treated the King's Allies as Subjects, and Rebels. And in fine, that only thoſe Princes of the Empire were admitted to the Congreſs, who were not as yet reconcil'd to the Emperor, and that thereby ſeveral of thoſe who were moſt concern'd to be there, were excluded.

The *Swedes* went a great deal farther; they demanded *Paſſports* for the Elector *Palatin*, for the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and inſiſted on having all the Titles and all the Qualities of thoſe Princes inſerted in them. But this heat abated, and they conform'd to the Sentiments of *France*. The *States of the United Provinces refus'd the Paſſport* the King of *Spain* had diſpatch'd for their Miniſters, and *France* it ſelf did not like it, on account of the words Licence, and Permiſſion, which the *Spaniards* had ſlip'd into it, and which imply'd a Superiority that the States and their Allies could not admit of. All theſe Models of *Paſſports* except thoſe of the *Swedes* and the *Hollanders*, expreſs'd that they ſhould enure to the Miniſters of thoſe Princes who ſhould Negotiate their Intereſt by the Mediation of the *French* Plenipotentiaries. The Emperor excluded in the General *Paſſport* the Elector *Palatin*, becauſe he had been excluded at the Treaty of *Prague*; and he had caus'd two *Paſſports* to be prepar'd, which were particularly for the Landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Duke of *Weimar*; But he would not allow the general *Paſſport* to be put into the hands of the Miniſters of *France*, till the King deliver'd at the ſame time the *Paſſports* for the Emperor and his Allies, and namely for the Duke of *Lorrain*. After this, *France* demanded *Paſſports* for the Elector of *Triers*, whom the Emperor ſtill detain'd a Priſoner; and for the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, to whom the Court of *Vienna* made difficulty to give the Quality of Regent and of Tutrix, becauſe the Emperor had declar'd the Cardinal of *Savoy*, and Prince *Thomas* Regents. The King requir'd alſo a Paſſport for the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenbourg*, who he ſaid were his new Allies; but being inform'd that theſe Princes had ſent their Deputies to *Ratisbon*, in order to reconcile themſelves with the Emperor, he ſuperſeded that Requeſt for ſome time, till he knew that that Negotiation was broke off. The Emperor at laſt reſolv'd to iſſue out the General *Paſſport*, and to leave out the Clauſe of *Nondum Reconciliati*; which *France* inſiſted ſo much the more upon, becauſe ſhe conceiv'd it would ſuit better with her Intentions, to have all the Eſtates of the Empire meet at the Aſſembly, whoſe Number and Authority would weaken that of the Emperor's Miniſters. But the King not being contented with the *General Paſſport*, continu'd to preſs the diſpatch of the *particular Paſſports*. Firſt, for the Dutcheſs Regent of *Savoy*; a ſecond for the Land grave of *Heſſe*; a third for the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*; a fourth for the Elector *Palatin*, and for the Princes his Brothers; a fifth for the Elector of *Triers*; and a ſixth for the Reſident who ſhould be at *Munſter*, on the part of the Crown of *Sweden*. He deſir'd alſo that *Spain* ſhould diſpatch three; one for the *Plenipotentiaries*, who ſhould go on his part to *Munſter*; another for the Reſident whom he ſhould ſend to *Oſnaburg*, and a third for the *Plenipotentiaries* of the United Provinces. The Court of *Vienna* agreed at laſt thereto, and thereupon the Preliminary Treaty was concluded at *Hamburg*, the 24th of *December*, 1641. The Miniſters of *France* ſignify'd their deſire to have the *Paſſports* written upon Parchment; and they inſiſted on having the King of *Spain* himſelf ſign thoſe he ſhould iſſue out, and that therein he ſhould not make uſe of the Miniſtry of *Don Franciſco de Melos*, who had been veſted with Authority for that purpoſe, ſince the death of the *Cardinal Infant*. But this was a very needleſs Scruple, becauſe Parchment does not render thoſe kinds of Inſtruments more Authentick than Paper, neither is it requiſite that the King ſhould ſign them himſelf. It is enough that a Secretary of State ſigns and counterſigns them; and ſince the Prince can give his Miniſter the Power to make a Treaty, for certain he can alſo impower him to iſſue out *Paſſports*, as in effect

all the *Plenipotentiaries* that were at *Munſter*, hourly gave them out, by virtue of a particular Power they had for that Purpoſe. The *Paſſports* that were diſpatch'd for *Bellievre* and *Sillery*, Plenipotentiaries from *France*, at the Treaty of *Vervins*, were only ſign'd by the Arch-Duke *Albert*, who had been authoriz'd for that purpoſe by the King of *Spain*. The Draught of the Emperor's *Paſſports*, which was approv'd of in *France*, was compris'd in the following Terms.

Ferdinandus Tertius, divinâ favente Clementiâ, Electus Romanorum Imperator, ſemper Auguſtus, ac Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Slavoniæ, Rex, Archidux Auſtriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Stiriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ & Wirtembergæ: Comes Tirolis, &c. Univerſis & ſingulis, & ſancti Romani Imperii Principibus, tam Eccleſiaſticis quam ſecularibus Electoribus, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Caſtellanis, Capitaneis, Militibus, Nobilibus, Clientibus, Gubernatoribus, Locumtenentibus, Ductoribus, Magiſtratibus, Exercituum Ductoribus Supremis, tam Equeſtrium, quam Pedeſtrium Copiarum, Legatis, Tribunis, aliiſque Capitaneis, Vexilliferis, Centurionibus, atque aliis quibuſcunque, militaria munera ac Officia gerentibus: Burgi-magiſtris, Conſulibus, Paſſuumque, Pontium ac Portuum quorumvis Cuſtodibus, ac Claſſium & quarumcumque Præfectis Urbium; item Locorum, Terrarum & Communitatum Officialibus, ac quibuſcumque noſtris, ac ſacri Romani Imperij, Reguorumque & Dominiorum Noſtrorum Hæreditariorum ſubditis, ac fidelibus dilectis, gratiam noſtram Cæſaream & omne bonum. Devotionibus & dilectionibus veſtris ac vobis, clementer mandamus ac præcipimus, ut Deputatos a ſereniſſimo Franciæ Rege Chriſtianiſſimo, Affine ac Fratre noſtro cariſſimo Plenipotentiarios Monaſterium ad Tractatum Pacis ibidem inſtituendum, proficiſcentes; videlicet N. N. N. per Territoria ac Loca Poteſtati ac Juriſdictioni ſuæ & veſtræ ſubjecta, una cum Comitibus, Familiaribus, Famulis, Equis, Curribus, Navibus, Rebus, ſarcinis ac ſcripturis, quos ſecum habituri ſunt, liberè, tutò, ſecurè atque expeditè ire, tranſire, ac ibi commorari, & poſtmodum etiam a dicta Civitate Monaſterienſe recedere & redire ſinant & ſinatis; neque permittant aut permittatis, ne tam in itu quam in reditu, quicquam Moleſtiæ aut Impedimenti afferatur. Quin potius quibuſcumque rebus poterunt aut poteritis, ſi neceſſitas, aut ipſi ita poſtulaverint, juvent & juvetis. Mandamus quoque ut Curſores, qui vel Monaſterium ad dictos Plenipotentiarios mittentur, vel inde ab ipſis expedientur, durantibus his Tractatibus, liberè, tutò, ſecurè ac expeditè ire, tranſire ſinant vel ſinatis. Spondente Fide, & Verbo Noſtro Cæſareo, nullo Nos modo commiſſuros, ut per Nos dictorum Deputatorum ſecuritas libertaſque ullatenus turbetur, interpelleturve: quin potius jam nunc ſerio ac ſtrictè Mandamus omnibus & ſingulis Juriſdictionis noſtræ Subjectis, ne cuiquam ex ſupradictis ullâ viâ auſint contravenire. Hæc eſt ſeria, expreſſa & omnimoda noſtra voluntas. Harum vigore Litterarum Manu Noſtra ſubſcriptarum, & Sigilli Noſtri Cæſarei appenſione munitarum. Datæ in Civitate Noſtra Viennæ die 28 Januarij, 1642.

The buſineſs of the *Paſſports* being regulated after this manner, the *Spaniards* would have the *French* Plenipotentiaries give them a Memorial, containing the Names and Qualities of all thoſe they pretended to have compris'd therein. They were afraid in *Spain*, leſt the *Portugueſe* and the *Catalans* ſhould ſend their Deputies in the Retinue of the Miniſters of *France*, which gave them great Uneaſineſs. The *Spaniards* urg'd, that the *French* had us'd this Rigour in reference to the Retinue of the deceaſed Cardinal Infant, and that of *Don Diego Saavedra*, who had been oblig'd to give in a Catalogue of all the Perſons they pretended to have compris'd in the *Paſſports*. But the *French* made anſwer, that far from begging *Paſſports*, as a thing merely depending on their Will, they requir'd 'em as an Effect, and a natural Conſequence of the preliminary Treaty, which the *Spaniards* could not deny them: That as their Intention was not to make an Abuſe thereof, and much leſs to render them uſeleſs to themſelves, they expected they ſhould be drawn with all the neceſſary Securities, for themſelves and their Domeſticks: That the *Paſſport* that had been demanded of the King their Maſter for the Retinue of the Cardinal *Infant*, and for *Don Diego de Saavedra*, was of another Nature: That it might be limited, and even quite refus'd: But for the *Paſſports* that were requir'd for the Congreſs, the *Spaniards* could do neither the one nor the other: That they would give in the Number of their Domeſticks, and their Qualities and Functions in groſs, but that they would not name them. They gave them the Satisfaction they demanded, and they paſſed in all Safety.

The Miniſters of *France* ſpoke thus, becauſe the *Spaniards* had ſaid, that in *France* they had limited the *Paſſport*, that had there been granted for the Retinue of the Cardinal *Infant*, and for the Paſſage of *Saavedra*: and they had reaſon to ſay, that they ſhould render the *Paſſport* uſeleſs to them, if they communicated that Benefit to Miniſters, who were not their Domeſticks, and who could not be compris'd therein. *Pigneranda* would never ſuffer mention to be made to him of *Paſſports* for the Miniſters of *Portugal* and *Catalonia*. The *Catalonians* did not demand any, becauſe as they had deliver'd themſelves up to the *French*, it belong'd to theſe to ſpeak for their Intereſts. *Portugal* on the contrary had revolted, without the leaſt participation of *France*. And indeed ſhe reap'd no other Advantage from it, than that ſhe found in the weakening of the *Spaniſh* Power. The King of *Portugal* neglected profiting of the Diverſion the Arms of *France* gave in *Catalonia*, in *Italy*, and in the Low Countries; for which Reaſon the King would not enter into an Alliance with him, that ſhould lay an Obligation of having him compris'd in the Peace, or elſe to continue the War for his ſake. Yet nevertheleſs *Servien* carry'd along with him one of the *Portugueſe* Deputies, and one of the *Catalonians* to *Munſter*, tho' with a great deal of Reluctancy, and merely out of Complaiſance to Cardinal *Mazarine*; becauſe he was ſenſible he run a great Riſque, that he violated the publick Faith, and that he hazarded the Dignity of the King, his Maſter, in expoſing himſelf to a very groſs Affront, by ſo raſh an Action.

Franciſco d'Andrada Leitas, Embaſſador from *Por-*

Portugal at the *Hague*, receiv'd in the Year 1644. Orders from the King his Maſter, to go in the ſame Quality to *Munſter*: but fearing leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould inſult him on his Journey, he deſir'd the States to permit him to travel in the Company, and as it were in the Retinue, of their Plenipotentiaries. They repreſented to him, that it was what they could not do; *becauſe he being an Embaſſador himſelf, he could not receive any Benefit from the Paſſport of their Miniſters.* That he had nothing to fear on the Road, becauſe they would give him ſo good a Convoy, that he might travel with the greateſt Safety: but that he would be oblig'd to ſeek it elſewhere than in their Guarantie, after his Arrival at *Munſter*, where they could not protect him, nor make his Quarrel their own. This did not hinder the King of *Portugal* from having his Miniſters at *Munſter* and at *Oſnaburg*: and although the Mediators, and the Friends of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, did not conſider them in this Quality, yet they enjoy'd a perfect Security under the Protection of the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, who gave them the Title of Excellency. The *Portugueſe* however, inſtead of being ſatisfy'd therewith, were obſtinate in their Demands of *Paſſports* and Safe-conducts, and inceſſantly importun'd *Servien* and *d'Avaux* thereupon: even when it was thought, that the Treaties were juſt upon ſigning, between the Empire and *France*. They either did not, or would not conſider, that *Spain* could not iſſue *out Paſſports for them*, without acknowledging them for Miniſters of a Sovereign Prince, and the Duke of *Braganza* to be lawful King of *Portugal*.

France, for its part, would never grant a *Paſſport for the Duke of* Lorrain's *Miniſter*; becauſe that Prince, in making the *Paris* Treaty in the Year 1641, had renounc'd the Alliance of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; ſo that the Emperor could no longer ſpeak in his Behalf, as for an Ally. And in reality, the Emperor's Miniſter, in ſettling the Preliminaries at *Hamburg*, had conſented that no mention ſhould be made of him; becauſe his Affair had nothing in common with thoſe of the Empire: and *Spain* had no other Intereſt in him, than what ſhe might have for a Prince who lent her his Troops, in conſideration of the Subſidies ſhe paid him for the ſame, and of the Quarters where he ſubſiſted her Army.

The Difficulty *France* has ſince made, to iſſue out Paſſports for the Miniſters the preſent Duke of *Lorrain* had a mind to ſend to *Nimeguen*, does not appear ſo reaſonable. And indeed ſhe ſoon yielded to Reaſon: the King having conſider'd, that the Treaties, and the Diſpoſitions of the deceaſed Duke *Charles*, could not prejudice this: who by virtue of the Laws of the Countrey, has a Title to the Rights of a firſt Poſſeſſor by his Birth, and has re-united them in his Perſon; whether we ſuppoſe *Lorraine* to be ſubject to the *Salick Law*, or that the Succeſſion thereto be laid open to Women. It were to be wiſh'd, that the Council of *France* had been a little more ſteady on this Subject: and that it had not undertaken to overthrow what had been eſtabliſh'd in the laſt Reign, to introduce new Maxims, as the Productions of a Miniſter, who had full as much Wit as Judgement and Conſcience.

The Pains that were taken, and the Years that were employ'd to ſettle the *Paſſports* for the Plenipotentiaries of *Munſter*, ſufficiently make out that they are ſometimes neceſſary to the Embaſſador, and that his Character does not always make his whole Safety. Cardinal *Pool* would not paſs through the Countrey of *Wirtemberg*, without the Duke's *Safe-conduct*. *Du Croc*, Embaſſador from *France* to *Scotland*, was ſtopp'd in *England* becauſe he had none: and Cardinal *Scipio Rebiba*, Legate from *Julius* III, would have been ſo in *Flanders*, if the Pope had not given him Advice of the Rupture he was going to have with the Emperor: and if upon this Advice he had not quitted the Marks of his *Legation*, in order to ſave himſelf in the Countrey of *Liege*. In the beginning of the Civil Wars in *France*, in the Year 1563, the Prince of *Condé* and the other Heads of the Religionaries, had put *Havre de Grace* into the Hands of the Queen of *England*, as a Pledge for the Money ſhe had lent them. But King *Charles* IX, having granted a ſham Peace to thoſe of the reform'd Religion, the ſame Prince of *Condé*, to give a Proof of his Zeal for the King's Service, joyn'd his Troops to thoſe of the Conſtable *Montmorancy*, and help'd to beſiege the *Havre*. The Queen ſent into *France Nicholas Throgmorton*, who had been Embaſſador there, and offer'd to reſtore the *Havre*, provided ſhe were put in poſſeſſion of *Calais*, according to the Treaty ſhe had made with *Charles*. There was no War between the two Crowns, but that did not hinder the Artillery from making it ſelf heard before the *Havre*, and great Preparations were making in *England* to ſuccour it: ſo that *Throgmorton apprehending he ſhould not be ſafe without a Paſſport*, took one from the *French* Embaſſador at *London*: notwithſtanding which the *French* ſecur'd him, and did not ſet him at liberty till after the Reduction of the Place. *Throgmorton* was the Man of all *England* moſt capable of carrying on an Intrigue; and in the Apprehenſion that was had of his Ability, they who had arreſted him believ'd they did not violate the *Law of Nations*; becauſe, as he had no *Credentials*, or had not yet deliver'd them, his Quality was not known. It ſeems to be what he was afraid of himſelf, ſince he was willing to take a *Paſſport*: Tho' being ſo able a Man as he was, he ought to have known, that a *Paſſport* from the Embaſſador could not protect him; becauſe as the Embaſſador's Power does not extend ſo far, unleſs he have a ſpecial Authority for that Purpoſe, his *Paſſport* can only ſerve as a ſimple Letter of Recommendation. In the Year 1601 Cardinal *Doſſat*, who negotiated the Affairs of *France* at *Rome*, while there was no Embaſſador there, was deſir'd by the Pope to to give a *Paſſport* to an Embaſſador from *Perſia*, who had a mind to take *France* in his way to *Spain*. The Cardinal, writing to King *Henry* IV. about it, ſpeaks of it as of a thing indifferent, which he was unwilling to refuſe the Pope: and ſays he had promis'd him ſuch a *Paſſport as he could give*: that is to ſay, which ſhould be no further reſpected, than ſhould be thought convenient for the King's Service. It belongs only to Sovereigns to give *Paſſports*, becauſe they only can ſecure the Effect of them, to thoſe to whom they are granted.

They that repreſent them as Viceroys, and Governors of Provinces, cannot inſure their Validity any farther than the Extent of their Government. The Viceroy of *Naples*'s *Paſſports* are reſpected at *Milan*, and thoſe of the Governor of *Milan* are reſpected at *Naples*; as alſo thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador at *Venice* ſerve throughout all *Italy*; becauſe theſe three Miniſters have the Direction of the Affairs of thoſe parts.

On the other ſide, he that will enjoy the Benefit of a *Paſſport*, muſt keep within the Bounds therein preſcrib'd him. The Couriers who were diſpatch'd, or receiv'd by the Plenipotentiaries at *Munſter*, had their Rout preſcrib'd them, out of which their *Paſſports* were of no uſe to them. In the Year 1588, Queen *Elizabeth*, being willing to hearken to ſome Overtures of Accommodation, with which ſhe was amus'd while in *Spain* the moſt powerful Fleet was fitting out that had been heard ſpeak of, ſent into *Flanders* the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham* and *James Crofts*, with *Dale* and *Rogers*, Counſellors, to treat with Count *d'Aremberg*, *Champigny*, *Maas* and *Garbier*, whom the Duke of *Parma* had nominated on his part. The *Paſſport* that had been granted to the *Engliſh* was limited, inſomuch that they were not allow'd to enter the Places where the Queen and the States had their Garriſons; nay, he would not give them *Paſſports* to warrant their entring into the Towns that were under the King of *Spain*'s Obedience; ſo that they were forc'd to encamp under Tents between *Oſtend* and *Oudenbourg*. There was at firſt ſome Diſpute about Precedency, which oblig'd the Earl of *Derby* to go to the Duke of *Parma* at *Bruſſels*. He was ſtill there when that formidable naval Power appear'd in the Channel, but when he was for going away he was ſtopp'd. He made a very great Overſight in not making himſelf ſecure, and the Queen was not at all ſatisfy'd therewith.

The Archbiſhop of *Mechlin*, the Duke of *Areſchot*, and ſome other Deputies of the Provinces of *Flanders*, having in the Year 1633. made ſome Overture of a Peace or Truce at the *Hague*, and their Propoſition having been ſent to the particular Eſtates of the United Provinces, they thought they might go and divert themſelves in the other Towns of *Holland*, while they waited for their Reſolution. But the States General being advis'd thereof, ſent them Word by their Regiſter, That in very few Days they ſhould know the Intention of the Provinces; in the mean time, they deſir'd the Deputies to ſeek their Diverſion at the *Hague*. The Duke reply'd, That ſince it was but a thing deſir'd, it lay in their Breaſt to acquieſce to it or not. But the Regiſter made anſwer, That the Eſtates Deſire, who repreſent the Sovereign, was equal to a Command. He moreover added, *That it did not belong to the Deputies to enlarge the Bounds of their Paſſport*, which only mention'd their Journey from *Bruſſels* to the *Hague*, and did not permit them to ramble elſewhere. And in fact, one of their Collegues having left the *Hague*, under the Pretext of going to buy Horſes in *North-Holland*, an Expreſs was ſent after him to warn him to come back, and to ſet out at ſight of the Letter; becauſe it would be a difficult matter to ſecure him the Benefit of his Paſſport, and that he would expoſe himſelf to the Inconveniencies, which are unavoidable to thoſe that have none.

A Prince is not oblig'd to grant Paſſports to the Miniſters of another Prince with whom he is at War, or whoſe Intentions he has a Jealouſy of; ſince ſometimes they are refus'd even to Friends and indifferent Perſons. King *Francis* I. had no reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with the Emperor *Charles* V, who had not us'd him very well ſince the Battel of *Pavia*; ſo that he had no great Inclination to be civil to him. After that *Lewis* King of *Hungary* was kill'd by the *Turks*, at the Battel of *Mohats*, the Eſtates of the Empire, who were apprehenſive of an Invaſion from the Infidels, and who were of Opinion the Emperor's Preſence might be neceſſary in *Germany*, *deſir'd a* Paſſport *of the King of* France, *for the Deputies they intended to ſend to him*. The King who could not in point of Juſtice, nor without Incivility, refuſe ſuch a thing to Princes with whom he had no Quarrel, and who at the ſame time was willing to perplex the Emperor, granted them a *Paſſport*; but at the ſame time he made it uſeleſs to them, by limiting it to four Months, both for the Journey and Return. It would take the Deputies ſome time to prepare their Equipage, and they could not proceed therein as if they were riding poſt; ſo that they reſolv'd to have no Obligation to the King, and contented themſelves with repreſenting to *Charles* the Neceſſity of his Preſence, by Letters.

Pope *Pius* IV, when he invited all the Chriſtian Princes to ſend their Deputies to the Council of *Trent*, was willing to do the ſame Honour to the Czar, or Great Duke of *Moſcovy*. He had a mind to ſend thither *John Canobio* in the Quality of Nuncio; but *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*, King of *Poland*, notwithſtanding he was a very Catholick Prince, would not allow of it. He told *Canobio*, that having laid the Matter before the Council of *Lithuania*, he had found it unanimouſly againſt it: That ſome of the Members thereof had offer'd one Reaſon, and others, another, but that they were all agreed that it was contrary to the Practice of all Antiquity, *to ſuffer the Embaſſadors of foreign Princes*, even thoſe of the Emperor, *to paſs* through *Lithuania* to *Moſcovy* during a War. He alſo wrote about it to the Pope, and moreover told him, That even without that Difficulty, there was no likelihood that the Nuncio's Journey would be any way ſucceſsful with ſuch ſchiſmatical People, who were Enemies to the *Latin* Church; and that the Countrey, which was either Deſert, or peopled with *Barbarians*, would have expos'd the Perſon of the Nuncio to very great Inconveniencies and inevitable Dangers; which made him hope, that the Pope would not take ill *the Refuſal he had made, to grant a* Paſſport *to* Canobio.

John Zapoli, King of *Hungary*, not being able to come to an Agreement with *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, who had marry'd the Siſter of *Lewis*, *John*'s Predeceſſor; and who, on that account, pretended a Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, had a mind to ſend *Jerome Lasky* to the Princes of *Germany* to deſire Succour from them; but *Ferdinand* would not grant him a Paſſport; ſo that *Lasky* not thinking it proper to hazard his Perſon, altho' well characteriz'd, remain'd in *Hungary*.

After

After the seventy Articles were sign'd, on the 8th of *January* 1647, between the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain* and those of the United Provinces, *Anthony le Brun*, one of the *Spanish* Plenipotentiaries, set out from *Munster* the very next Day, to carry the News thereof to *Brussels*. While he was there, he sent to the States to desire a *Passport* to go to the *Hague*. His Design was to observe, and to thwart *Servien*'s Negotiations, who was there contriving a Treaty of Guarantie; but *Servien* oppos'd the Dispatch of the *Passport*, and so order'd Matters. that the States, after they had advis'd with the Prince of *Orange*, refus'd to grant him one. This *Spanish* Minister, seeing he was deny'd, said, *That the* Passport *he had as Plenipotentiary from* Spain, *impower'd him also to go into* Holland, and indeed he went thither without Molestation. But the Estates being inform'd thereof, took it very ill, and oblig'd him to return back. The *Passport* he had as Plenipotentiary could be of no use to him but only on his Journey, and at the Place of the Congress; and did not warrant his Proceeding into the Heart of the Countrey, there to carry on Intrigues and Cabals, contrary to the Intention of the States. This is what they made the Duke *d'Areschot* sensible of, and the other Deputies whom I above mention'd.

During the Negotiations of *Munster*, Count *Borgia*, Governor of the City of *Antwerp*, arrested there a Gentleman, who was the Minister of a Prince of *Germany*; who having taken at *Paris* a *Passport* for *Munster*, thought he was sufficiently authoriz'd thereby to pass into *Holland*. He us'd him civilly, and suffer'd him to see his Friends in the City; but he oblig'd him to procure another *Passport* from the Arch-Duke. *France* having offer'd, and got approv'd, its Mediation for the Peace between the two Northern Crowns, and the two Kings having agreed to the Choice she had made of *M. de la Tuillerie*, this last beginning to work on the Settlement of the Preliminaries, met at first with a very great Difficulty concerning the *Passports*. The Ministers of *Denmark* said, that their Commissioners would not be safe with the simple *Passports* of the *Swedes*, because there was no relying on their Word, their Signing, nor their Seal, unless the *French* Embassador would be Guarantie for the same, in the Name of the King his Master. *La Tuillerie* said, He would not by any means engage the Name and Authority of his King, without Orders; and withal, that he could not make this Proposition to the *Swedes*, without offending them irreconcileably, and without breaking off the Negotiation before it was begun. It was believing them to be capable of violating the *Law of Nations* and the *publick Faith*. Besides, *Sweden*, by putting her *Passports* into the Hands of the Mediator, in Order to their Transmission to *Denmark*, made the King of *France* Guarantie for the Safety the *Danes* were to find. I should be apt to say, that none but the Minister of King *Ferdinand the Catholick* was capable of offering so outragious a Violence to the *Law of Nations* as the great Captain offer'd to *Cæsar Borgia*, whom he caus'd to be arrested, notwithstanding the *Safe-Conduct* he had given him, if he had not had before him the Example of *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundy*. This Prince had, with *Lewis* XI. King of *France*, concerted the Death of the Constable *St. Pol*; and these two Princes had mutually promis'd each the other, by a formal Treaty, that whichsoever of them should cause him to be seiz'd, should put him to Death, or else should deliver him up to the other, to be dispos'd of as he should think fit. After this Treaty the Duke sent him a *Safe-Conduct*, under the Security of which the Constable went to him in the *Low Countries*; but he caus'd him to be taken into Custody before he arriv'd at Court, and put him into the Hands of *Lewis*, who he knew would have no Compassion of this poor Wretch. The World is not less malicious at this present time, than it was in those Days; but however there are very few now that would be so, after that impudent manner. It is temerarious, and even a kind of Sacrilege, to carry our profane Thoughts into the Sanctuary of God's Secrets. And yet I think I may say, without sinning against the Laws of Christianity, and of Charity, that the continual Disgraces, which never forsook the Duke of *Burgundy* since that time, till he perish'd by the Perfidy of Count *Campobasso*, were a just Retribution for his own. It is overthrowing the very Principles of Honesty and of Civil Society, to fail in what has been solemnly promis'd in Writing, and to the publick Faith that is concern'd therein.

The Expedition of *Passports* not belonging to the Embassador, it would be useless to make here a Digression, to describe the Form they ought to have; and to represent with what Accuracy and Exactness the Titles and Qualities of those for whom the *Passports* are design'd, should be express'd. It is sufficient to have here inserted a Model, which may serve the *Chanceries* for a Precedent on all Occasions, *mutatis mutandis*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Reception and Entry of the Embassador.

THE Civilities and Ceremonies that are done to Embassadors, making one of the most essential parts of the Embassy, I shall bestow upon them the three or four following Chapters; wherein I shall endeavour to lay down all that can be desir'd from him, who being depriv'd of the necessary assistance of Books, and the benefit of Conversation, can produce nothing but what must be very imperfect in all its parts.

" *Philip de Commines* says, that although " Embassadors come from Princes that are " either

" either ſecret or declar'd Enemies, or that " are ſuſpected Friends, one may have a diſ- " truſt of them; but that muſt not hinder " the Prince they are ſent to, from receiving " and treating them well, from ſending to " meet them, and lodging them; indeed he " may place near them Men of noted wiſdom " to obſerve them. In the Year 1627, the States of the United Provinces ſent into *Poland Roch Vanden Honart*, Counſellor in the Great Council of *Holland* and *Zeeland*, *Andrew Bicker*, Burgermaſter of the City of *Amſterdam*, and *Simon de Beaumont*, Penſionary of the City of *Middleburg*, as Mediators between the two Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. King *Guſtavus Adolphus* ſhew'd them all the Civilities they could deſire, but in *Poland* they receiv'd none at all. When they came to *Warſaw*, no body went out to meet them, and after they were ſet down at the Houſe they had hir'd, they were Complimented but only in the Mareſchal of the Kingdom's name, who, as they were told, would acquaint them with the hour deſign'd for their Audience. Three days after, ſome refreſhments of Meat, Poultry, Wine and Beer were ſent them by the King, who did not otherwiſe do them the leaſt Civility. The Gentleman who came to them from the Mareſchal, told them amongſt other things, that in *Poland* they were not accuſtom'd to make Entries to Embaſſadors. He did not ſay right, ſince there are ſeveral Examples of *very ſolemn and magnificent Entries* which have been made there; not only to the Count *de Scafgots*, Embaſſador from the Emperor, and to *Naſſokin*, Embaſſador from the *Czar* of *Moſcovy*, but alſo to the Miniſters of *Brandenburg* and of *Courland*, even when the Elector and the Duke were Vaſſals of the Crown of *Poland*. On the 10th of *October*, 1670, Mr. *John de Witt*, Embaſſador from the ſaid United Provinces, made his Entry at *Warſaw*, and had Civility ſhewn him. The *Referendary* of the Kingdom went to meet him in one of the King's Coaches, follow'd by ſeveral other Coaches. The Miniſters of *Brandenburg* were received by one of the General Officers, and by the *Referendary* of *Lithuania*, who went to meet them with a numerous Cortege. They inſiſted upon having *Palatins*, or at leaſt *Caſtellans* come to meet them, but that was not agreed to. The Envoys of *Courland* were receiv'd by *Praſmousky*, Secretary of the Crown, in the King's Coach.

The Civilities that are done to Embaſſadors at their Reception, and at their Entry, are Regulated now almoſt in all Courts, but it is not long ſince they were ſo. Neither is it long ſince proper Officers have been appointed to Regulate the ſame, or to ſee the Regulations Princes have made therein, executed. The Court of *Rome*, which is made up of Ceremonies, has had a Maſter of the Ceremonies for ſeveral Ages. It is but ſince the Year 1585. that there is a great Maſter of the Ceremonies in *France*, and even he does not meddle with what relates to Embaſſadors, no more than the Maſter of the Ceremonies, unleſs it be in the abſence of the Introductors, or in ſome very ſolemn and extraordinary Ceremony, where he acts in concert with them. The Introductors of Embaſſadors and foreign Princes, as by Title of Office, are ſtill more modern. At the Entry of Queen *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, Wife to *Charles* IX. into *Paris*, after her Coronation on the 29th of *March*, 1571, (where it is obſerv'd that the Nuncio and the Embaſſadors of *Spain*, *Scotland*, and of *Venice* were preſent) *the Sieur Jerome Gondy, who was appointed to receive them*, went immediately before them; and they were Conducted, *viz.* the Nuncio, by the Abbot of *Vendoſme*; the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador by *M. d'Eſpina*; the Embaſſador from *Scotland* by the Count *de Chaune*, and the *Venetian* by *M. de Meillant*, Knight of the King's Order. At the Entry of the ſame Queen into *Maſiers*, on the 26th of *November*, 1570, the ſame Embaſſadors were Conducted and accompany'd by four of the eldeſt Counſellors of State; *viz.* by *Meſſieurs de Morvillers*, *de Travanes*, *de Lanſac*, and *de Limoges*, without any mention made of an Introductor. In the whole courſe of *Walſingham*'s Embaſſy, no mention is made of an Introductor. When He, and *Norris* his Predeceſſor went to Audience on the 15th of *January*, 1571. no body Conducted them. At their arrival at the Caſtle of *Madrid*, they found there *M. de Lanſac*, who entertain'd them, and kept them Company at their Dinner. After that was over, another Nobleman came and entertain'd them; and after that *Jerome Gondy* came and acquainted them that the King was ready to give them Audience, and had them into a Room, where the King appear'd ſoon after. *Lanſac* conducted them to them to the Audience of the Queen Mother.

At this day there are in *France* two Introductors, who ſerve half Yearly, and have for Coadjutor or Lieutenant, an Officer that is perpetual, and who executes his Function in all the Civilities that are done to Embaſſadors, on any occaſion whatever. There is likewiſe an Introductor in *Spain*, but in moſt of the other Courts there is none, and this Office is confounded with that of Maſter of the Ceremonies: As for Example, in thoſe of *Stockholm*, *Copenhagen*, *Turin*, &c. It is the *Chiaoux Bachi*, or the Captain of the *Chiaoux* who diſcharges this Office at *Conſtantinople*; and *Moſcovy* has her *Priſtaves*, as *Perſia* has her *Mebemanders*, who notwithſtanding are only Commiſſion'd for that ſingle Action to which the Sovereign appoints them.

There is neither Maſter of the Ceremonies, nor Introductor at *Vienna*, in *Poland*, in *Portugal*, nor even at *Venice*; yet nevertheleſs there is no State where the Ceremonial is better regulated than in that Republick. In the United Provinces there is none neither, tho' the Ceremonies are not by a great deal ſo well regulated there, as at *Venice*, or in the other Courts of *Europe*.

I ſay that it is but of late that theſe Civilities are regulated; and it is for this Reaſon that no notice is taken thereof in the Hiſtory of *France*. It is but ſince the Reign of the deceaſed King, that the Embaſſadors that arrive in *England*, are no longer receiv'd nor defray'd at their landing. They are not now very nice in the matter in *Spain*, tho' formerly no People exceeded them therein. In the Month of *May*, 1424, *Alfonſo* the Magnanimous King of *Arragon*, ſent to *John* King of *Caſtile*, the Archbiſhop

biſhop of *Tarragona*, and *Berenger Bardaxi*, Juſtice of *Arragon*. Theſe Embaſſadors being arriv'd at St. *Clements*, a days Journey from *Villareal*, where the Court was, gave notice thereof to the King by their Gentlemen of the Horſe. *Don Alvaro de Luna*, who at that time govern'd the King of *Caſtile*, ſent them word that they might remain where they were, till ſuch time as they were inform'd where the King, who was going to leave *Villareal*, could give them Audience. They ſtay'd there about a fortnight, and from thence went to the King, who was at *Ocagne*. *They were receiv'd without the Town by the Conſtable, by the Admiral, by the Adelantado of* Caſtile, *and by* Garci Alvarez, *Lord of* Oropeza, *who were accompanied by ſeveral other Noblemen.* In the Year 1453, the ſame King of *Arragon* ſent to the King of *Caſtile*, *Ferrier de la Nuça*, Juſtice of *Arragon*; *who being come within half a League of* Tordeſillas, *where the Court was, was there receiv'd by* Don Diego Hurtade de Mendoſa, *Prior of St.* John's; *by the Adelantado* Parafan de Ribera, *by the Sons of the Maſter of the Order of* Alcantara, *and by all the other Lords who had repair'd to Court on account of this Ceremony, except* Ruy Dias *the King's high Steward, who remain'd near his Perſon.* *Henry* King of *Caſtile*, ſent in the Year 1456, *Lewis Gonçales* of *Aſienca*, Dean of *Corduba*, and *Henry de Figueredo*, his Embaſſadors Extraordinary to the ſame *Alfonſo*, King of *Arragon* and *Naples*. *Theſe Gentlemen being come to* Averſa, Alfonſo *ſent out to meet them* Marinus *of* Marſan, *Prince of* Roſano, *and Duke of* Seſſa; Felix Urſino *Prince of* Salerna; Don Inniguo de Guavarra, *Great Seneſchal*; Don Diego Davalos *High Chamberlain, and ſeveral other Chief Noblemen of the Court, together with his Kings at Arms in their Ceremonial Apparel.* He receiv'd them in the new Caſtle of *Naples*, being accompany'd by the Duke of *Calabria*, his natural Son, who ſucceeded him ſince in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by *Don Arnaldus Rogerus de Pallas*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and by all the Embaſſadors of foreign Princes. The Emperor *Maximilian* I. went himſelf a League out of the Town of *Bruges*, to meet the Cardinal of *York*, Embaſſador from *Henry* VIII. King of *England*.

France it ſelf has not always been ſo reſerv'd as ſhe is at preſent. King *Henry* II. being inform'd that the Duke of *Alva* (who came as Proxy from *Philip* II. to Marry Madam *Elizabeth* his Daughter) drew near *Paris*, *ſent to meet him, by the Prince of* Condé, *the Cardinals of* Lorrain *and* Guiſe; *the Duke of* Lorrain, *the Duke* de Nemours; *Meſſieurs* de Guiſe *and* d'Aumale; *the Duke of* Bouillon, *Monſieur* de Nevers, *the Prince of* Ferrara, *and ſeveral other Noblemen, who had a Train of one hundred and fifty Pages, beſides their other Domeſticks.* This Entry was made in the Month of *June*, 1559, no mention is made therein of Introductors, no more than at the Reception that was given in the Year 1564, to the Lord *Hudſon*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *England*; to meet whom, the King ſent *the Duke* de Nevers; M. de Boiſſy *Maſter of the Horſe*, *the Count* de Charny, *and ſeveral other Lords and Gentlemen.* At the Entry of Queen *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, whom I lately mention'd, ſhe was accompany'd by *the Elector of* Triers, *the Biſhop of* Straſburg, *the Marquis of* Baden, *and the Count* de Zolern, Embaſſadors from the Emperor *Maximilian* II. the Queen's Father. No body was ſent to meet them, becauſe all the Princes went to meet the Queen; but as they march'd towards the Town, the Dukes of *Anjou*, and of *Alançon* the King's Brothers, took the Elector between them; the Biſhop went between the Dukes of *Lorrain* and *Montpenſier*; the Marquis between the Prince *Dauſin* and *Monſieur d'Aumale*, and the Count between the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Mareſchal *de Montmorancy*. In the Year 1598, not only ſeveral Princes and Noblemen, but alſo the Officers of the Town-Houſe of *Paris* went out to meet the Embaſſadors from *Spain*, who came to ſee the Treaty of *Vervins* ſworn to. They receiv'd Civilities, and were defray'd as ſoon as they enter'd the Kingdom, to the very day that *Henry* ſwore to the execution of the Treaty. After that, the Treating part ceas'd in reference to the Duke *d'Areſchot*, the Admirant of *Arragon*, the Count *d'Aremberg*, and *Don Lewis de Velaſco*, becauſe as they remain'd as Hoſtages till the Reſtitution of the Places in *Picardy* and *Britany*, which were mention'd in the Treaty, was perform'd, their Quality of Embaſſador ceas'd. The King ſent them back on their Parole. Chancellor *de Chiverny* ſays in his *Memoirs*, that the King acted thus by the Counſel of *M. de Villeroy*, who had a mind thereby to acknowledge the Obligations he had to the King of *Spain*; and that ever ſince it has been brought into a Cuſtom to treat Embaſſadors; which has been a heavy burthen on the Finances. This is not very favourable to *Villeroy*; and I cannot tell whether on this occaſion, we ought not to queſtion *Chiverny*'s ſincerity; ſince the Ceremonial of *France* ſays poſitively, that theſe Embaſſadors were not defray'd till the day of their arrival at *Paris*. In the Year 1612. the Duke *de Mayenne* was ſent into *Spain*, and the Duke *de Paſtrana* came to *France* on account of the double Marriage which was ſolemniz'd ſome Years after. The Duke of *Paſtrana* was not only receiv'd with great Civilities at his approach to *Paris*, but extraordinary Honours were done him as ſoon as he enter'd the Kingdom. He came to *Bayonne* on the 16th of *July*, ſo late, that he was oblig'd to make his Entry by the light of Torches. Four of the Chief Inhabitants of the Town went to meet him, as far as *St. John de Luz*. He was receiv'd with Ceremony, and entertain'd with all his Retinue, which conſiſted of above three hundred Perſons, beſides a great throng of Horſes, Mules and Baggage. All the Towns of *Guyenne* and *Poitou* follow'd this Example, 'till he came to *Orleans*, where the Mareſchal *de la Chaſtre* Governor of the Town went out to meet him, with a Troop of two hundred Gentlemen. The Marquis *de Cœuvres*, Governor of the Iſle of *France*, had Orders to go and receive him at *Eſtampes*; but the Embaſſador made ſuch long Stages, that he met him at *Linars*, from whence he conducted him to *Bourg la Reine*, and there left him to go and give the King an account thereof. The next day the Marquis *d'Ancre*, the Queen's Chief Miniſter, went to Complement him from the King. The Dukes of *Nevers* and *de Piney*,

attended by four or five hundred Lords and Gentlemen, met him without the Suburbs of St. *James*, on Poſt Horſes. The Embaſſador and the two Dukes being met, alighted at the ſame time, and after their mutual Complements, the Embaſſador made uſe of the Horſe the King had ſent him. *Bonocil* Introductor of the Embaſſadors having caus'd the *Spaniſh* and *French* Noblemen to mingle in their march, put himſelf immediately before the Embaſſador in ordinary of *Spain*, who had on his left the Duke *de Pincy*, and was follow'd by the Duke *de Paſtrana*, who was conducted by the Duke *de Nevers*. He was Lodg'd at the *Hôtel de St. Paul*, where *M. de Bellegarde*, Maſter of the Horſe came to him from the King, to give him to underſtand how acceptable his arrival was.

On the other ſide, the Duke *de Mayenne* had no ſooner paſs'd the River of *Bidaſſo*, than he found the *Alcade* of the Town of St. *Sebaſtian* (which is about three Leagues off of it) accompany'd by the King's Procurator, who brought him the Inquiſition's Paſſport for himſelf, and his Retinue. The Officers of the Garriſon and the Magiſtrate receiv'd him about a quarter of a League from the Town, where they made him an Entry; he had moreover the diverſion of the Bull-fight, and Bonfires were made in all the Towns through which he paſs'd. He found at *Victoria* ſome of the Officers of the King's Houſhold, which were ſent to meet him to prepare things for his more eaſy travelling, and more convenient ſupply of Proviſions. At *Lerma* he was magnificently entertain'd by the Duke of that place. *M. de Vantelas*, the *French* Embaſſador in ordinary came to meet him as far as *Aranda del Duero*; and a Feaver having oblig'd the Duke to remain ſome days at *Torres de Laguna*, the King ſent thither to him his Phyſicians and Apothecaries. While he was at the Caſtle of *Almeda*, where he made ſome ſtay, as well to recover his health, as to make preparation for his Entry; Two of Count *de Montſoreau*'s Footmen being got into a Plough'd field, the *Spaniard* to whom it belong'd, ſtruck one of them with his ſtick, by whom he was kill'd upon the place. This Murther had like to have caus'd all the neighbouring Villages to riſe, till an *Alcade* of *Madrid* (who gave an account thereof,) found that the *Spaniard* had been kill'd by two *French* Footmen. The Duke *de Mayenne* was for having them purſu'd; but the *Alcade* told him, the King had expreſly forbid any proſecution to be made againſt the *French*. During the ſtay he made at *Almeda*, the King ſent the Marquiſs *d'Eſte* to him, to keep him Company, and attend him till the day of his Entry. It was made on the 17th of *July*, and he was met near *Madrid* by the Duke of *Alva*, whom the King had ſent for that purpoſe, with the major part of the *Grandees* of the Court, and a great number of the other Nobility. Theſe two Dukes at their meeting ſalured one another, and the Duke of *Alva* made his Complement without diſmounting. After which, having plac'd himſelf on the Embaſſador's left hand, he caus'd all the Noblemen of both Nations to march before them, and conducted him to the Palace of *Spinola*, which had been fitted up for him. Of all the *Spaniſh* Lords, none but the Duke of *Alva* alighted off his Horſe in the Court, and accompany'd the Embaſſador to his Apartment. This being done, he mounted his Horſe again, and diſmiſs'd the Cavalcade. *The King forbid all his Juſtices to enter into the Houſes where the* French *were lodg'd, for any Crime whatſoever.* The two days following were employ'd in receiving the Viſits of the Nuncio, and other Foreign Miniſters; as alſo thoſe of the Nobility of the Court; and amongſt the reſt, that of the Archbiſhop Cardinal of *Toledo*, who does this Honour to none but the King.

Theſe Extraordinary Occaſions do not make a Rule, particularly in *Spain*, where they are not very apt to change the old Cuſtoms which have been eſtabliſh'd ſince the Reign of *Charles* V. The Marquis *de Rambouillet* being nominated to the Embaſſy Extraordinary of *Spain*, towards the end of the Year 1626, there happen'd a conſiderable difficulty about his Reception. The Count *de Gondemar*, at his return from his Embaſſy in *England*, paſs'd through *France*, and having *Letters of Credence* for the King, he was conſider'd as an Embaſſador Extraordinary, and was receiv'd by a Mareſchal of *France*. For which Reaſon it was pretended that the Marquiſs *de Rambouillet* ought alſo to be receiv'd by a *Grandee* of *Spain*, or at leaſt by ſome Nobleman of a Quality approaching to that. *Du Fargis*, who was Embaſſador in Ordinary at *Madrid*, urg'd it very much, but the Council oppos'd this pretenſion, and would not ſuffer the ancient uſage to be chang'd or alter'd. It is ſaid, *that it was the Cuſtom to have the Nuncio and the Embaſſadors of the Emperor and of the King of* France *receiv'd by one of the Stewards of the King's Houſhold*; and that they would keep up to that practice. And accordingly, the Marquiſs *de Formiſtan*, one of the Stewards of the King of *Spain*'s Houſhold receiv'd the Embaſſador at his Entry, and conducted him to his Audience. The Civility that was ſhewn to Count *Gondemar* in *France*, might indeed invite, but it could not oblige the *Spaniards* to follow that Example.

Now as a Court does not willingly change its Practice, ſo an Embaſſador ought not to ſuffer any Prejudice to be done to his Prince, and to the Miniſters that may ſucceed him in his Employ, by any Alteration whatever, in the Honours that have been done to his Predeceſſors. *D'Argenſon*, Maſter of the Requeſts, and Embaſſador of *France*, at his Arrival at *Venice* had an Occurrence, where his Addreſs ſav'd him from the Snare that had been laid for him in the beginning of his Embaſſy. The *Venetians* hoping to take advantage of him, and after his Example, of all the other *French* Embaſſadors, made him a Propoſition which was altogether *Venetian*. The Rain, Hail, and whatever could render the Weather extremely bad, annoy'd the Preparations that had been made for his Entry; whereupon the *Senate* ſignify'd to him, that if he approv'd of it, they would not give him the trouble of going to the Convent of the Holy Ghoſt, which is three Miles from the City of *Venice*; and that he ſhould be receiv'd in the Abby of St. *George*. But *d'Argenſon* made anſwer, that it ſhould never be reproach'd to him, that he had impair'd the Rights and Honours of the Embaſſy: That ſince his

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Predeceſſors had always been met at the Abby of the Holy Ghoſt, he was ready to go as far as *Chiozza*, if the Senate was willing to receive him there, without regarding either the Rain or Hail. It is true, his Fault would not have been a Precedent for his Succeſſors: and *d'Argenſon* might have recorded, that that Change ſhould not prejudice the Rights of the King and his Miniſters; but the ſafeſt way is, not to ſuffer any Innovation. I ſhall relate by and by how the Republick of *Venice* cauſes Embaſſadors to be receiv'd.

In *France* an Embaſſador at his Arrival gives notice thereof to him of the Secretaries that has the Province of foreign Affairs; and who having acquainted the King therewith, receives his Orders, to deliver them to the Introductor, who is a Half-yearly Officer: and this concerts with the Embaſſador the Day and Ceremonies of his Reception. Moſt commonly it is perform'd at St. *Denis*, at *Piquepuce*, at *Rully*, at the *Red-Houſe*, or in ſome other Place near *Paris*, or the Palace where the King then reſides. There is to be ſeen between the Caſtle of *Vincennes* and St. *Anthony's-Gate*, which is the fineſt Avenue belonging to the Town, the Model of a Triumphal Arch, which is to ſerve for this Ceremony; and which will diſcover to Strangers, that what the preſent King undertakes and executes, is beyond Compariſon greater than any thing that is perceivable of ancient *Rome* in its Ruins; or is read of the Actions of its Heroes in her Hiſtory. Sometimes the Princes, ſometimes Dukes and Peers, and ſometimes Mareſchals of *France*, are employ'd to go and receive Embaſſadors; but with this Diſtinction, that the Princes never diſcharge this Function but to Nuncioes, or the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and that but ſeldom neither. In the Year 1634, the Count *d'Alais*, who was a Prince, and the Count *de Brulon*, one of the Introductors, went to receive *M. Bolognetti* Biſhop of *Aſcoli*, the Pope's Nuncio, at the Village of *Vaunes*; and conducted him to his Lodgings. The next Day the King ſent *M. de Souvré*, firſt Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, to viſit him, and the Queen ſent the firſt Steward of her Houſhold.

In the Month of *November* of the ſame Year, the aforeſaid Count *d'Alais*, and *Bautru* Introductor, went to meet *Julius Mazarine*, Nuncio Extraordinary from the Pope, at *Picquepuce*. The Nuncio in Ordinary, the Count *d'Alais*, the Introductor, the Archbiſhops of *Tours* and of *Arles*, and the Biſhop of *Bologne*, went into the King's Coach with him. The next Day *M. de Liancourt*, one of the firſt Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, complemented him from the King, and the Count *d'Orval* in the Queen's Name. He was not lodg'd. In the Month of *April* 1635, the ſame Counts *d'Alais* and *de Brulon*, went to meet Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, Legate Plenipotentiary from *Sweden* in *Germany*, at two Leagues Diſtance from *Compiegne*, where the Court then was: and conducted him to a Houſe fitted up with the fineſt Furniture the King had, where he was treated all the time he ſtay'd there. About a Month before that, *Monſieur Grotius*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *Sweden*, being arriv'd, the Marſhal *d'Eſtrée* and the Count *de Brulon*, went in the King's and Queen's Coaches to receive him at St. *Denis*, and conducted him to his Lodgings. It was much about the ſame time that the Viſcount *Scudamore*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *England*, arriv'd in *France*: and by reaſon the King was to go a Progreſs, in which the Embaſſadors were not to follow him, he took his Audience of the King before he made his Entry. The King was at *Monceaux*, and the Embaſſador being at *Meaux*, the Duke *de Chevreuſe*, and *Berliſe* Introductor, went to receive him, and conducted him to Audience. After this he would ſtill make his Entry; wherefore the Mareſchal *de St. Luc* and *Berliſe*, went and receiv'd him at St. *Denis*, and conducted him to his Lodging. No other Honour was done the Year following to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *England*, whom the Mareſchal *de Chaſtillon* and the Count *de Burlon* went to receive at St. *Dennis*, and conducted to the Houſe appointed for Embaſſadors Extraordinary, where he receiv'd the uſual Preſents, and was viſited by *M. de Souvré* from the King. The ſame Year the Mareſchal *de Chaſtillon* and *Berliſe*, went to St. *Denis* to meet *Zavaski*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Poland*, and conducted him to the Houſe of St. *Chaumont*, which was fitted up with the King's Furniture, where he was treated by the Officers of the Court till his firſt Audience. This is what is uſually practic'd in reference to Embaſſadors: only thoſe of crown'd Heads are conducted to Audience by a Prince. In the Month of *October* 1634, the Mareſchal *de Chaſtillon* and *Berliſe*, went with the King's and Queen's Coaches to St. *Denis*, to meet *Aloyſio Contarini*, who ſucceeded *Soranzo* in the *Venetian* Embaſſy, and conducted him to his Lodgings behind the *Minims*. In *January* 1638, the ſame Mareſchal and Count *de Brulon*, went with the King and Queen's Coach, to receive *Angel Cornaro*, Embaſſador from *Venice*, at the Chapel. The ſame Honours are done to the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces, as well *Ordinary* as *Extraordinary*: with this Difference however, that theſe, that is to ſay, the *Extraordinaries*, are treated till the Day of their Audience, and the others not. In the Month of *June* 1634, the Mareſchal *de Chaſtillon* and the Count *de Brulon* went with the King and Queen's Coaches to St. *Denis*, to meet the *Sieurs Pau* and *Knuis*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from the States, and conducted them to the Houſe appointed for the Extraordinaries, where they receiv'd the uſual Preſents. Some Years after, *viz.* in the Year 1637, *William de Lire* of *Oſterwic*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from the ſame States, was receiv'd by the Mareſchal *de la Force* at St. *Denis*: and the ſame Method has been obſerv'd, not only in reference to crown'd Heads, and thoſe two powerful Republicks; but alſo in reference to the Embaſſadors of the Princes of *Italy*, *Savoy*, *Florence* and *Mantua*. In the Year 1638, in the Month of *February*, the Mareſchal *de la Force* and the Count *de Brulon*, went to meet the *Sieur Agnelli*, Biſhop of *Caſal*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Mantua*, at *Piquepuce*, and conducted him to his Lodgings: but he was neither lodg'd nor treated at the King's Charge. The Duke of *Savoy* pretends to ſomething more than the other Princes of *Italy*, ſince he has taken the Quality of King of *Cyprus*; I ſpeak of him elſewhere;

where; and as for the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, he has so well establish'd himself since the two Marriages of *Henry* II, and *Henry* IV, into that House, and its other great Alliances elsewhere, that he has much to do to yield to *Savoy*: and his Embassadors are receiv'd by Mareschals of *France*, as those of the first Powers of *Europe*. In the Year 1643, *M. Corsi* being come to the Court of *France*, to Complement it on the Death of King *Lewis* XIII, the Mareschal *de Bassompierre* went to receive him at *Piquepuce*, and the Mareschal *de Grammont* conducted him to Audience.

The same Honours are done to those of the Great Master of *Malta*, of which we have an Example in the *Bailly de Fourbin*, *Great-Cross*, whom the Mareschal *de St. Luc*, and the *Sieur de Berlise*, went to receive on the 30th of *January* 1639, at *Piquepuce*, with the King's and Queen's Coaches, and with a Cortege of above threescore other Coaches with six Horses; tho' he was at the same time the King's Subject and Officer, *viz.* Lieutenant General of his Galleys. There is some distinction shewn in reference to the Ministers of the Republick of *Genoa*. In the Month of *November*, 1637, the *Sieur Sauli*, their Embassador Extraordinary was receiv'd at *Piquepuce*, not by a Mareschal of *France*, or any other Officer of the Crown, but by *M. de Noailles*, who in his return from his Embassy at *Rome*, had receiv'd great Civilities at *Genoa*. The King also sent to visit him the next day; not by one of the first Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, but by the Marquis *de Fourilles*, Great Harbinger; he was neither lodg'd nor defray'd. The Embassadors, whom all the *Cantons* send into *France* on the occasion of renewing their Alliance, are receiv'd at their entrance into the Kingdom; Honours and Civilities are done them in all the Towns through which they pass, and at their arrival in *Paris*, they receive more than are shewn to the Embassadors of crown'd Heads. But when any of the particular *Cantons* send thither, no more Honour is done them, than what is done to the Ministers of the *Second Order*. No Reception at all is made them, and they are accompany'd to their Audience only by the Introductor and *M. de Villeguiers*. In the Month of *March* 1634, *Reding* and *Zurloben*, Embassadors from the *Catholick Swiss Cantons*, arriv'd in *France*; but no other Honours were done them, except that of sending the King's Coaches for them, to conduct them to their Audience. In the Month of *December* of the same Year, the Embassadors of the three *Protestant Cantons*, *Zurich*, *Bern* and *Schafhouse*, were treated after the same manner. I take notice elsewhere, that in those Times the same Honours were done to Envoys.

Notwithstanding the Honours that are done to the Embassadors of the *Cantons*, yet there is a Distinction made between them, and those of crown'd Heads, and other Sovereigns. They are receiv'd neither by an Introductor, nor by a Prince, nor a Mareschal of *France*. The Mareschal *d'Aumont* goes to meet them, not as an Officer of the Crown, but as Governor of the City of *Paris:* and the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs receive them at fifty Paces from the Gate; to give them to understand that it is the Town, and not the King, that does them this Civility. *Henry* III, who took great delight in Ceremonies, was the first, who on the 28th of *November* 1582, sent the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs to meet the Deputies of the *Cantons*, and who caus'd them to be conducted directly to the Town-House; where they receiv'd every Day Presents of Pyes, Hipocras and of Torches. In those Days they had no other Quality given them than that of Deputies: and to speak the truth, they are treated at this time as such. To make this out, I shall here give an Extract of what pass'd in the Embassy they sent into *France* in the Year 1663. On the 2d and 3d of *November* they arriv'd at *Charenton*, where Lodgings were prepar'd for them. On the 4th the Mareschal *d'Aumont* and *Berlise*, Introductor of the Embassadors, visited them from the King. On the 5th the Chancellor sent to Complement them, and the Judge of the Houshold went and settled the Rates of Provisions, because the Inhabitants over-sold them. The 7th the Embassadors signify'd, that they expected to cover themselves before the King; to be treated with the Title of Excellency, and that the Place of Honour should be yielded to them in the Visits they should make to the Princes and Ministers; but nothing of all this was granted them. On the 9th the King gave them a Dinner at *Vincennes*, where *la Barde*, who had made the Treaty, and *Servien*, Counsellor of State, kept them Company; mounted their Horses with them after Dinner, and conducted them as far as the Entrance into the Suburbs of St. *Anthony*, where they met the Mareschal *d'Aumont*, an *M. Voisin* the Lord Mayor; who took the first Embassador between them; as *M. d'Humieres* and the first Sheriff took the Second, and so on; a Nobleman and an Officer of the Town-House took the others. They were conducted in this manner to St. *Martin's-Street*, where Lodgings were provided for them. On the 10th the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs sent to Complement them, and made them the Present of Wine, Hipocras, Pyes and Hams. On the same Day the Chancellor sent to invite them to Dinner for the next Day: and notwithstanding the Embassadors had not as yet seen the King, that did not hinder them from sending four Deputies of their Body, to Complement the Chancellor; but as he happen'd to be ill of an *Erysipelas* in his Leg, they did not see him. On the 11th the Chancellor sent *Givault*, with thirty Coaches, to bring them to his House, where *Mrs. de Coaslin* and *de Rochefort* receiv'd them at the top of the Steps, within the House; shook them all by the Hand, and took them into a Room till Dinner was serv'd up. At the upper End of the Table was an arm'd Chair for the Chancellor. The first Embassador plac'd himself on the Right-hand, and the others in their Ranks below him; the Chancellor's Covert was taken away, and the Marquisses *de Coaslin* and *de Rochefort* took his Place. Those of the Embassador's Retinue were dispos'd of in two other large Rooms, at two Tables with fifty Coverts each, which were serv'd at the same time. Each Embassador had behind him a Servant of the Town-House to attend him. The Marquis *de Coaslin* began all the Healths, *viz. the King's, the Queen Mother's, the Queen's, the Dauphin's*, Monsieur's, *that of* M. le Prince, *and* M. le Duke, *the*

Prince

Prince of Conty's, *the* Cantons, *the Chancellor's, the Embaſſadors, Madam* de Longueville's, *and the Count* de Soiſſon's. All theſe Healths were drank ſtanding and bare Headed, the Trumpets ſounding, and the Kettledrums and Drums beating. Dinner being over, the Embaſſadors were led again into the Room where they had reſted themſelves at their Arrival; here it was that the Count *de Harcourt* came to them, and conducted them to the King's Audience. He ſaluted them all after the manner of their Countrey, but in going out, he took the Hand of them. The Embaſſadors were all uncover'd while they ſpoke to the King, who himſelf was cover'd. They were afterwards conducted to the *two Queens*, and to *Monſieur*, who was likewiſe cover'd, tho' the Embaſſadors remain'd bare headed. *M. le Prince*, and the Duke of *Enguien* were uncover'd, and conducted them to their Chamber door, both taking the Hand of them. On the 12th, the Count *de Soiſſons* ſent five and twenty Coaches to them, and gave them a Dinner, as being Colonel General of the *Swiſſe*, taking the Hand of them, as did alſo *M. de Thurenne*, who likewiſe gave them a Dinner on the 13th. The 14th they came about nine of the clock in the Morning, in hir'd Coaches, to the Chancellor's Houſe, to enter into Conference with the King's Commiſſioners. In the Gallery there was a large Table, at the upper end whereof, was a Chair for the King; on the right hand were Chairs for the Commiſſioners, and on the left were nine and thirty for the Embaſſadors. About half an hour after nine, *Mr. de Villeroy* having taken the firſt Place in the Chancellor's abſence, *Mrs. de Brienne, le Tellier, Lionne, Colbert*, and *la Barde* ſeated themſelves after him. They got up, and uncover'd themſelves, without ſtirring out of their places, when they ſaw the Embaſſadors enter, who plac'd themſelves on the other ſide of the Table. But becauſe they that were at the lower end, could not well hear what was ſaid in the Conference, they remov'd their Chairs within a narrower Circle; ſo that that of the laſt Embaſſador touch'd almoſt that of *M. de la Barde*. This Conference, which was not long, being ended, the Embaſſadors withdrew in the ſame manner as they had enter'd, the Commiſſioners ſtanding up as before, and uncover'd. That day the Mareſchal *de Grammont* gave them a Dinner, and the day following they had another Conference at the Chancellor's. The 17th they held the laſt, where every thing was regulated and ſign'd. On the 18th the Treaty was ſworn to, the 19th the King ſent a Chain, and a Gold Medal to each Embaſſador, and twelve hundred Livres to defray their Journey. The ſame day the Lord Mayor gave them a Dinner in the Town Houſe, and on the 20th they Din'd once more at the King's expence at *Vincennes*. The following Days they were entertain'd again. On the 24th they made a Viſit to the Chancellor, who receiv'd them in his Chamber; they ſpoke to him uncover'd, he being ſo likewiſe. At their going away, he accompany'd them no farther than to the inſide of the door of his Anti-chamber, always taking the Hand of them. They employ'd ſome few days more in viſiting the King's Commiſſioners, who all took the place of Honour in their own Houſes of the Embaſſadors; after which, they ſet out one after the other. They were not viſited by any one of the Miniſters.

It is much after the manner I have above related, that theſe Civilities have been regulated in *France*, where formerly they were as exceſſive as any where elſe. Hiſtory obſerves, that in the Year 1457, *Ladiſlas* King of *Poland, Hungary* and *Bohemia*, ſent into *France* a ſolemn Embaſſy, compos'd of ſeveral Noblemen of his three Kingdoms, to deſire *Magdalen* the Daughter of *Charles* VII. in Marriage: The Court being then at *Tours*, the King ſent to meet the Embaſſadors at a Leagues diſtance from the Town, by the Duke of *Orleans, Meſſieurs d'Engouleſme, du Maine, de Foix, de Vendoſme, de la March, the Chancellor of* France, *and ſeveral other Noblemen*. The Marriage came to nothing, becauſe on the ſame day that the Contract was to be ſign'd, news was brought of the Death of *Ladiſlas*. This oblig'd the Embaſſadors to depart from Court, and take the Road to *Germany*; yet nevertheleſs Entries were made them in all the Towns they paſs'd through, and particularly at *Paris*. *They were receiv'd without the Town by the Count* d'Eu, *Prince of the Blood*; *by the Arch-Biſhop of* Narbonne; *by the Biſhops of* Langres, Paris, Noyon, Rhodes, Meaux, Beſier, *and of St.* Brieu; *by the Count* d'Armagnac, *the Lord Mayor of* Paris; *the firſt Preſident of the Parliament, attended by ſeveral Counſellors and other Officers*; *by the Chamber of Accounts, by the Superviſors of the Monnoye*; *by the Eleus or Aſſeſſors, and by the Sheriffs of the City. The Rector and the whole Univerſity in a Body went to meet them as far as the Convent of the Dominicans, near St.* James's *Gate*.

Theſe troubleſome Entries are no longer in uſe; and if in that which was made for the Embaſſadors of *Poland*, in the Year 1645, there was any thing extraordinary, it was more owing to the Honour they did themſelves, than to the Court; which did them no other, beſides that of ſending the Duke *d'Elbeuf*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain* to receive them. I am ſo much indebted to the memory of the late Queen of *Poland*, *Mary Louiſa de Gonzague*, and the particularities of this Entry are ſo fine, and ſo odd, that it is abſolutely neceſſary to ſay a word or two of the Honour this Princeſs receiv'd on this occaſion.

Sunday 29th of *October* being fix'd for this Ceremony, *Berliſe*, one of the Introductors, went by eleven of the Clock in the Morning with the King's and Queen's Coaches to the *Hôtel d'Elbeuf*, becauſe that Duke, and the Prince of *Harcourt* his Son, had Orders to go and receive the *Poliſh* Embaſſadors who had din'd at *Rully*, a Houſe belonging to the *Sieur de Rambouillet*, about Cannon ſhot from St. *Anthony*'s Gate. There aroſe ſome diſpute between the Duke *d'Elbeuf* and the Embaſſadors, becauſe the Duke pretended to meet them on the Road, whereas the Embaſſadors would not ſet out, nor get on Horſeback, till the Duke had ſaluted them at *Rully*. The Duke's pretenſion was altogether new, but it was neceſſary to regulate it; and before that could be done, the Day was almoſt ſpent, ſo that it began to be duskiſh when the Embaſſadors en-

ter'd the Town at St. *Anthony*'s Gate. *Girault*, Aſſiſtant to the Introductors, having drawn up the whole Troop that was on Horſeback, put himſelf at the head thereof, and made them march in this Order. The Captain of the *Heydukes*, or Guards of the *Palatin* of *Poſnania*, one of the Embaſſadors, preſented himſelf firſt. He was on Horſeback, dreſs'd in a *Doloman* or cloſe body'd Coat of yellow Satin, and over that he had a long Cloak lin'd with Sables, a Cap upon his Head of Cloth of Gold, with a Silver Ground, furr'd after the ſame manner, and adorn'd with white Crane Feathers, which were faſten'd to the Cap with a Buckle ſet with precious Stones, holding in his Hand a *Buſdigan*, or *Poſican*, which is a Mace or Club made of *Indian* Wood, the end whereof had ſix Angles, and was garniſh'd with Silver gilt; he had by his Side a Scimitar, the Scabbard whereof was of Silver, ſet off with Turkiſh Stones; his Saddle and Houſing was finely embroider'd with Gold and Silver Flowers; the Stirrops were of Siver, and very large, after the Poliſh manner; the Bridle, Poitral and Crupper were made of Silver Links, very curiouſly wrought, and at the Horſes Saddle, hung a long Sword in a Silver Scabbard, cover'd with Turkiſh Stones. His Company, which conſiſted of thirty Men, were on foot: They were dreſs'd in Caſſocks of red Cloth, with ſlaſh'd Sleeves, and over that, they had Cloaks of the ſame Colour; and the ſame Cloth tuck'd up over the ſhoulder, and faſten'd with eight Silver Buckles on each ſide; their Caps were of the ſame Cloth, furr'd, adorn'd with a Silver Plate inſtead of Feathers; they carry'd a Carbine on their right Shoulders, and Battle-Axes on their left; their Heads were ſhav'd all over, with the reſerve of a little Tuft on the top, and two large Whiskers; before them march'd four Men cloath'd in the ſame Livery, carrying each a Colours, half red and half yellow; and they were follow'd by ſix Fifers in the ſame Livery. Afterwards march'd the Captain of the *Heydukes* of the Biſhop of *Warmia*, the other Embaſſador, dreſs'd in a Caſſock of Crimſon Sattin, and a Velvet Cloak of the ſame Colour, lin'd with Sables. His Cap, his Horſe, and the reſt of his Equipage was like that of the other Captain. The *Heydukes* of his Company were cloath'd and arm'd as the others, with this exception, that their Cloaths were green, and inſtead of eight Silver Buckles, they had ſixteen on each ſide. They were in all but five and twenty, and they had only five Fifers in the ſame Livery. *Del Campo* follow'd him with the Gentlemen of his Band, and after them the Gentlemen of the Horſe, and Captain of the *Palatin* Embaſſadors Carbineers in a Veſt of Carnation Sattin, and a Cloak of green Velvet; his Cap was of the ſame, garniſh'd with white Heron tops, and interſpers'd with precious Stones. He was mounted on a Horſe, whoſe furniture was very magnificent, and had a rich Scimitar by his Side, and another hanging at his Saddle. His Troop conſiſted of ſix and twenty Men, cloath'd in Red, their Saddles and Houſings were of Red Cloth, having with their Carbines both a Sword and a Scimitar. Then follow'd *de Vaux* Gentleman of the Horſe, with the Gentlemen of his Band, whoſe Horſes were finely ſet off with Knots of Ribbon. *Trezsky*, firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the ſaid Embaſſador, follow'd him, having a Veſt of Violet colour'd Sattin, and over that a Cloak without a Cape, of Tabby of the ſame colour, lin'd with Sables. He held in his Hand a Steel Hammer, the handle whereof was Silver guilt; his Sword and Scimitar were bedeck'd with Turkiſh Stones; the Saddle and Houſing were embroider'd with Silver, and the Bridle, Poitral and Crupper were compos'd of Silver Chains. He was follow'd by four and twenty Gentlemen of the Embaſſador's Bed-chamber, who had all of them a *Doloman* of yellow Sattin, and a Cloak of red Velvet lin'd with a yellow Sattin trimm'd with Buttons of Gold Wire; they were all very well mounted, and arm'd, and their Horſes Furniture was very rich: They had each of them a long Bow, and a Quiver finely adorn'd, and full of Arrows. *Arnolfini* and his Band who follow'd them, preceded the firſt Gentleman of the Biſhop of *Warmia*'s Chamber, cloath'd in a Veſt of white Sattin, and a Cloak of red Velvet, lin'd with Cloth of Silver, holding in his hand a Gold Mace; he was perfectly well mounted. He was follow'd by ſixteen Gentlemen cloath'd with Veſts of a greyiſh Sattin, and Cloaks and Caps of green Velvet, with white Crane Feathers; their Arms, deeking, and mounture were like the others. After theſe came *Memon* with his Band, and after them ſix Trumpeters, three of the *Palatin's* having Veſts of a yellow Sattin, and Cloaks and Caps of red Cloth, and the other three had Veſts of white Sattin, and Cloaks and Caps of a green Cloth; the Banners of the Trumpets were charg'd with the Arms of their Maſters, in Gold and Silver embroidery. *Bilinsky* the *Palatin*'s Gentleman of the Horſe, had a white Turkiſh Horſe led before him; he was cloath'd with a Veſt of crimſon Sattin, and a Cloak of an iron grey Velvet, lin'd with Sables; he was mounted and equip'd like the others: The Saddle of the Turkiſh Horſe was cover'd all over with Plates of Gold, thick ſet with Rubies, Turkiſh Stones, and Diamonds; his Houſing was embroider'd with Gold, his Bridle, Poitral and Crupper were made of Gold Chains cover'd with Plates of the ſame Metal, ſo curiouſly wrought, that they were as pliable and flexible as if they had been made of Leather: His Shoes were of Silver, and on his Head he had a great Tuft of Heron Feathers, and on the Forehead a Star of Rubies and other precious Stones; and from his Saddle there hung a Sword, whoſe Scabbard was of Silver gilt, ſo thick ſet with Turkiſh Stones and Rubies, that the vacant part did not equal that which was fill'd up, as was alſo the guard. After this came three Muſicians on Horſeback, cloath'd in Sattin, who were follow'd by ſeveral *Poliſh* Gentlemen, that were at *Paris* as Travellers, and were dreſs'd after the *French* Mode. The Count *de Noailles*, whom the Princeſs *Louiſa Mary* had ſent to meet the Embaſſadors, march'd at the Head of half *M. de Poix*'s Academy, which was led by the Baron *de Biron*, in the abſence of the Gentleman of the Horſe; and the other half by the Count *de Barrault*, who was there likewiſe on the

the part of the ſaid Princeſs. Then came *Szodrouſky*, a *Poliſh* Colonel, and Captain of the *Palatin*'s Gentlemen of Honour, mounted on a white Turk, painted after the Turkiſh manner; his Saddle and Houſing being of Gold and Silver Embroidery, cover'd with ſmall Creſcents of Silver gilt. He was cloath'd with Cloth of Silver, and had upon his back a white Wing, ſo large, that it reach'd above his head, on which he wore a Cap of cloth of Silver, lin'd with Sable, adorn'd with a very fine plume of Crane Feathers, ſet off with ſeveral precious Stones; he had on each ſide of him a Foot-man cloath'd after the Turkiſh manner, with Gold Caſſocks, and carrying long Axes in their hands. Next appear'd ſome Noblemen, whom the King, the Queen, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Enguien* had ſent to meet the Embaſſadors; the reſt placing themſelves near the moſt remarkable among the Embaſſador's Retinue; *viz.* the Count *Opalinſky*, the *Palatin*'s Kinſman; *Alexander Sielsky*, the Biſhop's Steward, and *Staniſlas Koſtka*, Count of *Steinberg*, dres'd in cloſe body'd Coats, and Veſts of Gold Brocade flower'd, with Buttons enrich'd with precious Stones; their Caps were adorn'd with Feathers; they were mounted on Turkiſh Horſes, whoſe furniture was ſet off with plates of Gold bedeck'd with Diamonds, having about their necks three rounds of Gold Chain: *Adrian Slupeki*, the Biſhop's Nephew; *Eſtarift Belzeki*, *Francis Ciſchwike*; *Staniſlas Watta*, Chamberlain to the *Palatin* of *Poſnania*, and Mareſchal of the Embaſſy, mounted and cloath'd as thoſe laſt mention'd: *John Tragnicky* habited in a Veſt of of Gold Brocade lin'd with Sable, the Cap of the ſame, with a great Tuft of Heron Feathers, and a Sword hanging (like the reſt) at the ſide of the Saddle, adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones. This Horſe did not cauſe ſo much admiration by his rich furniture, as by his docility; he that was upon him, making him fall down upon his knees, and bend his head to the very ground, as he paſs'd by the Royal Palace, where the King and Queen were to ſee the Cavalcade. Afterwards follow'd ſeveral other great Noblemen, amongſt whom *Tzemberg*, the Count *de Morſtein*, *Orzechucky*, the Biſhop's Nephew, made as good an appearance as the others, having their Caſſocks of Sattin, Velvet, and Brocade, and their Veſts of the ſame, lin'd with Sables, Lynxes and other precious Furrs. The Secretary of the Embaſſy very richly clad, and finely mounted, follow'd *Roncalgy*, Reſident of *Poland*; his Horſe's furniture was of black Velvet, and he was conducted by the Marquiſs *de Moſſens* Lieutenant of the King's *Gens d'Arms*; then came *Cicklinsky*, Senator of *Poland*, clad in Cloth of Gold, lin'd with Lynxes Furrs, his Cap of the ſame, mounted on a Turkiſh Horſe magnificently equipp'd: After him follow'd two *Poliſh* Princes, *Radzivil*, and *Zamosky*; the laſt of whom, was Son to the deceas'd great Chancellor of *Poland*, very richly clad, after the *French* manner. It was after theſe that the two Embaſſadors appear'd, having before them the *Sieur de Berliſe*, and on their ſides the Duke *d'Elbeuf*, and the Prince *de Harcourt*. The Biſhop, who had the Hand of his Collegue, was dreſs'd in a violet Tabby, with a Hat, the band whereof was of Gold Wire, beſet with Diamonds. The *Palatin* had a cloſe body'd Coat, and a Caſſock of Gold Brocade, ſet off with a great many precious Stones, as well as his Scimitar; his Sword was cover'd all over with Turkiſh Stones, as were likewiſe his Stirrops; his Saddle and Houſing were of Cloth of Gold, and his Horſes ſhoes were of Gold; the one whereof was contriv'd to come off in the Street. They had moreover ſeveral Coaches, two of which were very fine: They were all fill'd with Perſons belonging to the Embaſſador's Retinue; *viz.* their Confeſſors, their Phyſicians, ſome Jeſuites and other Eccleſiaſticks, as well *Germans* as *Poles*. Amongſt the Horſes there were forty Turks, three and twenty whereof were ſhod with Silver, beſides that of the Embaſſador. It was after this manner that they paſs'd through the greateſt part of *Paris*, from *St. Anthony*'s Gate, to the new Street of *St. Honnoré*, where they were Lodg'd at *Vendoſme* Houſe. As ſoon as they came thither, the King ſent to complement 'em, by *Liancourt*, firſt Gentleman of his Bed-chamber; and the Queen, by the Count *d'Orval*, her firſt Gentleman of the Horſe. Two days after they had their firſt Audience; of which I ſhall perhaps have occaſion to ſpeak in the following Chapter. I ſhall only add here, that a great deal more Honour was done in *France* to the Embaſſadors whom the Republick of *Poland* ſent thither in the Year 1573, after the Election of *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*. The Prince *Dauſin*, Prince of the Blood, the Dukes of *Guiſe*, *Mayenne*, *d'Aumale*, with the Marquiſs *d'Elbeuf*, all Princes of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, receiv'd them without *St. Martin*'s Gate, where *Paul de Foix* complemented them in theſe Princes Names. The Embaſſy that *Sigiſmund* Father of *Uladiſlas* ſent in the Year 1605, to the Emperor *Rodolfus* II. and to *Charles* Arch-Duke of *Gratz*, for his ſecond Marriage, had ſomething in it that was more magnificent than this.

The greateſt Embaſſy, and for which *England* made the greateſt Ceremonies, is that which *Henry* III. King of *France* ſent thither in the Year 1581. It had for Head the Prince *Dauſin*, Son to the Duke *de Montpenſier* Prince of the Blood; and was compos'd of the Duke *de Boviſſon*, of *Mareſchal de Coſſé*; of *Mrs. de Lanſac*, *de Carouges*, *de la Motte-fenelon*, and of *Pinart*, Secretary of State. The Lord *Cobham* receiv'd them on the Queen's part, at their landing at *Dover*, having waited for them there eight days; with ſeveral Gentlemen appointed to ſerve them, and to defray them. At their arrival at *Graveſend*, they found the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, and of *Arundel*, who conducted them in the Queen's Barges to *London*. When they drew near the Town, they were ſaluted by a hundred pieces of Cannon, which did not ceaſe firing till they had paſs'd the Bridge. They landed at *Somerſet-Houſe*, all the Bells of the Town ringing for Joy; where Bonfires were made by the Queen's expreſs Orders, who was willing to pay theſe outward Civilities to ſo many Perſons of Quality, in an Affair wherein ſhe was not very much diſpos'd to give them any great ſatisfaction. The Houſe was very richly

richly furnish'd; she sent to them all the Lords that were then at *London*, and they were magnificently treated at Supper by the Queen's Officers, assisted by the Yeomen of the Guards in their usual Liveries; while the Musick diverted them, and the Artillery continu'd roaring from the *Tower*, and several other Places of the Town. The Queen having caus'd them to be treated three Days after this splendid manner, she notify'd to the Embassadors that she would give them Audience after she had din'd. They were conducted to it by the same Lords, who had receiv'd them at *Gravesend*. The Queen expected them in a large Timber-Hall which she had built on purpose for this Ceremony, and was hung with very rich Tapestries embroider'd with Gold and Silk, and rais'd with Brocade of Gold and Silver. The Roof of this Building was supported with several Pillars, painted and embellish'd with so many Devices and Emblems, that nothing could be prettier or more sublime. The Queen herself was magnificently dress'd, and gloriously set out with Jewels and precious Stones, amongst which there was in her Coiffure a Ruby, and an Emerald as large as the Palm of one's Hand. At the other end of the Hall, opposite to the Door, there was a kind of Theatre where the Queen was seated under a Canopy embroider'd with large Pearls. The Prince being come within ten or twelve Paces of her Majesty, she got up, and advancing as far as the first Step of the Theatre, she caus'd him to salute her; the other Noblemen kiss'd her Hand. After which, the first Complements were soon converted into Conversation, which ended with the Day-light. The same Lords who had conducted them to Audience reconducted them to their Lodgings. The next Day the Queen gave a Dinner to the Embassadors in the same Hall, and would have oblig'd the Prince *Dauſin* to sit under the Canopy with her, but he excus'd himself, and sat at some Distance from her, having near him the Mareschal *de Cossé* and *M. de Lansac*; the Duke of *Bovillon*, *la Motte-fenelon*, and *Pinart* were on the other side; and *Caronges* with *Mauvissiere*, Embassador in Ordinary from *France*, were at the end of the Table. There were besides, other Tables for the Lords and the Ladies of both Nations. Dinner being over there was a Ball, wherein the Queen danc'd with the Prince. After this Diversion, which lasted about two Hours, the Queen had the Embassadors into her Chamber, and from thence into a Gallery, where she had caus'd to be display'd whatever she had that was rich, exquisite and precious; and near these Rarities there was a large Table serv'd with a very sumptuous Collation. At Night they were again treated in their own Lodgings at the Queen's Expences. The Day following she invited them to take the Air upon the River, where she took the Prince with *Mrs. de Bovillon* and *Marchimont* into her own Barge. The next Day the Earl of *Leicester* treated the Embassadors after the *English* manner, that is to say, very splendidly; there being so great a Profusion of all sorts of Viands and Sweetmeats, that all the *French* Noblemen were amaz'd thereat, and confess'd they had never seen so much at any one single Entertainment.

It is the Lord High Chamberlain that gives in *England* the necessary Orders for Entries, and for the Audiences of Embassadors; nominating to the Master of the Ceremonies (who in that Kingdom discharges the Function of Introductor of the Embassadors) the Lords who are to accompany them, either at the one or the other; and regulating the Number of Barges design'd to transport them from *Gravesend* or *Greenwich*, and that of the Coaches that are to bring them from the *Tower* to their Lodgings. This Office is generally perform'd by Earls, in reference to the Embassadors of crown'd Heads and Republicks, and by Barons in reference to those of other Princes. It was therefore taken notice of as a Fault committed by the great Chamberlain, when he caus'd the Abbot *Della Scaglia* (who was Embassador from *Savoy*) to be accompany'd by the Earl of *Carliſle*; as some time before he had caus'd the Marquis *Pompeo Strozzi*, Embassador from the Duke of *Mantua*, to be conducted to Audience by the Earl of *Cleveland*. The Duke of *Savoy* being Brother-in-law to the King of *England*, there was room to do something more than ordinary for his Embassador; but there was nothing could oblige the great Chamberlain to do any thing extaordinary to the Embassador of *Mantua*; notwithstanding that in *France* he is also receiv'd by an Officer of the Crown.

In the Year 1660, the Estates of the United Provinces sent into *England Lewis* of *Nassaw* Lord of *Beverweert*, *Simon Van Hoorn*, *Michael Van Gogh*, and *M. de Ripperda de Farmsum*, to complement the King upon his Restoration; as also to conclude a stricter Union between this Crown and the Republick, according to the Hopes the King had giv'n the Estates before his Imbarkation in *Holland*. They arriv'd in *England* in the beginning of *November*; and after they had been some Days at *London incognito* they went to *Greenwich*, where the Lord *Richard* (whose eldest Brother was Son-in-law to the Sr. *de Beverweert*) accompany'd by five or six Gentlemen of the King's Bed-Chamber, came on the part of his Majesty to do them Civilities, and brought Barges along with them to conduct them to *London*. They found at the *Tower* the Lord *Craven*, having with him about twenty Coaches with six Horses to each, who conducted them to the Sieur *Abraham Williams*, Master of the Ceremonies; where they were defrayed, and in all respects treated, as well at their Audience as on other Occasions, with the same Honours that are done to the Embassadors of crown'd Heads. The King had yet fresh in his Memory the Affection which had been shewn him in *Holland*, when he pass'd through it in order to his Imbarkation near the *Hague*, where the States of *Holland* had been at the Expence of two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns. The *Dutch* Author, who has written the History of his Time in a Jargon rather than in an intelligible Language, says, That this was the first time that the States Embassadors had been complemented by a Lord before their Arrival at *London*: So that it might be look'd upon to be from that time that they have been treated upon the level with those of crown'd Heads. However he ought to have remember'd what he had himself said, That in the Year 1644, *Boreel* and *Renswonde*, Embas-

sadors

ſadors from the ſaid Eſtates, were complemented at *Greenwich* by a Lord, and by two Deputies of the Lower Houſe. He ought then to have added, that That was the firſt time the Court did them this Honour, which indeed is true. Queen *Elizabeth* contented her ſelf with ſuccouring them powerfully; and King *James*, who did not love them, affronted their Miniſters on all Occaſions inſtead of doing them Honour.

In thoſe times the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads were receiv'd at their landing, were defray'd on their Journey, and ſupply'd with all neceſſary Carriages for themſelves, for their Retinue, and for their Baggage, till they came to *London*. The King ſometimes would make them eat at his own Table; and in Aſſemblies, and other Diverſions of the Court, he would have them under the ſame Canopy with himſelf. But King *Charles* I. finding his Embaſſadors did not receive the ſame Civilities in other Courts, and particularly that *France* was very reſerv'd therein, lopt off all theſe ſuperfluous Civilities, and made an Order, That for the future Embaſſadors ſhould be receiv'd only at *Graveſend*, and conducted from thence in the King's Barges to the *Tower*, where the Coaches belonging to the Court ſhould take them, to conduct them to their own Houſes, or to the Lodgings provided for Extraordinary Embaſſadors. This is now the Behaviour of almoſt all the other Courts; tho' ſometimes there, as well as in that of *London* it ſelf, theſe Regulations are diſpens'd with. When in the Year 1665. the Duke *de Vernüeil* and *M. Courtin* were ſent into *England*, there to labour in Conjunction with the Count *de Cowinges*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, for an Accommodation with the United Provinces, they were not received at *Graveſend* according to the Regulation; but *Cotterel*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, went and receiv'd them at *Dover*. It is very probable that the King had a mind to do Honour to the Duke, who was a legitimated natural Brother of the Queen of *England*; or elſe that he thought it proper to ſhew ſome particular Reſpect to *France*, whoſe Friendſhip was at that time neceſſary to him.

It was at leaſt as neceſſary to the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, at the beginning of the *Bohemian* War. The Conſtable *de Luines*, who at that time govern'd the King and Kingdom of *France*, and who did not truly know the real Intereſt thereof, caus'd the Duke *d'Engoulême*, the Count *de Bethune*, and *M. de Chaſteauneuf*, who was call'd the Abbot *de Preaux* to be ſent into *Germany*, to try if it were poſſible to diſpoſe them to a Peace. Theſe Gentlemen being arriv'd in *Auſtria*, at the Diſtance of a Day's Journey from *Vienna*, met the Captain of the Emperor's Guards accompany'd by one of the firſt Noblemen of the Countrey, and by a great Number of Officers, to make 'em the firſt Complements. At their getting out of the Barge, about half a League from the Town, they were receiv'd by the Marſhal of the Emperor's Court, attended by three hundred Gentlemen, and by above fourſcore Coaches with ſix Horſes, who conducted them to the Lodgings that had been fitted up for them. As ſoon as they alighted out of the Coach the Count *de Meggau*, great Chamberlain, came and paid them Civilities from his Imperial Majeſty. The Nuncio, and the Embaſſadors of *Spain* and *Venice*, complemented them without the Town; and thoſe of *Florence*, *Modena* and *Malta*, viſited them as ſoon as they came thither. It is the Great Chamberlain, to this Day, who gives Orders in that Court for the Reception of Embaſſadors.

The Court of *Rome* is not very prodigal of its Honours and Civilities, of which the Maſter of the Ceremonies keeps a very exact Regiſter. No Entry is made but to Embaſſadors of Obedience, for which Reaſon *M. de Foix* Archbiſhop of *Thoulouſe*, and Embaſſador from *France* to *Rome*, writing to the King his Maſter, takes notice that the Count *d'Olivares*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *Spain*, having made it his Requeſt to *Gregory* XIII, That the Vineyard of *Julius* III. might be fitted up, in order to his being lodg'd there, and receiv'd at his Publick Entry: The Pope ſignify'd to him, That he had nothing to do but to go directly to his Lodgings. Nevertheleſs, he caus'd ſome Civilities to be paid him, becauſe *Spain* made it ſelf to be very much conſider'd in thoſe Days. The Popes have always had a Conſideration for thoſe Potentates that know themſelves, and inſiſt upon having what is their due.

The Emperor *Maximilian* I, in theſe important Affairs, made uſe of the bold and undertaking Spirit of *Matthew Languen*; and particularly in thoſe of *Italy*, whither he ſent him in the Year 1511, in order to mediate ſome Accommodation between *Julius* II. and *Lewis* XII. King of *France*. The Miniſters of theſe Princes were to meet at *Mantua*; but *Julius*, inſtead of ſending thither any on his part, oblig'd *Matthew Languen*, who was Biſhop of *Gurc*, to come to *Rome* with *Don Pedro d'Urrea*, Embaſſador from *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and to leave at *Parma Stephen Poncher* Biſhop of *Paris*, who was there on the part of *Lewis*. The Pope, to gain the good Will of *Matthew*, who govern'd the Emperor his Maſter, reſolv'd to load him with Honours, by going himſelf to *Ravenna*, and from thence to *Bologna*, as being a proper Place to entertain him well. *Matthew* had with the Quality of Embaſſador that of Lieutenant General to the Emperor; and, as ſuch, he had an Equipage ſuitable to the Magnificence of the Entry the Pope made him. The whole Court went to meet him, and accompany'd him to the Conſiſtory, where the Pope, attended by all the Cardinals, waited for him; and it was not till after this Publick Audience that he ſaw the Pope in his Chamber. When the ſame Biſhop of *Gurc* went to *Rome*, in the Year 1512, the ſame Pope (whoſe inſufferable Pride gave ſo much Uneaſineſs to the King of *France*) making an Effort with his own natural Diſpoſition, caus'd an Entry to be made him through all the Eccleſiaſtical State, and that with ſuch unuſal Honours, as had never been done to the Emperors Miniſters ſince *Charlemagne* and *Otto the Great*. He ſent nine Prelates to meet him, with Orders to cauſe him to be ſupply'd with all things neceſſary. *Nay, he would have oblig'd all the Cardinals to go and meet him in a Body, as far as the Gate of the City*, but they refus'd to do it, as being a thing without Pre-

cedent, and that would injure their Dignity. The two Cardinals of *Ages* and of *Strigonium* were forc'd to go and receive him at half a League's Diſtance from the City; where placing him between them, as being Lieutenant General to the Emperor, they conducted him to the Church of St. *Mary del Populo*, that he might from thence repair with his Retinue to the Conſiſtory.

I ſpoke in the thirteenth Chapter of the Journey the Duke *de Nevers* took to *Rome*, before the Abſolution of *Henry* IV, and of the manner how he was receiv'd by Pope *Clement* VIII. In the Year 1608. the ſame King ſent him again to *Rome*, to yield Obedience to *Paul* V, *Clement*'s Succeſſor. *Leo* XI. having liv'd very few Days after his Exaltation. The Duke being arriv'd at *Civita Vecchia* was ſaluted *on board the Galley by two Prelates in the Pope's Name*. The next Day *M. de Breves*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, met him at *Bracciano*, with a ſplendid Company of the Nobility of both Nations. Six Miles from *Rome* he met the Dukes of *Sforza*, *Conti*, *Sto. Gemini*, the Prince *Ferretti*, and even the Lord *Victor* the Pope's Nephew, who had ſix Coaches with ſix Horſes each. The Cardinals *Gallo*, *Bevilacqua*, *Delfin* and *Serafin* went to meet him as far as *Pontemole*, and brought him along with them to *Rome*, where he arriv'd *incognito*. That Night he kiſs'd the Pope's Feet. The Day following he viſited the four Cardinals who had been to meet him, and employ'd the reſt of the Day *in receiving the Viſits of the other Cardinals, and even thoſe of the Pope's Brothers*. On the 25th of *March* he made his Publick Entry. *John Baptiſta Borgheſe*, the Pope's Brother, went and receiv'd him at the Vineyard of *Leo Sforza*; and in the Cavalcade *he march'd immediately before the Embaſſador*. The two Patriarchs of *Jeruſalem*, and of *Alexandria*, took him between them, and two Archbiſhops did the ſame Honour to the Embaſſador in Ordinary. His Retinue conſiſted of an hundred and twenty Gentlemen, beſides others, and was one of the moſt magnificent that had been ſeen at *Rome*. He was lodg'd at the *Hoſtel de Ruccelay*, where he gave a Supper to all the Noblemen who honour'd his Entry with their Preſence. On the 27th the Pope's Brother went and receiv'd him, in order to accompany him in the Cavalcade to his Audience; to which he went almoſt in the ſame Order that had been obſerv'd at his Entry; except that inſtead of Mules, and of the Family of the Cardinals, there were only Coaches. After he had reſted himſelf a little in a Chamber very richly furniſh'd, the two Patriarchs conducted him to the Royal Hall, where he found the Pope in the Conſiſtory. After the Embaſſador had kiſs'd his Feet, and that the Orator had made his Harangue, and had been anſwer'd, the Embaſſador kiſs'd the Pope's Feet again, who then retir'd into his Chamber; the Embaſſador following him, and carrying the Train of his Cope. The Duke and the Embaſſador in Ordinary din'd with the Pope, with whom they had a pretty long Converſation before he diſmiſs'd them.

After this Precedent, there is no Embaſſador of Obedience (if he be a Prince, and comes on the part of a crown'd Head) but may pretend to the ſame Honours, or to whom they can be refus'd. Two Prelates go on the part of the Pope, and ſalute the Embaſſador in his Galley: The Pope's Nephew goes and meets him at ſix Miles diſtance from the Town: The Cardinals and the Pope's Nephews make him the firſt Viſit: The Pope's Brother goes before him in his two Cavalcades; and it is likewiſe he that goes and receives him, to conduct him to his Audience. However, at this time, there is nothing like it practis'd. On the contrary, the Pope's Relations pretend, That the Embaſſador owes them the firſt Viſit, and thoſe that are Cardinals will really have it.

It will not be altogether from the purpoſe, if I here relate the Particulars of an Entry; which tho' it were not made to an Embaſſador, has nevertheleſs ſome Analogy with what I juſt now mention'd. In the Year 1598, the Arch-Ducheſs, who was betroth'd to the Prince of *Spain*, being arriv'd at *Ferrara*, whither the Pope was come to take poſſeſſion of that Duchy; all the Court, and even all the Cardinals in a Body, went to meet her, and accompany'd her to the great Church, and from thence to the Palace: where the Pope receiv'd her in full Conſiſtory, without ſtirring from his Seat, or ſaying one Word. After ſhe had kiſs'd his Feet and Hand, ſhe was plac'd on the Pope's left Hand within two Paces of him; after which the Arch-Ducheſs's Mother had the ſame Honour, and was plac'd near her Daughter, both of 'em ſtanding. This done, the Arch-Duke *Albert* was alſo admitted to the ſame Ceremony. The Pope embrac'd him, and ſaluted him on each Cheek, after which he was plac'd on the other ſide, oppoſite to the Arch-Ducheſs. Preſently after the Pope got up, gave them his Bleſſing, and retir'd: leaving the Arch-Duke and the Arch-Ducheſſes where they had been plac'd; and there they convers'd for ſome time with the Cardinals, till they were conducted to the Appartments which had been prepar'd for them. The next Day the two Arch-Ducheſſes and the Arch-Duke heard the Pope's Maſs, and din'd with him: after Dinner they receiv'd the Viſits of the Miniſters. This was on *Saturday* the 14th of *November*, and on *Sunday* the 15th, the Pope having celebrated Maſs in his *Pontificalibus*, bleſs'd the Marriage of the Arch-Ducheſs with the King of *Spain*, who had made the Arch-Duke his Proxy on that occaſion. This being done, the Pope marry'd the Arch-Duke with the Infanta, of whom the Duke *de Seſſe*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, had care. The Pope gave the Sacrament to all the four with his own Hands; and Maſs being over, he preſented the Queen with the Roſe, which the Popes, according to cuſtom, ſend to great Princeſſes when they marry. Not one of them was admitted into the Choir during the Maſs; but were plac'd at ſix or ſeaven Paces without the Choir, where two Pews or Tabernacles were prepar'd, one for the two Princeſſes, and the other for the Arch-Duke. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, nor the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, Governor of *Milan*, had no Rank aſſign'd them, but they ſtood by the Arch-Duke, as the Ladies did by the Princeſſes. The Embaſſadors of the Emperor and of *Venice*, were ſtanding next to the Pope's Chair. There was then no Embaſ-

ſador from *France*: for although *Doſſat* diſcharg'd the Functions thereof, yet he had not the Character; ſo that he was preſent at the Ceremony but only as an Aſſiſtant. Theſe Princes were well enough lik'd, becauſe they were contented with the Honours which were done them, and did not refuſe the Cardinals thoſe that were deſir'd of them. There was none but the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, who not being allow'd a Rank above the Cardinals at the Entry, left the Princes there, and did not accompany them.

Philip de Commines ſays, that it is in *Italy* and at *Venice* chiefly, that the greateſt Civilities are ſhewn to Embaſſadors. And indeed it is not to be wonder'd at; becauſe there are a great many Perſons in that Senate, who have ſeen in that Quality moſt of the Courts of *Europe*. When an Embaſſador from a crown'd Head is to be receiv'd, a *Knight of the Star* is nominated for that purpoſe; and moſt commonly, one that has been employ'd at that Court, which ſends the Embaſſador that is to be receiv'd. The Knight, accompany'd by threeſcore Senators in ſcarlet Robes, goes to the Embaſſador, who is at the Abby of the Holy Ghoſt, which is three Miles from the City, as I ſaid before, where having complemented him on the part of the Republick, he conducts him to his Palace, in a *Gondola* richly furniſh'd: the Senators, his Companions, mixing themſelves with thoſe of the Embaſſador's Retinue, and giving them the Place of Honour, even to the very Pages. The Knight Conductor, for there is no particular Officer for that at *Venice*, as he goes into the Embaſſador's Palace, gives him both the Hand and the Door; but at his coming away, he takes both the one and the other of him: And after his Example, all the other Senators take them alſo of thoſe of the Embaſſador's Retinue. Notwithſtanding which, the Lord *d'Argenſon* complains, that he was not ſo well receiv'd in his ſecond Embaſſy to *Venice*, as he had been in the firſt: and altho' he does not give particular Inſtances, yet it is no hard matter to judge, that ſomething was wanting at his Reception, the Circumſtances whereof this wiſe Politician was not willing to make publick, for fear of injuring his own Reputation, and the Dignity of the King his Maſter. The Senate is very exact in its Ceremonies; but for all that it ſometimes does not ſtrictly keep up to this Punctuality, but is more than ordinarily remiſs therein, according to the Quality of the Perſons that compoſe the Embaſſy.

In the Year 1643, Cardinal *Bichi*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France*, having notify'd at *Venice*, that he had Orders from the King to go thither, to endeavour to accommodate the Difference that the Republick had with Pope *Urban* VIII, on account of the Duke of *Parma*'s Intereſt; the Senate commanded the *Podeſta* of *Chiozza*, to go and meet him as far as the *Poliſelle*, and to cauſe him to be magnificently treated every where. He din'd at *Chiozza*, where he found ſeveral Boats laden with all ſorts of Refreſhments: and among the reſt a gilt Boat, that was to bring him to the Convent of the Holy Ghoſt. While he was there, the Chevalier *Landy*, accompany'd by *M. des Hameaux*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, by a great many other Senators, and by all the Domeſticks of Cardinal *Cornaro*; came and receiv'd him, and conducted him to that Cardinal's Palace, which had been prepar'd for him, and where the Senate had caus'd the Arms of *France* to be ſet over the Gate. The Day following the ſame Chevalier *Landy*, attended by fourſcore Senators, went and receiv'd him, in order to conduct him to Audience. The Cardinal, who was cloath'd in Purple, on account of the Mourning for the Death of King *Lewis* XIII, *waited for him in the middle of the Hall*, having on his *Rochet* and *Camail*: and after ſome Complements, they all deſcended, and went into the Boats the Senate had ſent him. There were three cover'd with Crimſon Damask, in which the Cardinal, the Embaſſador in Ordinary, the Chevalier *Landy*, and ſome of the chief Senators took their Places; while the others, and the reſt of his Retinue, got into the *Gondolas* which follow'd them. At their landing at St. *Mark*'s Place the Chevalier took the left Hand of the Cardinal; another Senator, that of the Embaſſador in Ordinary; and after their Example, the Senators of the Cortege did the ſame Honour to thoſe of the Retinue of the two Embaſſadors. *The Doge, accompany'd by all the Nobility, came and met him at the top of the Stair-caſe*: and having ſaluted him, *by putting off his Ducal Cap*, he plac'd himſelf on the Cardinal's left Hand; and thus they went together to the College Hall, both uncover'd. They aſcended both at the ſame time, yet ſo nevertheleſs, that the Cardinal was rather foremoſt: He alſo took the firſt Place in the Doge's Seat, which had been made wider on purpoſe, that there might be room for both the one and the other. After they were ſeated, the Cardinal preſented his *Credentials* to the Doge, who caus'd them to be read by a Secretary; and after that the Cardinal made his Complement, which was no ſooner ended than they got up, and *the Doge, attended as before, conducted him to the Stair-Caſe*, which is call'd the Gyant's Stair-Caſe: and the Chevalier *Landy* accompany'd him even to his Chamber in the Palace. Some Days after the *Doge and the Seigneurie return'd the Cardinal's Viſit*, who receiv'd them in the Porch; *gave the Place of Honour to the Doge*: and in re-conducting him, he accompany'd him to his Boat, refuſing to withdraw till he had ſeen him go off. This was an Exceſs of Civility, which did no prejudice however to the Dignity of the King of *France*; becauſe he did not receive this Viſit as Embaſſador, but as Cardinal: and even as Embaſſador he ow'd this Honour to the Doge, after that he had receiv'd. The Purple it ſelf could not excuſe him from it. In the other particular Audiences, he was conducted by a great Sage, and by a Sage of *Terra firma*; but the moſt of the Conferences were held at his own Palace.

The Senate had done as much to the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, when in the Year 1607 he came to *Venice*, on account of the Difference the Republick had with Pope *Paul* V. It was in the ſame Year, that *Charles Emmanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, procur'd himſelf to be nominated by the Emperor to the Embaſſy of *Venice*: of which I took notice in the firſt Chapter of this Book. As ſoon as the Senate had Advice of the Duke's Deſign, they fell into a Debate, after what man-

manner they ſhould receive that Prince, who is without doubt, the firſt of all *Italy*; and it was reſolv'd, that the Doge, accompany'd by threeſcore Senators, ſhould go and receive him with the *Bucentaure*, in St. *Clement*'s Iſland, and ſhould conduct him to his Palace: But that the *Doge* ſhould not go out of the *Bucentaure*, to ſhew thereby, that that Veſſel was rather on the Doge's account than the Dukes: That threeſcore Senators ſhould conduct him to Audience, but that the Doge ſhould place him on his left Hand, and ſhould only give him the *Title of Excellency*. This Embaſſy came to nothing: but had the Duke ſeriouſly deſign'd to have perform'd it, the Reſolution of the Senate, would have been ſufficient to have made him change his; becauſe the Senate had done as much for others, who in his Opinion were not ſo good as himſelf. In the Year 1515, *Meſſieurs de Vendôme* and *de Guiſe*, the Biſhop of *Lavaure*, and ſome other Lords of the firſt Rank in the Court of *France*, laying hold on the Opportunity of the Journey King *Francis* I, took at that time to *Bologna*, to confer with Pope *Leo* X, had the Curioſity to go and ſee Town of *Venice*. Upon Advice the Senate had thereof, *the Doge went in Perſon with the Bucentaure* to meet them, notwithſtanding that in thoſe Days this Veſſel could not be row'd with Oars, as it is at preſent, but they were forc'd to tow it. They were lodg'd in the fineſt Palaces of the Town: Continual Feaſts were made for them, and they receiv'd ſo much Honour and Civility otherwiſe, that they went away well ſatisfied. It is probable the Doge would not have gone in Perſon, had it not been for the Duke of *Vendoſme*, to whom he was willing to ſhew this Honour, as being a Prince of the Blood of *France:* which is a Quality ſo much reſpected at *Venice*, that they are treated upon the Level with Sovereign Princes, the Infants of *Spain*, and the Cardinals; to whom the Doge does the Honour to take off his *Ducal Cap*, when they have Audience either in the Senate, or in the College. I ſhall not here relate the Particulars of the Reception the Republick gave to King *Henry* III, when he paſs'd through *Venice* in his Return from *Poland*, in the Year 1574. I ſhall only ſay, that this Prince, who was extremely affected with all ſorts of Pleaſures, never mention'd the Stay he made there, without diſtinguiſhing it by the particular Denomination of a continual Enchantment. In the Year 1529, the Emperor *Charles* V, and King *Francis* I, intending to make it be believ'd, that they were going to have one common Intereſt, and joyn their Arms to make War againſt the *Turk*, ſent together to *Venice*; the one *Don Alphonſo d'Avalos*, Marquiſs *du Guaſt*, Governor of *Milan*; and the other Admiral *Annebault*, Governor of *Piedmont*, who both arriv'd there on the 10th of *December* of the ſame Year. The Senate ſent to meet them, *an extraordinary Number of Senators*, *the Bucentaure*, ſeven Gallies, and an infinite Number of *Gondolas*. They were lodg'd in a Palace ſplendidly furniſh'd, and defray'd at the Expence of the Republick. They had their firſt Audience in the Great Hall, in full Senate, where they made but one Complement. In the private Audience they had afterwards in the College, the two Embaſſadors ſpoke one after the other: but the Anſwer they receiv'd was ſo general, that theſe two Noblemen, finding they had to do with Perſons, who were not to be impos'd upon by outward Appearances, took their Leaves at the ſame Audience, and went away.

Count *de Vaudemont*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, having engag'd himſelf in the Service of the Republick, went to *Venice* in the Year 1603. He receiv'd great Civilſties in all the Towns throughout that State: But the *Podeſtras* took every where the Place of Honour of him; becauſe they have the Repreſenting Character. Forty Senators, cloath'd in their Scarlet Robes, went to receive him at the *Saſſouſines*. The ſame Number of Senators conducted him to his Audience, wherein the *Doge advanc'd five or ſix Paces to meet him, and took off his Ducal Cap* when he ſaluted him. He was no Sovereign Prince, nor even the eldeſt Son of a Sovereign, yet nevertheleſs the Doge did him an Honour, which he does not do to Embaſſadors, that are receiv'd and accompany'd to their Audience by threeſcore Senators.

The Republick had, in the aforeſaid Year 1603, made a very advantageous Treaty with the three *Grey Leagues*, who ſent ſeven Embaſſadors to *Venice*, to ſee the Obſervation thereof ſworn too. They had a Retinue of a hundred and fifty Perſons, and ſuch great Honours were done them, that excepting thoſe that were done to King *Henry* III, whom I lately mention'd, it may be ſaid, that never any Miniſters had been receiv'd with that Magnificence. All the Towns ſent out Horſe and Foot to meet them, and they were every where defray'd: even at *Venice*, where their Expences amounted to four hundred Crowns a Day. But notwithſtanding all this, they were receiv'd but by forty Gentlemen, whereas Embaſſadors are receiv'd by threeſcore: and theſe Gentlemen were not taken out of the *Pregadi*, (which is compos'd of thoſe Senators, who have gone through the principal Offices) according to the uſual Cuſtom; but out of the meaneſt Magiſtrates. At *Venice* they are very cautious of Innovations; however there happen every Day Occurrences, where it is impoſſible to keep within the Bounds of a general Regulation.

This Republick makes no Reception to Miniſters of the ſecond Order, and it is what is practic'd every where elſe; ſo that this Honour being due but only to the Character of an Embaſſador, it is impoſſible not to be ſurpris'd at that, which was done to Cardinal *Doſſat* in the Year 1598. He was then but Biſhop of *Bayeux*; and did the Buſineſs of *France* at *Rome*, without Quality, as I obſerv'd before in this very Chapter. King *Henry* IV, commanded him to go to *Venice*, and to acquaint the Senate with the Peace he had juſt concluded with the King of *Spain*, and with the Duke of *Savoy* at *Vervins*. He came to *Venice* as a Miniſter of the ſecond Order: But as ſoon as he had notify'd that he was come there by the King's Command, and that he had *Letters* for the Senate; two *Sages* were ſent to him, *the one of Terra Firma, and the other of the Orders*, who told him, the Senate was very ſorry, it was not advis'd of his coming, becauſe it had not been able to give the neceſſary Orders for his

Reception,

Reception, which, had they had notice in time, ſhould have been perform'd with the Honours that were due to the Miniſter of a King, for whom it had a very particular Veneration. They added, That the Senate had commanded them to conduct him to a Lodging that had been fitted up and prepar'd for him; and accordingly they conducted him thither, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition he made, and he was there treated at the Expence of the Republick.

Philip de Commines ſays, That the firſt time King *Charles* VIII. ſent him to *Venice* the Republick made him an Entry, and caus'd him to be defray'd in all the Towns belonging to that State. Five and twenty Gentlemen went to meet him as far as *Terra firma*, and conducted him to St. *Andrew*'s Church, where five and twenty other Gentlemen, or Senators, joyn'd the firſt; ſo that the whole Company conſiſted of fifty Gentlemen. They conducted him to St. *George*'s Convent, where he was lodg'd and defray'd; the Republick being at the Expence, not only during the eight Days that *Commines* ſtay'd at *Venice*, but alſo as long as he remain'd within their State, and till he arriv'd at *Ferrara*.

On the 7th of *July* 1670, the Lord *Falconbridge*, whom the King of *Great Britain* ſent to ſome Princes and Potentates of *Italy*, made his Entry into *Venice*. Sixty Senators cloath'd in their Scarlet Robes, with as many *Gondolas*, follow'd by above five hundred others, went and receiv'd him at the Convent of the Holy Ghoſt, and conducted him in *Moroſini*'s *Gondola*, which was at the Head of the whole Parade, to the Lodgings he had hir'd and furniſh'd. *Moroſini* having complemented him in the Name of the Senate, he and the Senators that accompany'd him took the Hand of the Embaſſador, who being at home was oblig'd to do them the Honours of his Houſe. The Embaſſador reconducted them to their *Gondola*'s, where he ſaw them all ſeated before he retir'd. In the Evening the Senate ſent him all ſorts of Refreſhments.

Commines, to prove what he had ſaid, that the Princes of *Italy* are honourable, and that they make Profeſſion to know very well what Honours ought to be paid to Embaſſadors, takes notice, That he went in the Year 1495. to *Vigevano*, to *Lewis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, by the King his Maſter's Order; and that this Prince went out of Town under the Pretext of going a hunting, but in reality to go and meet the King of *France*'s Miniſter.

The Great Duke of *Tuſcany* has in that, as well as in many other things, a great advantage over moſt of the other Princes of *Italy*; and does honour to the Nation, by ſhewing exceſſive Civilities to the Miniſters of foreign Princes. *Paul de Foix* (who is often mention'd, and who cannot be too often ſpoke of in this Treatiſe,) being ſent by King *Charles* IX. to the Princes of *Italy*, who had complemented him on the Election of his Brother to the Crown of *Poland*; and among the reſt, to *Francis* Duke of *Florence*: This laſt went in Perſon to meet him with ſeveral Coaches. It is true, that *Coſmus*, Father to *Francis*, was ſtill living, but his Infirmities and Diſtempers having render'd him incapable of governing his Eſtates, he had reſign'd them to his Son, and had only reſerv'd to himſelf the Title thereof. The ſame *M. de Foix* was, in the Year 1547, ſent again to *Florence* by King *Henry* III; and then the ſame Duke *Francis*, whoſe Father had been dead ſome Months, made him *the ſame Reception*.

M. Doſſat, at his leaving *Venice*, had Orders to go to *Florence*, for the Negotiation of an Affair, of which mention is made elſewhere; being arriv'd at *Fiorenzole*, which is the firſt Town in *Toſcany* on that ſide, he found there Count *Albert Caſtello*, whom the great Duke had ſent thither to receive him. The Count conducted him to the *Podeſta*, where the great Mareſchal of the Great Duke's Houſhold waited for him, with a Great many of his Highneſs's Officers and Pages, in Order to treat him at Dinner; from thence he was conducted to the Palace the Great Duke has at the *Eſcarperie*, where he lay, and the next Day he went and din'd at the *Pratolin*, where *he was receiv'd by the Prince of* Toſcany, *the Great Duke's eldeſt Son*. As he drew near *Florence* in the Evening, he found, *at a good Diſtance from the Gate*, *the Lord* John de Medicis, with two Coaches, and a great many Gentlemen on Horſeback, who conducted him into one of the fineſt Apartments of the Palace of *Piti*, where the Great Duke himſelf paid him a Viſit immediately on his Arrival.

My Lord *Falconbridge* did not receive greater, when he came to *Florence* from the King of *England* in the Year 1670. At his Arrival at *Leghorn* he found there two Coaches, and ſome of the Great Duke's Officers, who there waited for his Coming, and who every Day caus'd new Refreſhments to be brought from Court: Four Miles off of *Florence* the Marquiſs *Salviati* (who had been Embaſſador in *England*) waited for him with the Great Duke's Coaches: The Great Duke's Brother complemented him at the City-Gate; made him go firſt into the Coach, ſeated him on his right Hand, and conducted him to his Apartment in the Palace. Nothing more was done to *Falconbridge* than had been done to *Doſſat*, notwithſtanding this latter had not the Character the other had. In the Year 1643, *Bertucci Valieri*, Senator of *Venice*, was deputed by the Republick to the Army which the Confederates had rais'd for the Intereſt of the Duke of *Parma*. And forasmuch as he was thereby become a Repreſentant, as they ſay in *Italy*, the Great Duke did him the ſame Honours that would have been done to the Embaſſador of a crown'd Head. *Valieri* found the Marquiſs *de Joigny*, with the Officers of the Houſhold, at the Boundaries of the Countrey ready to treat him. Prince *Leopold de Medicis* went and receiv'd him without the Gate, and conducted him to his Apartment in the Palace. At his Departure from *Florence*, the ſame Officers accompany'd him, and treated him as far as *Cortona*, where the Great Duke then was. That Prince was then ſick, ſo that he receiv'd him in his Bed, having before ſent the Marquiſs *de Gonzague* to receive him without the Gates. When, in the Year 1581, the Count *d'Olivarès* went to *Rome* in the Quality of Embaſſador in Ordinary, the Great Duke went to meet him as far as *Leghorn*; but it is

very probable that the Great Duke did it becauſe he is a Vaſſal to the King of *Spain*, on the account of *Siena*.

The Reception the Duke of *Savoy* gave my Lord *Falconbridge* is odd enough. The Duke being inform'd that the Embaſſador drew near his State, ſent Count *Muratore*, Maſter of the Ceremonies, to meet him, who having put three thouſand Men under Arms, made him an Entry at *Veillane* by the Light of Torches. At the Diſtance of three or four Miles from *Turin* he was complemented by the Gentlemen of the foreign Miniſters, and of the Nobility of the Court, who ſent their Coaches to meet him. Some Paces without the Town the Marquiſs *de St. Germain*, Maſter of the Horſe to the Duke of *Savoy*, Governor of *Turin*, and Knight of the Order of the *Annonciade*, waited for him with his Highneſs's Coach, which my Lord got into, and proceeded towards the Town, attended by two hundred and fourſcore Guards on Horſeback. As ſoon as he alighted at the Palace which had been prepar'd for him, he was complemented from the Duke, and moſt of the Nobility viſited him. The next Day he receiv'd the Viſits of the *French* and *Venetian* Embaſſadors, and the ſame Day he had Audience, to which he was conducted by the Marquiſs *de St. Germain*, and by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, who had brought him four Coaches belonging to the Court. The Duke receiv'd him at his Chamber-Door, and they remain'd both ſtanding and uncover'd. That Prince who does not cover himſelf, does not treat the Miniſter like an Embaſſador, becauſe he will not ſuffer the Miniſter to be cover'd. It may be ſaid, that the Duke of *Savoy* did him too much Honour at his Entry to do him ſo little at his Audience.

Falconbridge, who went from *Turin* to *Genoa*, met near *Savona* the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and the Captain of the Galley which the Republick ſent him to bring him to *Genoa*. He was carry'd in a Chair, which he got out of as ſoon as he perceiv'd the Maſter of the Ceremonies draw near; but he ſoon got into it again, and paſs'd through the Town after that manner to repair to the Galley, where the Governor of *Savona* went to ſalute him; and the Embaſſador did not go out of his Chamber to receive him. Being arriv'd within four Miles of *Genoa*, he was inform'd, by an Expreſs, that four Senators were coming to ſalute him on the part of the Republick, as indeed they arriv'd almoſt at the ſame inſtant. The Embaſſador came out of the Poop to receive them, made them go in firſt, and gave them the Place of Honour. The Canon from the Town, and that of the Ships and Galleys that were in the Port, ſaluted him as he enter'd it, and at his landing he was preſented with a Litter, which brought him to the Palace the Senate had caus'd to be fitted up for him. The next Day two Senators, cloath'd in damask Robes, and accompany'd by above two hundred Gentlemen, complemented him on the part of the Republick. He receiv'd them at the bottom of the Stair-Caſe, gave them the Hand, and the Stile of Excellency, and at their going away he accompany'd them to the Street Door. Some may think it ſtrange, that the Senators ſhould take the Precedency in a Galley that belong'd to the Republick; but in ſo doing they did the Embaſſador the greater Honour, becauſe they conſider'd him as the Maſter of the Galley.

Thoſe Sovereigns that go themſelves to meet Embaſſadors, as did the Emperor *Maximilian* I. in reference to *Woolſey*, do too much; becauſe there are not any that pretend to have this Honour done to their Miniſters. The Example of *Lewis Sforza* can be no Precedent, no more than that of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who went to meet the Duke *d'Engouléme*, the Count *de Bethune* and *M. de Preaux*, Embaſſadors from *Lewis* XIII, who had alſo Credentials for him. He receiv'd them without the Town of *Nancy*, and when they went away, he conducted them to the Place where he had receiv'd them; it is not on the Examples of theſe Princes that Civilities are regulated.

In *Holland*, where the other Civilities are not very regular, thoſe relating to the Entries of Embaſſadors are ſo in ſome meaſure. The Embaſſadors that come from the Emperor, *France*, *Spain* and from *England*, at their Arrival in the Countrey, may paſs by *Rotterdam*: and they that come from the *Northern* Kings, may without incommoding themſelves, go to *Delft*: being there, they acquaint the States therewith, by the means of the weekly Preſident, and there concert the Day of their Entry and Reception. The States have an Officer, to whom they give the Quality of Steward of the Houſhold, who has no other Function, but to go to *Rotterdam*, or to *Delft*, if the Embaſſador be there; to pay the Expence of his laſt Repaſt, and to conduct him with Boats, to within half a League of the *Hague*, where he cauſes the Embaſſador to arrive, at the ſame time that the Deputies of the States come there with a Cortege of thirty Coaches, with ſix, four, and two Horſes. The Embaſſador and the two Deputies, after the firſt Complements, go into the State's Coach, the Horſes whereof notwithſtanding, belong to private Perſons, and are borrow'd; and conduct him to a Houſe, which is hir'd of a private Perſon, to lodge Embaſſadors till their firſt Audience. Formerly the Princes of *Orange* went themſelves to meet Embaſſadors. Did not the Preſident *Jeannin* ſay in a Letter, that he writes to the King on the 29th of *May* 1607, that Prince *Maurice* went to meet him half a League from the *Hague*? Yet there are ſo many Examples thereof, that it would be ſuperfluous to alledge any here. Prince *Frederick Henry*, towards his latter end, excus'd himſelf therefrom, on the Infirmities of his Age, and the Gout, with which he was afflicted: and the Prince, his Son, who had diſcharg'd this Function during his Father's Life, would do it no more after his Deceaſe. After the King had given the Title of Highneſs to the Prince of *Orange*, this laſt might very well excuſe himſelf from executing an Employment, that was ſo much beneath his Quality. Two Deputies of the States General, of two different Provinces, diſcharge this Office: and as ſoon as the Embaſſador alights at his Lodgings, he is there complemented by eight Deputies; becauſe that in all Deputations and Commiſſions the Province of *Holland* has always two. At every Repaſt he takes at the Expence of the State, two

two Deputies of the Assembly of States, or of the Council of State keep him Company. But for as much as those great and long Repasts are very often attended with some Excess, the Embassadors have found the means to be treated by Present: not as it is understood in *France*, when the King sends them raw Meats, to be dress'd by their own Domesticks: but by making them really a Present, of the Value of the Sum the Expence would amount to if the State bore it. So that this Office of Steward of the Houshold, which was not very necessary, is become altogether useless; but it is not the only one that is so.

They would make no Difficulty at the *Hague* to receive the Embassadors of the Electors with the same Civilities, which are there paid to those of crown'd Heads: but hitherto there has been none. Those that came thither in the Year 1648, from the Elector of *Brandenburg*, had not the Character at their Arrival: and when it was given them, they were no longer in a State to make their Entry; because their Negotiation being far advanc'd, without any great Prospect of Success, they would not make a great Appearance to do nothing. On the other side, as crown'd Heads do not send Embassadors to the Electors, it is hard to determin, whether these last would shew them greater Civilities, than to those of the United Provinces. In the Year 1658, the *Sieur Ysbrants*, going in this Quality to *Berlin*, gave Advice thereof to the Baron *de Suerin*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*'s first Minister. Two Counsellors, and several Gentlemen, brought him five Coaches with six Horses each, within half a League of the Town, and conducted him to the Lodgings that had been fitted up for him, where he was every Day treated by the Elector's Officers. In the beginning of the Year 1633, the States sent *Gaspar de Vosbergue*, their Embassador to the Elector of *Cologn*, to the Duke of *Newburg*, and to the Bishop of *Osnaburg*. *Vosbergue* being come within a quarter of a League of the City of *Cologn*, where the Elector then was, met there two Counsellors, accompany'd by some Gentlemen, who had brought him two Coaches. He was conducted to the House of one of the Canons, which the Elector had caus'd to be fitted up with very fine Hangings, and a great Quantity of Plate. He had also sent thither a good Provision of Victuals and Refreshments, under the Dispensation of a Steward of the Houshold, who was assisted by several Gentlemen, some *Swissers* of his Guards, and Pages to serve him: so that there wanted nothing but the Canopy, which the Elector had formerly given him also at *Bonne*. The Electors have not always kept up to any one certain Method: and it is but within very few Years, that they have begun to regulate the Civilities and Ceremonies. In the Month of *October* 1627, *Van den Houart*, *Bicker* and *Beaumont*, Embassadors from the United Provinces, went to see the Elector of *Brandenburg* at *Coningsberg*. They had no Entry made them; but as soon as they came to the Inn, the Elector sent them a Coach, which brought them to the Castle where they were lodg'd and defray'd.

The Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Newburg* have been more exact than the other Princes of *Germany*, because they live and are treated after ther *Italian* manner. *Vosbergue*, whom I lately mention'd, at his Arrival in the Year 1633 at *Dusseldorp*, found at the Gate the Count *de Grevener*, the Prince of *Newburg*'s Governor, who waited for him with two Coaches, and several Gentlemen on Horseback, and conducted him to the Castle; the Duke's Guards lining the Streets through which he pass'd. When he alighted out of the Coach he was receiv'd and complemented by the Baron of *Wonsheim*, the Duke's Lieutenant General in the Government of all his Provinces. *The Duke himself, and the Prince, came and met him in the Antichamber*, where the Prince stay'd: and the Duke led the Embassador through several Appartments, into a Chamber where he gave him Audience, taking every where the Hand and Precedency of him. There were several other Particularities, of which we shall make mention elsewhere, and which have been in part the Cause, that the States have been more reserv'd since that time; in giving the Character to the Ministers they send to those Princes, that entertain only Ministers of the second Order with them. *Mrs. John*, Baron of *Ghent*, *James de Wassenaer d'Opdam*, *Anthony Parmentier de Heeswyck*, and *Vander Beecke*, whom the Estates employ'd in the Year 1651, to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and to the Duke of *Neubourg*, had only the Quality of Deputies. No Reception was made them at *Cleves*; but as soon as they arriv'd, Count *Maurice de Nassau*, Governor of that Province for the Elector, paid them a Visit: and the Day following the Baron *de Suerin* did the same. They went from thence to *Dusseldorp*, where the Duke caus'd them to be receiv'd at the Gate by the Captain of his Guards, who brought them two Coaches, and conducted them to the Inn: because having refus'd to lodge in the Castle at *Cleves*, they would not receive that Honour at *Dusseldorp*.

The other Princes of *Germany* have regulated these Civilities, according to the Interest they had with the United Provinces. In the Year 1657, they sent to the Bishop of *Munster* three Deputies out of the Assembly of the States General, and one out of the Council of State. At their Arrival near the little Town of *Abus*, where the Bishop then was, they were complemented by the *Drossart* of *Rhenen*, who alighting, made Excuses to them, that the Inconveniency of the Place hinder'd the Bishop from lodging them in the Castle, as he would gladly have done. They were no sooner set down at the Inn, than the Bishop sent three times to them to desire them to sup with him: and that he might oblige them thereto, he had forbid both the Town and the Inn to supply them with any Provisions. Notwithstanding which, they would not be prevail'd upon; nay they obstinately refus'd to receive a few Dishes, which he had caus'd his Cook to prepare for them; their Scruple going so far, as to make them resolve to fast, rather than break the Oath they had made, not to receive any Presents of any kind whatever. The next Day the Bishop sent the same *Drossart* to them, who conducted them to the Castle in a Coach with six Horses. *The Bishop himself receiv'd them at the bottom of the Stair-Case, gave them the Place of Honour*, and led them into a Hall, where they all sate down.

down. In the Month of *April* 1668, *Godard de Reed d'Amerongue*, Deputy from the Province of *Utrecht* to the Aſſembly of the States General, was ſent to the Biſhop of *Munſter*, to perſuade him to grant a Paſſage for the Troops, which the Dukes of *Lunenburg* ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the United Provinces. The Biſhop, who was at *Lutguersbourg*, deſir'd the Deputy to come thither; and ſent to meet him, above a League off, by two Colonels, having with them ſix Coaches with ſix Horſes each, twenty Heidukes, with ſome of the Yeomen of his Guard, and ſeveral Pages and Footmen. Within half a League of the Caſtle he was met by the Biſhop's Coach, and a hundred and fifty Horſe for his Convoy. Being arriv'd at *Lutguersbourg*, he was receiv'd at the Coach Door by four *Droſſarts*, and at the bottom of the Stairs by the Biſhop himſelf. At their going into the Hall they found two Chairs of red Velvet, in which they ſate down; and after a quarter of an Hours Diſcourſe, the Biſhop had him conducted to the Appartment which he had caus'd to be prepar'd for him. He treated *M. d'Amerongue* as his Relation, and was willing to have ſome Regard to his Birth: tho' he had very often ſhewn ſo little to his Principals, that their Miniſters had but too much Reaſon to complain thereof. The ſame Deputies who had receiv'd ſuch great Civilities from him at *Arhus*, being ſent to him after the Reduction of the City of *Munſter*, were not ſo very well treated by him: for in re-conducting them, he deſcended firſt, and took the Hand of them. However he made amends for this Fault the next Day, when they took their Audience of Leave, by receiving them as he had done the firſt time, and yielding them the Place of Honour every where. On other Occaſions he has treated the Miniſters of the States with ſo much Indignity, that without the Inſenſibility of a Stoick, it could not be diſſembled. Hereupon a Queſtion may be put, Whether the Biſhop of *Munſter*, who is a Prince of the Empire, and who, being a Clergyman, has the Precedency over almoſt all the ſecular Princes, is oblig'd to do to the Deputies of the United Provinces, that is to ſay, to Miniſters of the ſecond Order, any Honours that an Embaſſador would not ſhew them. *La Barde* and *Roſenhan*, Embaſſadors from *France* and *Sweden*, refus'd to give the Place of Honour to the Deputies Extraordinary of the United Provinces: and if regard be had to the preſent Regulations, with reference to Miniſters of the ſecond Order, they were in the right. I am therefore apt to doubt, whether that could be reaſonably exacted of a Prince of the Empire, which would not be obtain'd of an Embaſſador, who was skill'd in his Profeſſion. I do not in this derogate from the Dignity of the States, ſince they have it in their Power to make their Miniſters be reſpected, provided they give them a Character that all Princes are oblig'd to conſider.

It was at the Aſſembly of *Weſtphalia*, that the Rules of Civility were obſerv'd with the utmoſt Punctuality; particularly at the Entries. *Monſieur d'Avaux*, Embaſſador Plenipotentiary from *France*, arriv'd there on the 17th of *March* 1644. Colonel *Remond* Governor of the City, went to meet him in the Countrey, and paid him Civilities from the Magiſtrate. When he came near the City, two Gentlemen complemented him on the part of Count *Naſſaw*, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary. After that two Gentlemen ſaluted him from *Saavedra* and *Zapata*, Plenipotentiaries from *Spain*; after which the Secretary of *Anthony le Brun*, third Plenipotentiary from *Spain*, and the Secretary of the *Venetian* Embaſſador, made him their Complements. They were all in Coaches, attended by a great number of their Maſters Domeſticks, who were diſtinguiſhable by their reſpective Liveries. The Embaſſador who made his Entry, alighted out of his Coach to receive the Complement.

On the 9th of *Auguſt*, 1657, the Mareſchal *de Grammont* and *Lionne*, Embaſſadors from *France*, and the King's Plenipotentiaries throughout the whole extent of the Empire, and to the Kings of the North, made their Entry into *Francfort*. The Mareſchal's Coach went firſt, and was follow'd by that of *Lionne*; after which came that of *Berenclau*, Embaſſador from *Sweden*, and then that of *Spoilsky*, Envoy from the ſame Crown. Theſe were follow'd by three other Coaches belonging to the Mareſchal and as many of *Lionne's*. This muſt be taken notice of, in oppoſition to the pretenſions of *M. de Thou*, concerning which we ſhall ſpeak in the following Chapter.

In the Year 1645, *France* began to urge the *States* to ſend their Miniſters to *Munſter*; yet at the ſame time it rais'd a thouſand difficulties relating to the Honours that ſhould be done them in the view of this Illuſtrious Aſſembly; at laſt the matter was agreed in the following manner. At their arrival on the 11th of *January*, 1646, within half a League of *Munſter*, they were met by the *French* Embaſſador's Coaches, and thoſe of the Miniſters of *Portugal*, accompany'd by ſome Gentlemen to complement them. The two Coaches belonging to the *Dutch* Embaſſadors, put themſelves at the head of the reſt. Three Companies of Foot were under their Arms near the Gate of the City, and hard by them ſome Companies of the Militia. The Embaſſadors of *Venice*, *Brunſwick* and *Heſſe* ſent to complement them immediately on their arrival; and the *Venetian* particularly excus'd himſelf for not having ſent his Coach to meet them; alledging the Reſolution the Mediators had taken not to pay that Ceremony to the other Embaſſadors that ſhould come thither.

At the Entry the Count *de Witgueſtein* Plenipotentiary from *Brandenburg*, made at *Oſnaburg* in the Year 1641, a great diſpute aroſe between the Miniſters of *Sweden*, and thoſe of the Elector of *Mayence*, the conſequence of which was to be dreaded. At the ſame time that the Horſes were putting to, in order to go and meet the Count, advice was ſent to the Plenipotentiaries of *Mayence*, that the *Swedes* pretended to ſend both their Coaches, and that both ſhould take place of that of the Elector of *Mayence*. Count *Crata*, firſt Plenipotentiary of that Elector, who had a mind to be Perſonally there, imagin'd he might prevent the intended affront, by deſiring the Count *de Witgueſtein* to go in his Coach, which by that means would go before thoſe belonging to the *Swedes*; but he found an obſtacle thereto. The Count *de Witgueſtein* ſaid, he was oblig'd

oblig'd to make uſe of his own Coach, becauſe the Elector had it made on purpoſe for the ſervice of his firſt Embaſſador in this Ceremony. Hereupon *Cratz* bethought himſelf of another Expedient; and having put himſelf in Count *Witgueſtein*'s Coach, he ſent his own back to Town, with ſo much haſte, that that of *Salvius* could not get there before it. The *Swedes* had a mind to perplex the Matter, and complain'd alſo that Count *Cratz* did not get out of his Coach to receive the complements of the Gentlemen they had ſent to meet him, when he made his Entry.

The Plenipotentiaries of *Bavaria* ſtay'd above a Month in a Caſtle near *Munſter*, waiting till the Ceremonies of their Entry were concerted, and the other Civilities they had a mind ſhould be paid them. The Nuncio ſaid he would ſend his Coach to meet them, and that he would not refuſe the Title of Excellency to their firſt Plenipotentiary. The *Spaniards* were at firſt very peeviſh; they ſaid they had comply'd with their Duty to the Electoral College, by ſending to meet the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*. They added, that perhaps they might be prevail'd upon to do ſomething more in favour of *Bavaria*, in order thereby to increaſe the mortification of the Proteſtant Electors; but as ſoon as the Plenipotentiaries of *France* receiv'd Inſtructions to treat the Miniſters of the Electors after the ſame manner that the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries ſhould treat them, all theſe difficulties ceas'd, and the Ceremonies of their Entry were ſoon regulated. The Biſhop of *Oſnaburg* went in Perſon to meet them, got into the Coach belonging to the firſt, and plac'd him on his right hand. The Governor of the Town went likewiſe a good way farther into the Countrey than he had been for the *Venetian* Embaſſador; after the Coach belonging to the Plenipotentiaries of *Bavaria* follow'd ſix others with ſix Horſes each; *viz.* that of the Nuncio, the two belonging to the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, two of the *French* Embaſſadors, and that of the Embaſſador from *Venice*. The Gentlemen who accompany'd the Cortege, getting out of their Coaches, made their complements to the Plenipotentiaries who were making their Entry, and who had alſo alighted ought of theirs. The ſame Ceremonies were practis'd at the Entry of the Miniſters of all the other Electors, and the Artillery ſaluted them as they enter'd into the Town. There were none but the Miniſters of *Saxony*, who not valuing all that noiſe, arriv'd at *Munſter* without Ceremonies.

Very few Princes at preſent will ſuffer the Miniſters that reſide near them, to intermeddle in the Civilities they do to Embaſſadors at their Entry, by reaſon of the conteſts and quarrels that happen'd about Precedency. The diſpute that aroſe at *London* between the Count *d'Eſtrades*, and the Baron *de Vatteville*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, in the Year 1661, at the Entry of an Embaſſador from *Sweden*, oblig'd the King of Great *Britain* to exclude foreign Miniſters from thoſe Ceremonies. So many others ariſe alſo in other places, that the reſt of the Princes thought it expedient to follow this Example; which they have done with good ſucceſs, and great reaſon, ſince it belongs to them to do Honours in their own Dominions, and that Strangers have no buſineſs to have any concern therein. The *Venetian* Embaſſador, who was at *London* in the Year 1641, ſignify'd to thoſe that were there on the part of the United Provinces, that he pretended to have his Coach go before theirs in the Cavalcade to their Audience. They made anſwer, that on all other occaſions they would not diſpute Precedency with the Embaſſador from *Venice*, but in this, which was a Solemnity that particularly related to themſelves, they would make their Coach go immediately after the King's. It is not only amongſt Embaſſadors that theſe quarrels happen, but alſo among the Miniſters. *M. de Thurenne*'s Coach took the rank of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador's; and when the Count de *Schafgots* Embaſſador from the Emperor, had his Audience in the Senate of *Poland* on the 7th of *June*, 1669, the General and the Mareſchal of the Crown would not ſuffer the Coaches of the Nuncio and the *French* Embaſſador's to go before theirs, and oblig'd them to retire, which is worthy obſervation, becauſe it is what would not be done elſewhere.

I ſhould never have done, were I to fill up this Chapter with all that can be ſaid on this Subject, but I ſuppoſe the Reader will not be diſpleas'd to ſee here the practice of thoſe Courts; who notwithſtanding they are not ſo civiliz'd as thoſe I have already mention'd, yet are not wanting in the Honours that are due to Embaſſadors; and thereby ſufficiently teſtifie, that in the height of their brutality, they have ſtill more reſpect for the *Law of Nations*, than is ſhewn in ſome other parts of *Europe*. If the *Turks* are cruel, inſolent and proud; the *Muſcovites* are rude, barbarous and brutiſh. For although Birth makes ſome diſtinction among the laſt, yet they are all Slaves to the *Czar*; and in this ſervile and mean Education there is nothing to be ſeen but what is abject, groſs and ruſtical. The *Czar* or Great Duke, cauſes all Embaſſadors to be receiv'd at the entrance into his Dominions, and defrays them as long as they ſtay there; but then this treatment, and the Honour that is done them, is accompanied with an arrogancy that is almoſt beaſtly. Whereas in the other Courts, the Maſters of the Ceremonies, and the Introductors of Embaſſadors, do all the Civilities imaginable to Embaſſadors, and do the Honours of the Houſe in the name of their Prince; the *Muſcovite Priſtave* does all he can to take the place of Honour; makes difficulty to alight from his Horſe till the Embaſſador has quitted his; he with eagerneſs thruſts himſelf firſt into a Sled or Coach, to take poſſeſſion of the moſt honourable place, and treats him with haughtineſs on all occaſions. There are ſeveral relations from thoſe parts, and among the reſt a very pertinent one of the Embaſſy the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp* ſent thither; as alſo in *Perſia*, in the Year 1633, and in the ſubſequent Years: But it is not any where that their impertinence is more lively repreſented, than in what we have of the Journey the Earl of *Carliſle* took thither in the Year 1663, being ſent by the King of Great *Britain*. The *Priſtave* who receiv'd him at *Archangel*, took the hand of the Embaſſador, and would not yield it to him, till

the Governor of the Town commanded him to conform to the Earl's will, who was determin'd to maintain the Dignity of the King his Maſter. The day was appointed him for his Entry into *Moſcow*. He was on Horſeback, and had travel'd about half a League, when they oblig'd him to delay it to the next day, and to go and lodge in the mean time at a ſorry Village near the City. The Embaſſador gave to underſtand that he was very much offended thereat, and complain'd thereof to the *Czar* in a Letter, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt expreſſive terms; but inſtead of receiving any ſatisfaction, he had the mortification to have none, neither on this occaſion, nor in reference to the ſubject of his Embaſſy; and moreover where he had reaſon to expect the greateſt Honour, he on the contrary, receiv'd the groſſeſt Affront. The *Czar* made him dine with him, but at a ſeparate Table, and more remote from his own, than that which was provided for ſome *Bojares*, that is to ſay, for ſome of the *Czar*'s Slaves, who were plac'd on the right, while the Embaſſador was plac'd on the left. This uſage made him leave the Court very ill ſatiſfy'd, inſomuch that he refus'd the *Czar*'s preſent; and having expreſs'd his reſentment with a great deal of warmth, the *Czar* thought fit to complain thereof to the King of Great *Britain*, by a particular Embaſſy for that purpoſe.

The *Turks* know very well what is due to Embaſſadors, and are not backward in doing them the Honours their Character challenges, when they are not incompatible with their intereſt; and in that ſenſe there are alſo a great many *Turks* in *Chriſtendom*. They who believe that the Port makes no diſtinction between Embaſſadors, and Miniſters of the ſecond Order, becauſe they compriſe both the one and the other under the general quality of *Elchi*, are miſtaken. They diſtinguiſh very well between the Characters, as well as between the Merit of the Miniſters, and between the Quality of the Princes that employ them. Thoſe Miniſters who reſide there only on the account of Commerce, are very little conſider'd, unleſs it be for the ſake of their own perſonal Merit, of which the *Turks* judge equitably enough. To ſhew therefore that they make a difference between an Embaſſador, and a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, I ſhall here ſet down the particulars of the Entry *Armory* or *Almeric Nani* Embaſſador and *Bailo* of *Venice* made at *Conſtantinople*, in the Year 1617. Being come within ſight of the City, on the 11th of *February*, he ſaluted the *Seraglio* with all the Artillery belonging to the Engliſh Ship which had tranſported him from the Iſle of *Chio*. As ſoon as he was Landed, and before he came to his Lodgings, notwithſtanding it began to be night, the *French* Embaſſador and the Miniſters of the other Chriſtian Princes ſent their Secretaries to complement him; and the day following they went themſelves with the uſual Ceremonies, the *Internuncio* only excepted, who did not think himſelf oblig'd to pay this Civility, becauſe he had already taken his Audience of Leave even of the *Bailo*, whom *Nani* came to ſucceed. He made his Entry on the 25th of the ſame Month, in the following manner.

The two Embaſſadors, *Nani* and his Colleague or Predeceſſor, repair'd towards the Port on the ſide of *Galata*, and about two Miles from the City, which was the place of Rendezvous to all thoſe that were to accompany him in this Cavalcade; the two Embaſſadors got on Horſeback, and mov'd towards the Town; the Embaſſador's four *Janiſaries* went firſt, not on Horſeback, but on Foot, having over their Caſſocks, which they call a *Doleman*, a Veſt of Red Cloth; forty other *Janiſaries* with their uſual Habits and Arms, follow'd on Foot, commanded by their Captain, who follow'd them on Horſeback, and preceded as many *Spahi*'s or Troopers, who had no other Arms than Bows and Arrows; forty *Chiaoux* follow'd theſe, and after them the *Bailo*'s Domeſticks; that is to ſay, forty Courriers, or Letter-Carriers, who are all Subjects of the Republick, and ſerve to go and come from *Venice* to *Conſtantinople*. They make theſe Journeys on foot, but yet they perform them with expedition enough. They were all clad after the *Greek* manner, and in the Embaſſador's Livery, with a Veſt and plaited Cap; after them march'd the Serjeants, and other Livery-Men, follow'd by the *Drogomans*, or the Republick's Interpreters, who were accompany'd by the *Drogomans* of all the other Chriſtian Miniſters, all on Horſeback, and in the ſame Ranks which their Maſters are us'd to keep among themſelves. After them came the *Chiaoux Bachi*, that is to ſay, the Chief of the *Chiaoux*, who is like the Maſter of the Ceremonies; having on his right hand (which is the leſs honourable in *Turky*) a Captain of *Spahi*'s. Theſe two Officers march'd immediately before the two Embaſſadors; the former of which had the place of Honour, becauſe the other had not as yet enter'd on the exerciſe of his Employment; and they had a great number of Men in Livery near them. The two Embaſſadors were follow'd by the Secretaries of the Embaſſadors of *France*, *Holland*, and *Venice*; this laſt doing Honour on this occaſion to the other two. With the Secretaries march'd the two Sons, whom the new *Bailo* had brought along with him from *Venice*, and the *Roman* Gentleman, to whom we are oblig'd for this relation. Theſe laſt, that is to ſay, the three Secretaries, and the three Gentlemen march'd in two ranks three a breaſt; the *French* Secretary between the Embaſſador's two Sons, and the *Dutch* Secretary between the *Venetian* Secretary, and the *Roman* Gentleman; but when they came into narrow Streets, where it was neceſſary to file off, they march'd in two Columns, the three Secretaries keeping the right, and the three Gentlemen the left. A great number of Gentlemen, the Domeſticks of the other Embaſſadors, and of the Merchants of *Pera*, brought up the rear of the Proceſſion, which was compos'd of two hundred and fifty Horſe, beſides thoſe that were on Foot. It was in this Order that the Embaſſadors took the way to *Galata*; and after having march'd partly round the ſame, they enter'd at one of the Gates, and went out at another, to go to the *Bailo*'s Palace, which was without the Walls, where all the other Chriſtian Miniſters were Lodg'd. When they came to the Palace, the *Turks* who found their Dinner ready for them, inſtead of eating, ſhar'd the Victuals amongſt themſelves, and

went away. The new *Bailo* made an Entertainment on this occaſion; but of all the Foreign Miniſters, only the Baron *de Sancy-Harlay* Embaſſador from *France*, partook of the Dinner; and there happen'd nothing remarkable thereat.

If the Reſident, who is on the part of the United Provinces at *Conſtantinople*, had ſent the States a pertinent relation of the particulars of his Entry, a Judgment might be form'd of the diſtinction that is made between the Miniſters of the firſt and ſecond Order; but as he did not do himſelf much Honour at his arrival at the Port, nor indeed to his Maſters, he was cautious of mentioning in his Diſpatches, an action that did not brighten his Reputation.

The ſame *Roman* Gentleman who has given the publick a relation of the Entry of the *Bailo Nani*, was alſo a witneſs to that, that ſhall conclude this Chapter; which I here ſet down, becauſe there is ſomething in it ſo very great, that nothing I have hitherto ſaid, comes up to it.

In the Month of *April*, 1619, there arriv'd in *Perſia* two *Muſcovite* Embaſſors, *Knez Juan Vorotinsky*, and *Juan Juanoüitz*. *Schach Abas* was taken up with an Expedition he deſign'd againſt the *Turks*; ſo that not being able to give a Reception to the Embaſſadors at *Ardebil*, where they were in a conſtant alarm, their Entry was put off till the King ſhould return to *Iſpahan*. It was therefore perform'd on the 19th of *June*, in the ſame Year; and at the ſame time the *Indian* Embaſſador of the *Mogul*, and a *Turkiſh Chiaux* made theirs. The King deſir'd *Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, and the *Engliſh* Reſident, to honour the Ceremony with their preſence, and notify'd to them, that they might aſſiſt there in his Company, becauſe he intended to go in Perſon to meet the Embaſſadors. *Schach Abas*, to do them the greater Honour, or to make the greater oſtentation of his Granduer, had made *a Roll of threeſcore thouſand effective Men*, whoſe Names he had a Liſt of, and he had caus'd Arms to be diſtributed amongſt them, notwithſtanding moſt of them were only Artificers, Inhabitants of *Iſpahan*, and the adjacent Villages. All this multitude was come early in the Morning to the *Maidan*, which is their Market, very well cloath'd, and diſpos'd into ſeveral Companies and Battalions, under their Colours, commanded by their Captains, and other Officers, who had their Drums, Kettle-Drums, Flutes, and other Inſtruments of Muſick. The King caus'd theſe threeſcore thouſand Men to be drawn up in two Files or equal Lines, which reach'd from the Palace Gate to the place where the Embaſſadors had Lodg'd the Night before, which was about twelve Miles from *Iſpahan*, leaving between the Hayes a ſpace ſufficient to admit of the Embaſſador's Cavalcade. All the Inſtruments of Muſick, which were in great number, reſounded with ſuch a noiſe, as would have drown'd that of the Thunder; and at every twenty paces diſtance, there were Men that left their Ranks to Dance, and make a kind of Ball, with which they diverted themſelves, at leaſt, as much as the Spectators. Beſides this, there were in ſeveral places along the *Maidan*, and in the Streets, ſeveral young Men, very handſom, and neatly dreſs'd, who with Flagons and Cups of Gold, fill'd out Wine and Water refreſh'd with Ice, to thoſe that would drink. The King ſent to the very Village where the Embaſſadors were Lodg'd, all the Nobility of his Court. They were all perfectly well mounted, and magnificently clad, ſo that there was nothing to be ſeen but Rich Stuffs, Saddles and Bits of maſſie Gold and Silver beſet with precious Stones, as were alſo their Caps and Feathers which were very ſumptuous. And notwithſtanding, this had not the effect theſe Richeſſes were capable of producing, becauſe theſe Noblemen only walk'd up and down the Town to ſhew themſelves; yet there might be perceiv'd a very agreeable odneſs even in this confuſion. The *Schach* commanded alſo the *Jews* and the *Gaures*, who ſtill make profeſſion of the Religion of the ancient *Perſians*, to go in Proceſſion ſeparately from the reſt; but as for the Chriſtians of the Suburbs of *Tzulfa*, who had furniſh'd ſeven hundred Men, they mingled with the other *Perſians*. In fine, the King to do the Embaſſadors the greater Honour, caus'd twenty or five and twenty of the moſt beautiful *Courteſans* to appear there on Horſeback, very richly dreſs'd, and bare-fac'd; which is the mark that diſtinguiſhes them from virtuous Women. The *Indoſthan* Embaſſador who was the firſt, and who believ'd that the *Schach* would come and receive him in Perſon at his Quarters, waited a long time for him in the Village, diſpatching Couriers from time to time, to be inform'd of his motion; but finding there was no likelihood of his coming, he mounted on Horſeback; and the other Embaſſadors following his example, they put themſelves in order, and mov'd towards the Town, each Embaſſador at the head of his Troop. Of all the other Foreign Miniſters who had been invited to this Ceremony, only the *Engliſh* Reſident went through to their Quarters, and that more out of Curioſity, than to do them Honour. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, who had ſet out, finding the *Schach* did not come according to the aſſignation he had given him, return'd home very much incens'd that he had been oblig'd to go and meet the *Indian* Embaſſador, whom he call'd a Merchant; notwithſtanding he was a near Relation of the *Mogul*, and that he had above fifteen hundred Perſons in his Retinue. The other Embaſſadors, *viz.* the *Muſovite* (who was now ſingle, his Collegue being deceas'd) and the *Turk*, were already arriv'd at the Palace; when *the King, who at laſt went to meet the Indian as far as the Gate of the City*, appear'd with him at the *Maidan*. As ſoon as he was got into the Palace (where *Figueroa* who had alter'd his mind, was likewiſe come) all the three Miniſters preſented to him Letters from their Maſters. The whole Audience was employ'd therein, and in taking off ſome Cups of *Schiras* Wine, while the Converſation ran upon indifferent things, and was irregular enough. After two or three hours Entertainment, they all withdrew, without taking leave of the King, and without doing any Civility to one another. I have omitted taking notice, that when the Embaſſadors began to leave the Village, the ſixty thouſand Men, who as I ſaid before, made a Lane from the Palace, to their Quarters, put themſelves alſo in motion, falling in

Routs,

Routs, and without Order, behind the Embaſſador's Retinue, and enter'd the Town in this confus'd manner; and ſo generally poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Avenues that the *Indian* Embaſſador, who had a great Train of Baggage, could not get it into the Town that Day. The ſame Embaſſador, being inform'd that thoſe ſixty thouſand Men were moſt of them Tradeſmen, and had loſt their Day's Work for his ſake, order'd his Steward to give to each of them ten Sequins, which would have amounted to twelve hundred thouſand Crowns. But *Schach Abas*, who was none of the moſt liberal, and who was unwilling the *Indian* Embaſſador ſhould reproach his avaricious Temper, was angry thereat, and would not ſuffer it to be executed. As ſoon as the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador enter'd into *Perſia*, the *Schach* forbid on pain of Death to have any Communication with him, even under the Pretext of ſelling him Proviſions, but then he took Care to have him abundantly ſupply'd from his own Kitchin.

Theſe Entries and Receptions being made only to Embaſſadors, to the Excluſion of Miniſters of the ſecond Order, we muſt believe that *James Loffler* and *Philip Streif*, who arriv'd in *Paris* on the 16th of *October* 1634, were Embaſſadors. It was their own Faults that they were not receiv'd with Ceremony, and lodg'd by the King's Appointment. They were treated with Preſents during the whole time of their ſtay at *Paris*. The Marquis *de Mortemar*, one of the firſt Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, viſited them from his Majeſty, and the Count *de Harcourt* with *M. Bautrû* conducted them to their Audience. It is true that the Count *de Brulon* ſays in his Memoirs, That one of them was Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Sweden*, and the other from the four Circles of *Germany*. But beſides that *Loffler* had no Commiſſion from the Crown of *Sweden*, as I ſhall make it appear by and by, they were both treated alike on all Occaſions, as well in the Preſent as otherwiſe. To ſhew that they were both Embaſſadors from the four Circles of the Upper *Germany*, and that they had neither Powers nor Credentials from the Crown of *Sweden*, I need only produce their Declaration, wherein they ſay, *We* James Loffler, *&c. and* Philip Streif, *&c. by virtue of the Power given us by our Lords, the Princes and States of the four Circles of the Upper* Germany, *do ratify the aboveſaid Treaty*. Now theſe four Circles being compos'd only of Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Princes of *Germany*, of Prelates, of Counts, and of Cities, one would think it cou'd not be deny'd but on this Occaſion *France* acknowledg'd the Embaſſadors of the Princes in *Germany*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Audiences.

Audiences are either publick and ſolemn, or private and for Buſineſs: Theſe making a part of the Embaſſadors Negotiation, ſhall alſo make a part of the ſecond Book of this Treatiſe; and the others ſhall be be the Subject of this Chapter, by reaſon of the Ceremonies with which they are accompany'd. The *publick Audience* uſhers the Embaſſador into his Employment, and eſtabliſhes him in the Function of his Commiſſion, tho' it be not ſo abſolutely requiſite but he may negotiate without it. Thoſe Embaſſadors that are ſent to Congreſſes cannot take *Audience*, and only communicate their *Letters of Credence* to the Mediators, or Miniſters with whom they are to negotiate. It is true indeed that the Miniſter, to whom the Prince denies *Audience*, is incapable of negotiating, becauſe he is thereby given to underſtand that he will have no Commerce with him; as when the States of the United Provinces refus'd it to the *Portugal* Embaſſador, and the King of *Sweden* would not admit of thoſe of *Brandenburg*; but when any other Obſtacle or lawful Impediment hinders it, and that inſtead of refuſing it the *Audience* is only put off to another time, this Delay cannot hinder the Embaſſador from diſcharging all the Functions of his Office. Monſieur *de Baſſompierre*, being come to *Madrid* in the Year 1621, could not obtain *Audience* becauſe the King was ſick; but the ſame King notify'd to him, that if he would ſend him his *Credentials* he would nominate Commiſſioners who ſhould enter into Conference with him. *Baſſompierre* ſent him his *Letters*, and the King accordingly appointed Commiſſioners, who ſo diligently apply'd themſelves during the King's Sickneſs, that the Treaty of *Madrid*, for the Affairs of the *Valteline*, was quickly concluded after his deceaſe. *Baſſompierre* took *Audience* of his Succeſſor with the uſual Ceremonies.

Theſe are almoſt every where regulated, as well as thoſe of the Entry; and they are all particular at *Rome*, where none but the Embaſſador of Obedience has *Audience* in the Conſiſtory, in a ſtanding Poſture and uncover'd; while an Orator, hir'd for that purpoſe, pronounces the Harangue in the Preſence of the Pope, and of the College of Cardinals. The Embaſſadors of the Emperor, of crown'd Heads, and of *Venice*, have theſe *Audiences* in the Royal Hall, but the Embaſſadors of other Princes have them in the Ducal Hall; and there are ſome to whom the Pope gives *Audience* only in his Chamber, where ſome Cardinals are preſent, but not enough to form a Conſiſtory. The Duke of *Savoy* pretends to the Royal Hall, ſince he has taken the Title of King of *Cyprus*; and becauſe he has not hitherto been able to obtain it, he forbears ſending any Embaſſadors of Obedience to *Rome*. The Republick of *Genoa* has offer'd ſome Millions to be admitted into the Royal Hall; but the Pope would not conſent

conſent thereto, by reaſon of the Oppoſition the Senate of *Venice* made, which will not ſuffer this Equality. The Obedience being over, the Embaſſador follows the Pope, carries the Train of his Cope, and dines with him, as I obſerv'd before in the preceding Chapter, ſpeaking of the *French* Embaſſador.

On the 13th of *September* 1582. arriv'd at *Rome* a *Moſcovite* Embaſſador, for whom an Entry was made. He receiv'd his *Audience* in a ſpacious Hall, where the Pope was acompany'd by fifteen Cardinals; and not in the uſual Hall for *Audiences*. The Embaſſador made the ſame Ceremonies that other Embaſſadors uſually make, bowing three times, and kiſſing his Feet. He ſpoke in his own Tongue becauſe he knew no other. The Pope preſented him with three Veſts of thin Brocade, a Chain of Gold, and gave ſome Chains likewiſe to thoſe of his Retinue.

When the Pope gives *private Audiences* to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and thoſe of *Venice*, he is ſeated in a Crimſon Velvet Chair, with Gold and Silver Fringes, having under his Feet a ſcarlet Carpet. The Embaſſador is ſeated over againſt the Pope, on a Stool, and does not cover himſelf during the *Audience*. The Embaſſadors of other Princes are in a ſtanding Poſture, and moſt commonly the Pope walks up and down whilſt they ſpeak to him; or elſe he ſtands, leaning his Hand upon the Table; but at the beginning of the *Audience* he is ſeated in his Chair. The Prince that walks, while he gives *Audience* to a Miniſter, does him a little more Honour than if he ſlept, or ſpoke to him as he paſs'd by him. When the Cardinals receive *Audience* from the Pope, they have a Chair with a Back to it. The *Venetian* Embaſſador always carries with him his Secretary, who ſtands behind his Maſter's Chair, which is likewiſe obſerv'd when he takes *Audience* of the Cardinals. Theſe *Audiences* of the Cardinals are, properly ſpeaking, but mere Viſits; for which reaſon they might be more properly ſpoke to elſewhere. But as there are but two Words to be ſaid on this Subject, I ſhall here add, That when the Secretary of a *Venetian* Embaſſador is to treat with a Cardinal, in the Abſence of his Maſter, he is ſeated, as well as the Secretaries of the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*; and the ſame Honours are done him which are done to the Reſidents and Agents of Princes, to whom the Title of Moſt Serene is given. This is chiefly done to the Secretaries of the Embaſſy, becauſe that theſe are alſo Miniſters Repreſentants. The Cardinals ſeat alſo the Secretaries of the Embaſſadors of *Savoy*, and of *Tuſcany*. It muſt therefore be imagin'd that, in thoſe parts, thoſe important Employments are not given to Clarks or Copiſts, but to Miniſters, that are as it were in their Apprenticeſhip; and who, having given Proof of their Merit, may aſpire to the firſt Places in the State. The ſame Prelates, that is to ſay, the two Patriarchs that have receiv'd the Embaſſador at his Entry, conduct him alſo to his *Audience*.

It is only the firſt *Audience* that the Pope gives in full Conſiſtory, and it is very rarely that Embaſſadors have there a ſecond, even for extraordinary and very important Affairs. *M. de Termes*, Embaſſador from *France*, having obtain'd it in the Month of *May* 1551, takes particular notice in his Harangue, That he was ſenſible it was contrary to Cuſtom, but that it was the King his Maſter's expreſs Orders. He could not addreſs himſelf to Pope *Julius* III, becauſe he was commanded to complain of him. He accompany'd his Diſcourſe with a formal Proteſtation, after which he was to depart, and take along with him the Cardinals of *Ferrara* and of *Tournon*, who negotiated the King's Affairs at *Rome*. Some Years before, that is to ſay, in the Month of *December* 1547, *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoſſe*, Embaſſador from the Emperor *Charles* V, took his *Audience* in the Conſiſtory, on account of the Tranſlation of the Council of *Trent*, and he was alſo call'd thither to hear the Anſwer the Pope was to make to his Propoſition. He was there again on the 16th of *January* 1548, and made the ſame Proteſtation, that *Francis de Vargas* and *Martin de Velaſque* made the ſame Day at *Bologna*, againſt the Tranſlation of the Council. *Don Diego* expreſs'd himſelf in Terms ſo ſtrong, that the Pope, not daring to ſhew his Reſentment, was for making it be believ'd that *Mendoſſe*, in making this Proteſtation in the Conſiſtory, had exceeded his Orders; ſince the Emperor had commanded him to complain of the Authors of the Tranſlation, and not of the Pope, who had no Concern therein, as he ſaid; the whole Affair relating only to the Legates and Prelates of the Council, who had judg'd the Tranſlation neceſſary. We muſt alſo take notice, by the by, that the Pope gives no *Audience* in the Holy Week.

Some Diſtinction is made in *France*: But before I ſpeak thereto, I muſt inform my Reader, that at *Vienna* the Officers of the Emperor's Houſhold are employ'd in theſe Functions. There is neither Maſter of the Ceremonies nor Introductor of the Embaſſadors in that Court. It is the High Chamberlain that there regulates the Civilities, and that gives Orders for the Reception of publick Miniſters. When the Duke *del Seſto*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, arriv'd at *Vienna* in the Month of *October* 1670, the Count *de Slabata* went and receiv'd him at his own Houſe, in the Emperor's Coaches; when he came to the Palace he was receiv'd at the Entrance thereof by the Mareſchal of the Court; the great Maſter receiv'd him the Knight's Hall; and at the going into the Antichamber he was receiv'd by the Count *de Lamberg*, Great Chamberlain.

In *France* the Nuncioes, and the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, are conducted to their *Audience* by Princes; and it is in that only, that the Embaſſadors of *Venice* are not treated as thoſe of crown'd Heads. The laſt Day of *Auguſt* 1635, the Lord Viſcount *Scudamore*, Embaſſador from *England*, being come to *Meaux*, in order to take his firſt *Audience* of the King, who was then at *Monceaux*, told *Berliſe*, that he would not go to it if he was not conducted thereto by a Prince. There was none then at Court; ſo that *Girant* was ſent Poſt to *Paris*, from whence he brought the next Day the Duke *de Chevreuſe*, who diſcharg'd that Office. The Lord *Fielding*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *England*, in the Year 1634, was conducted to *Audience* by the Count *d'Alais*, a Prince of the

Houſe of *Valois*. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, in the ſame Quality in the Year 1636, by the aforeſaid Duke *de Chevreuſe*. *Loffler* and *Streyf*, Embaſſadors from the four Circles in the Year 1634, by the Count *de Harcourt*, Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*. *Grotius*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *Sweden*, by the Duke *de Mercœur*, Son to the Duke of *Vendoſme*. *Savadsky*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Poland* in the Year 1636, by the Duke *de Chevreuſe*. The Duke *de Joyeuſe*, conducted to *Audience* the Biſhop of *Warmia*, and the Palatine of *Poſnania*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from *Poland* in the Year 1645. It was accompany'd with the ſame Ceremonies which had been perform'd at their Entry; except that the two Embaſſadors, with the chief Noblemen of their Retinue, went in the King's and Queen's Coaches. All the Princes and Nobility had receiv'd notice to render themſelves at the Royal Palace, where their Majeſties then were; and *de Rhodes*, great Maſter of the Ceremonies, was commanded to give the neceſſary Orders for this extraordinary *Audience*. The Coaches having taken a Round in the ſecond Court, they ſtopp'd before the Chamber of Deſcent, into which the Embaſſadors enter'd; and after they had reſted themſelves a little, and that all the *Poles* were arriv'd, they paſs'd along the Court through a Lane made by the Grand Prevoſt's Guards under their Arms. The *Great Maſter of the Ceremonies receiv'd them* at the foot of the Stair-Caſe, which was lin'd on both ſides by the hundred *Switzers*, who made a Lane; the Drum beating, and *Ste. Marte*, their Lieutenant, being at the Head of them. At the Entrance into the Guard Room they were met by the Marquiſs *de Chandenier*, Captain of the *Scotch* Guards: who having caus'd part of the *Poliſh* Nobility to paſs along, put himſelf before the Great-Maſter of the Ceremonies, and the Introductor, and after them follow'd the two Embaſſadors, conducted by the Duke *de Joyeuſe*; they were follow'd by another Body of *Poles*. The Body Guards made a Lane, the Antichamber was full of Nobility, and the Chamber was crowded with Lords, and Officers of the Houſhold. As faſt as the *Poliſh* Lords enter'd the Gallery where the King and Queen were, the Great-Maſter rang'd them on both ſides, to make a Paſſage for the Embaſſadors. The Captain of the Guards, the Great-Maſter of the Ceremonies, and the Introductor having made their Bows, they open'd to give way to the Embaſſadors, who having likewiſe perform'd theirs, made their Complement in *Latin*: the Biſhop ſpeaking firſt, and after him the *Palatine*. This being done, they preſented their *Credentials* to their Majeſties, who gave them to the Count *de Brienne*, Secretary of State. The reſt of the *Audience* paſs'd in indifferent Diſcourſes, in which the Embaſſadors ſpoke *French*: and after that, the *Poliſh* Lords made their Reverences to the King and Queen, and retir'd.

From thence they went to the Houſe of *Nevers*, to take their *Audience* of the Princeſs of *Mantua*, who receiv'd them at the Entrance of the Hall. They ſpoke to her alſo in *Latin*, and made her a Preſent of a Croſs of Diamonds worth a hundred thouſand Crowns. The Biſhop of *Orange* anſwer'd the Embaſſador's Harangue, and the Princeſs, their future Queen, conducted them to the middle of the Hall.

After what I have ſaid in the foregoing Chapter, of the Reception that was made in the Year 1611, to the Duke of *Mayenne* in *Spain*, and to the Duke of *Paſtrana* in *France*, we muſt here add the Particulars of their *Audiences*. The firſt had his on the 23d of *July*, and was conducted to it by the Duke *d'Uſſeda*, Son to the Duke of *Lerma*, who was accompany'd by the Dukes of *Alva* and of *Albuquerque*, and by ſeveral other Lords, who went and receiv'd him with a very numerous Cortege, at the Palace where he was lodg'd. Having paſs'd through ſeveral Galleries, where the *Spaniſh* Guards, the *Switzers* and *Burgundians* were drawn up in two Lines, he was met at the Door of the *Audience-Hall*, by the Earls of *Caſtelruvio* and *Salaſar*, the King's High-Stewards, who conducted him pretty near the Throne where the King ſate under a Canopy, having on his left Hand the Prince his Son, on his right the Duke of *Lerma* ſtanding, and behind his Chair the Marquiſs *de la Velade*, bare-headed. *The Embaſſador having made his firſt Bow, the King got up; at the ſecond he took off his Hat; and at the third he embrac'd the Embaſſador, and made him be cover'd.* After the Embaſſador had finiſh'd his Complement, he went and ſaluted the Prince, who embrac'd him. But this was done but as it were by accident; becauſe he was oblig'd to pay that Devoir to the *Infanta* firſt. In the mean time the Prince of *Tingri*, the Embaſſador's Son, went and paid his Reſpects to the King, who made him be cover'd, and the other *French* Noblemen kiſs'd his Hand. From this *Audience* he went to that of the *Infanta*, to whom he made a Reverence, as to the Queen, becauſe ſhe had deſir'd it; after which he ſaluted the Ladies. The next Day he viſited the Miniſters, and Lords who had viſited him: and three Days after he went and deliver'd to the *Infanta* the Letter the King had written to her. On the 22d of *Auguſt* he had another ſolemn *Audience*, at which the Contract of Marriage was read. The Duke of *Lerma*, accompany'd by all the Grandees of the Court, went and receiv'd him at his Palace; and in conducting him, he caus'd all the Company to be ſo diſpos'd, that all the *French* Nobility march'd firſt, two and two, and after them the Prince of *Tingri* alone. After him came *M. de Puiſieux*, who had brought the Contract of Marriage, with *M. de Vancelas*, the Embaſſador in Ordinary, who went immediately before the Dukes of *Mayenne* and of *Lerma*. They found in the great Room the Nuncio *Cajetan*, who on this Occaſion was to diſcharge the Function of Legate. The Duke of *Mayenne* plac'd himſelf on the Nuncio's right Hand, the Duke of *Lerma* on his left, and by him ſate the Count *Ortodelli*, Embaſſador from *Tuſcany*: *Mrs. de Puiſieux* and *de Vancelas* fill'd the Bench of the other ſide. There was another Bench for the Lords of the Council of State; and on that ſide the Duke of *Lerma* was of, there was a Forme for the Grandees of *Spain*, where ſate the Duke *d'Uſſeda*, the Prince of *Tingri*, the Admirant of *Caſtile*, the Duke of *Maqueda*, the Count of *Pegneranda*, the Dukes of *Alva*, of *Seſſe*, of *Feria*, of *Montalte*, of *Villahermoſa* and of *Veragas*. Before the *Nuncio* there was a Table cover'd with a Carpet of Crimſon Velvet, by which there was a Stool, on which ſate *Don Antonio d'Aroſequi*,

roſequi, Secretary of State, who read the Contract in the *Spaniſh* Tongue. The Duke of *Mayenne*, and *Mrs. de Puiſieux* and *de Vaucelas*, as Procurators for the King and Queen Mother, ſign'd the Contract firſt, which was couch'd in the *French* Language; and after them the Duke of *Lerma*, as Procurator for the King and the *Infanta*, ſign'd it, with *Aroſequi*. The Duke of *Lerma* ſign'd firſt the *Spaniſh* Contract, and the *French* Miniſters ſign'd it after him. At their going out of this Room, they enter'd into another, where they found the King ſeated betwixt the *Infanta* and the Prince. The Embaſſador complemented him on the Marriage, as alſo the *Infanta* and the Prince. This being done, a Lady was aſſign'd him for his Entertainment, and all the *French* Lords had each of them his. Some Days after, the King invited the Embaſſador to ride out with him, and then he ſet at liberty all the *French*, that were in the Priſons, or on board the *Spaniſh* Gallies.

The Duke of *Paſtrana*'s Audience, was not inferior to this in Solemnity. He receiv'd it on the 16th of *Auguſt*: to conduct him to it, he had thirty Horſes ſent him out of the King's Stable, two Coaches with ſix Horſes each, and as many with four, and two. The Duke of *Guiſe*, accompany'd by the Prince of *Joinville*, and the Chevalier *de Guiſe* his Brothers, by the Duke *d'Elbeuf*, by the Marquis *de Nermouſtier*, *de Neſle*, *de la Valette*, *de Crequy*, *de St. Luc*, *de Baſſompierre*, *de Termes*, and by other Lords, went and receiv'd him at the *Hotel* of St. *Paul*; and having caus'd three hundred *French* Gentlemen on Horſeback to lead the Van, after them follow'd thirty *Spaniſh* Lords, each betwixt two *French* ones; in this Condition he conducted him to the *Louvre*. The Guards were rang'd on both ſides of the way from the little *Bourbon*. The great Prevoſt receiv'd him at the Gate, and the Captain of the hundred *Switzers* in the Court of the *Louvre*. The Captain of the King's Guards receiv'd him at the Entrance into the Guard-Room, and the Count *de Soiſſons*, Prince of the Blood, as he went out of that Room. The Paſſages were very light, becauſe all the Pages of the little and great Stables, having each two Flambeaux of white Wax, convey'd him through the King's Chamber into the Gallery, where his Majeſty expected him. The rais'd Floor where the King ſate, was cover'd with a Velvet Carpet of a Violet Colour, interſpers'd with *Flower-de-Luces* of Gold, under a Canopy, and in a Chair of the ſame; having on his left Hand the Queen Mother, ſeated in a Chair of black Velvet. The Embaſſador being come near, and having made three low Bows, preſented to the King one of the *Letters* which he held betwixt his Fingers, and made a ſhort Complement at the ſame time. After which the King aroſe, anſwer'd the Complement, and then embrac'd the Embaſſador; who after that went and ſpoke to the Queen, to whom he preſented the other *Letter*, after which they enter'd into Converſation, *the Embaſſador being cover'd*. This being over the King retir'd into his Chamber, whither the Embaſſador having follow'd him, he was conducted by the Duke of *Guiſe* to the Chamber of *Madam*. *M. le Premier*, and four Stewards of the Houſhold receiv'd him in the Antichamber. As ſoon as he ſaw *Madam*, he made a profound Reverence; as he came under the Canopy he made a ſecond, at which *Madam* got up; and at the third *he put one Knee upon the Ground*; and kiſs'd her Hand in that Poſture, ſhe not offering to make him riſe, till the Embaſſador in Ordinary put her in mind thereof, and pray'd her *to cauſe him to be cover'd*. At his Departure from hence, he went and ſaluted *Monſieur*, and the two other Princeſſes. From the 17th to the 21st, he receiv'd the Viſits of the Princes and Lords of the Court, of the Cardinals *de Sourdis* and *du Perron*, and of the Chancellor: and he employ'd the following Days in returning the Viſits, and aſſiſting at the Entertainments which were made him by ſeveral of the Nobility. The Marriage Contract was read on the 25th, and it was the Prince of *Conty* who went to fetch him in the King's Coach, follow'd by five and twenty others. The Embaſſador (who had in his Retinue forty Pages clad in Cloth of Silver) being enter'd into the Chamber, *M. de Villeroy*, Secretary of State, read the Contract, which the King, the Queen and the Embaſſador ſign'd: and after that *M. de Seaux*, another Secretary of State, had counter-ſign'd it, it was put again into the Hands of *M. de Villeroy*, in order to have the Seal fix'd to it.

I ſpoke a word or two above, concerning the *Audience* that Queen *Elizabeth* gave in the Year 1581, to the *French* Embaſſadors; as alſo concerning that the Duke of *Nevers* had at *Rome* in the Year 1608, and that of Cardinal *Bichi* at *Venice* in the Year 1643, *&c.* But as theſe extraordinary Occurrences can neither eſtabliſh a Rule nor a Precedent, I ſhall refer 'em to the end of this Chapter; and acquaint my Reader here, that it is the Buſineſs of the Mareſchals of *France*, and not of the Princes, to conduct the Embaſſadors of Republicks to their *Audience*. *Soranzo* and *Contarini*, were conducted to it in the Year 1634, by the Mareſchal *de Chaſtillon*; who likewiſe in the Year 1638, conducted *Angel Cornaro*, Embaſſador from the ſame Republick: as alſo *Pau* and *Knuit*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from the United Provinces. The Mareſchal *de la Force* in the Year 1637. perform'd the ſame Office to the *Sieur d'Oſterwic*, their Embaſſador in Ordinary: and in the ſame Year, the Mareſchal *de St. Luc* conducted the Lord *Sauli*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Genoa*: tho' at his Entry he had been only receiv'd by a Chevalier of the Order. None but the Embaſſadors from the *Swiſs Cantons* are treated with ſome Inequality. Exceſſive Honours are done them when they come to confirm the Treaties of Alliance, as I have already taken notice in the foregoing Chapter; but at other times they receive but very moderate ones. No Reception at all was made to the Embaſſadors, whom the Catholick Cantons ſent into *France* in the Month of *March* 1634, nor to thoſe who came from the Proteſtant Cantons in the Month of *December* of the ſame Year: and they were conducted to *Audience* but only by Knights of the Order: the firſt by *M. de Villequiers*, Captain of the King's Guards, and the others by the Marquiſs *de Neſle*, Governor of *la Fere*.

The Republick of *Genoa* has not yet ſo well eſtabliſh'd it ſelf, but that her Miniſters are diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe of other Sovereigns; not only in *France*, but alſo in other Places. In the

the Year 1649, the Emperor's Siſter paſſing through *Milan*, as ſhe was going to be marry'd to the King of *Spain*, all the Potentates of *Italy* ſent Embaſſadors to her. The Republick of *Genoa* ſent alſo hers, whom the Queen caus'd to be conducted to *Audience* by *Don Rodriguo de Tappia*, one of her Gentlemen of the Horſe, who alſo diſcharg'd the Function of Maſter of the Ceremonies. He brought them one of the Queen's Coaches with ſix Horſes, into which the Embaſſadors got, and caus'd their own (which had alſo ſix Horſes) to follow it. The Marquiſs *de Caracena*, who was at the Window, ſeeing this laſt Coach enter into the Court, ſent word to the Embaſſadors, that they ſhould not be ſuffer'd to come up, nor to ſee the Queen; becauſe they had been wanting in the Reſpect they ow'd her, by coming to the Place where ſhe was, with a Coach and ſix Horſes, contrary to the Cuſtom of *Spain*. It was firſt inſiſted upon, that they ſhould ſend back their Coach; but the Matter being diſcuſs'd, and throughly examin'd, it was at laſt regulated in the following manner, *viz.* That in the ſight of all there preſent, two Horſes ſhould be taken off from their Coach, and ſent home. They conform'd thereto, and afterwards were permitted to aſcend, and make their Complement to the Queen.

The Embaſſador of *Savoy* has form'd great Pretenſions, and particularly ſince the Duke has taken the Quality of King of *Cyprus*, and that he aſſumes the Title of Royal Highneſs; but hitherto he has not been able to obtain the leaſt Advantage over the Embaſſador of the United Provinces. On the contrary, the King caus'd this to be viſited by *M. de Liancourt*, firſt Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, while he ſent to the other the Count *de Nancy*, Maſter of the Wardrobe. It is alſo a Mareſchal of *France*, that conducts the Embaſſadors of the the Great-Duke of *Tuſcany* and of *Mantua* to *Audience*, as well as at their Entries.

The Count *de Druënt*, Embaſſador from *Savoy*, taking his *Audience* of Leave, receiv'd an extraordinary Honour, the Guards being under their Arms. The Count *de St. Maurice*, who ſucceeded him in the Year 1633, inſiſted upon having the ſame Honour done him: but the Difficulties he met therein were ſo great, that he remain'd at *Paris* eight Months *Incognito*, before he appear'd as Embaſſador; and was at laſt forc'd to yield, and be contented with the uſual Honours. He was conducted to *Audience*, on the 22d of *September* 1654, by the Mareſchal *de Chaſtillon:* but the Guards were not under their Arms. They always take to 'em, for the *Nuncioes*, for the *Embaſſadors* of crown'd Heads, and for the *Venetian*. In the Year 1634, they were not under them for the Embaſſadors Extraordinary of the United Provinces: and in 1637, only the hundred *Swiſs*, and the Body Guards, took to them, for the Embaſſador in Ordinary. *William Boreel* came to *France* with the ſame Quality in the Year 1650, in the height of the Commotions of the Kingdom. The Court was then in *Guyenne*, occupy'd in the Reduction of the City of *Bourdeaux*, ſo that the Embaſſador being come to *Blaye*, *Saintot*, Maſter of the Ceremonies went thither from the King and Queen, to make him the firſt Complements; and the next day he brought thither the King and Queen's Coaches, and with them the Duke *D'Amville* to Conduct him to *Bourg*, at his firſt *Audience*. He found there the *Guards under their Arms*, the hundred *Switzers*, and the Body Guards drawn up in two Lines, and he was receiv'd by the Captain of the Body Guards, and by the other Officers of the Houſhold, at the entrance into the Hall, and of the Chamber. As ſoon as he had made his firſt bow, the King and the Queen roſe up; the King and *Monſieur* uncover'd themſelves, and ſtood all the time of the *Audience*, as did alſo the Queen. The Embaſſador put on his Hat at the King's ſecond Requeſt. As ſoon as he had finiſh'd his Complement, he preſented his *Credentials*, and then made his Propoſition. He had the ſame day *Audience* of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who receiv'd him with the ſame Civilities he was us'd to ſhew to the Embaſſadors of Crown'd Heads. The Officers and Domeſticks of his Eminence receiv'd him at the Coach door, and Conducted him to the top of the Stair-caſe, where the Cardinal receiv'd him, and led him into his Chamber, taking as Cardinal, the place of Honour of him every where; the *Audience* being over, he conducted him to the place where he had receiv'd him. The Duke *d'Amville* treated him in the King's Name; but this is what is uſually done, when the King is at any of his Countrey Houſes, where the Embaſſador is not Lodg'd.

In *France* Civilities are done to Embaſſadors that only paſs through the Kingdom, whether they have Letters for the King, as the Count *de Schaumbourg* had, who was going on the part of the Emperor, Embaſſador in ordinary to *Spain*; or have none, as *Falconieri*, who was going in the Quality of Nuncio to the Low-Countries; but with ſome difference. The firſt was conſider'd as Embaſſador Extraordinary, was conducted to *Audience* by the Count *d'Alais*, treated at Dinner by the King's Officers, and preſented with a pictur'd Box worth three thouſand Crowns. The other was conducted to *Audience* by the Count *de Harcourt*, and treated at Dinner, but he had no Preſent.

The Embaſſadors of *Venice* take their firſt *Audience*, when their Predeceſſor takes his *Audience* of leave at the Court where he has reſided. And after this Example, *Francis Walſingham*, Embaſſador from *England* to the Court of *France*, was preſented in his firſt *Audience* to King *Charles* IX. by *Henry Norris*, his Predeceſſor. As ſoon as *Norris* had given an account of *Walſingham*'s Quality, and the reaſon why he brought him thither, he caus'd him to draw near. And *Walſingham* having firſt perform'd the uſual Ceremonies, and his Complement, deliver'd his *Letters of Credence*, which were read by the Secretary of State. He then ſaid nothing elſe, but that he had Orders from the Queen his Miſtreſs, to employ his beſt endeavours to ſtrengthen the friendſhip of the two Crowns, and a good Correſpondence between the Subjects. That he would apply himſelf thereto with heartineſs and zeal; as well to diſcharge his duty, as becauſe he was ſenſible it was the mutual intereſt of both Princes. The King having enquir'd of *Walſingham* after the Queen of *England*'s health, told him, he was very glad of the Choice her Majeſty had made of ſo able a Miniſter; that

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he was welcome, and that he would give him *Audience*, whenever he should ask it, for the affairs of the Queen his Mistress. After that, *Walsingham* desir'd to see the Queen, who was Sick; and afterwards he saw the Queen Mother, and the Dukes of *Anjou* and *d'Alençon:* tho' before that time, the Princes were us'd to be by the King, when Embassadors receiv'd their first *Audience.*

Notwithstanding there is something more respectful in the Salutations and Reverences of the Oriential People, than there is in the taking off the Hat, or Cap, as is practis'd among the Christians of our *Europe*; yet it must be confess'd, that one of the greatest submissions a Minister can make to a Prince, is, not to be Cover'd when he speaks to him. So that whatever Civility the Prince does to the Embassador, yet if he does not cause him to be Cover'd at his *Audience*, it cannot be said that he treats him as an Embassador. All the Honours he is capable of doing him signifie nothing, if he refuses him this; even tho' he were to be uncover'd himself. There is none but the Pope, to whom the greatest Potentates of *Christendom* shew this Respect; not as to a Sovereign Prince, but as to the visible Head of the Church. All the other Princes ought to do Honour to Embassadors, and allow them to be Cover'd. In the Year 1627, *Roch Van den Honart*, Counsellor in the great Council of *Holland*, *Andrew Bicker* Bourgermaster of *Amsterdam*, and *Simon de Beaumont*, Counsellor Pensionary of *Zeland*, were sent into *Prussia*, to endeavour an accommodation between the two Kings of *Poland*, and of *Sweden.*

I spake in the foregoing Chapter of the Reception that was made them at their Entry. On the 6th of *July* the Carver of *Lithuania*, and the Starost, or Castellan, of *Warsaw*, came and receiv'd the Embassadors, in order to conduct them to their *Audience*, having with them three of the King's Coaches. The Mareschal of the Court came and took them at the Coach door, and having led them through the Guards, who made a double *Haye*, he brought them into the King's Apartment. They found him in a great Room, leaning on his hand upon a Table: *And all the Civility he did them, was that after their third bow, he touch'd his Hat lightly, and put it on again immediately, suffering the Embassadors to speake to him bare-headed, without giving them the least sign to be cover'd.* The Queen did not receive them any better, contenting her self with rising a moment from her Seat, and then presently sitting down again. The Embassadors gave to understand, that they were very much scandaliz'd at this procedure; but they were told, that that was all the civility the King could shew them; because that notwithstanding the Kings of *France* and *England* permitted the Embassadors of the United Provinces to be cover'd when they spake to them, it was only on account of the Alliance the States had with those Crowns; but that could not be a precedent for the King of *Poland*, who not having any with them, could not be oblig'd to have the same consideration neither for their State, nor for their Embassadors. This was a very bad excuse; because the Kings of *France* and of *England* do not do this Honour to the Alliance they have with the United Provinces, but to the Sovereignty of their State; and it was the Sovereignty that had sent the Embassy. It was thought the King was willing to do them this Incivility, by reason of the strict Union he had with the House of *Austria.* It was also discours'd at Court, that it was not satisfy'd with the Embassadors having been first to see the King of *Sweden*, before they came to *Warsaw.* The three days following they were entertain'd, the first, by the Mareschal, the second, by the Vice-Chancellor, and the third, by *Gaspar de Donhof* the King's Chamberlain. On the 9th of *July* they had Audience of Prince *Uladislaus*, who sent them three Coaches, and two of his Gentlemen caus'd them to be receiv'd at their alighting out of the Coach, and *made them be cover'd.* On the 12th they had a Conference at the Vice-Chancellor's House, who came and receiv'd them himself at the Coach door. After the Conference was ended, the Embassadors complain'd of *the Incivility the King and Queen had shewn them at their Audience.* They were told they should have satisfaction made them, but that it could not be done just then, because they would not have it be believ'd that it was the King that made the reparation, having a mind to cast the blame on the Mareschal; who, as they said, ought to have inform'd the King what he was to do: That for this time they might depart with the Answer the King's Commissaries should give them, and at their return, they should receive a greater satisfaction with respect to the Ceremonies. On the 16th, the two Vice-Chancellors of *Poland*, and of *Lithuania*, the Mareschal and the Treasurer brought the Answer to the Embassadors; and when they set out, two Gentlemen brought them three Coaches which conducted them to the River, where they embark'd. Their Negotiation being very knotty, and finding great difficulties and obstacles on both sides, the Embassadors having Negotiated to no purpose with the King of *Sweden*, resolv'd at last to go away, and to take their Audience of Leave of the King of *Poland*; upon the assurance they had receiv'd, that they should be better treated than at their first. And indeed, the Great Mareschal of *Lithuania* having introduc'd them at their Return, the King receiv'd them very well, *making them be cover'd as soon as he had put on his Hat.* However it was not a *publick Audience*, because there were only present the Mareschal, who had accompany'd them, the King's first Secretary, and the Embassador's Gentlemen, who made their bows to his Majesty. These Gentlemen having been so unworthily treated at their Entry, (for in *Poland* Entries are made to Embassadors as well as elsewhere) ought to have concerted the Ceremonies of their *Audience*, or else have cover'd themselves, without being bid. Those Embassadors that make these submissions to Princes, prostitute the Dignity of their Master, and in some measure renounce his Sovereignty. *Robert Shirley*, by putting his Turban at the King of *England*'s feet, committed a Crime that could not be expiated but by Death; and the King in making him take it up, convinc'd the World that he knew better than this Embassador, that the

Law of Nations makes it ſelf be reſpected even by thoſe, to whom otherwiſe too much reſpect cannot be paid.

I ſay that in *Poland* they know how to pay Civilities to Embaſſadors, as well as elſewhere. *Commendon* was only Biſhop and Nuncio in *Poland*, when King *Sigiſmund Auguſtus* ſent a very great Cortege of Coaches to meet him three Leagues off of *Warſaw*. And when the ſame *Commendon* being Cardinal, return'd thither as Legate, after the death of *Sigiſmund*, three Biſhops, and as many Senators went and receiv'd him at his Lodgings; and when he alighted out of the Coach, at the opening of the Tent where the Senate was aſſembled, the two Mareſchals of *Poland* and *Lithuania* receiv'd him; and having their Commanding ſtaffs in their hands, made way for him, which is an Honour that is done only to the King's Perſon. After he had ſaluted the Aſſembly, he took the firſt place between the Archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, and the Biſhop of *Cratow*. On this occaſion they did an Honour to the Legate, which they would not have done to another Embaſſador. But if we conſider that which the ſame Senate did in the Year 1670, to the Earl of *Schafgots* the Emperor's Embaſſador, we ſhall be oblig'd to own, that the *Poles* know very well what they owe to the Character, and that it is not through ignorance that they fail therein. I took notice hereof in the foregoing Chapter.

William Boreel, *Arbert Synk*, and *Epo d'Ailua* Embaſſadors from the United Provinces to *Sweden*, in the Year 1640, were very well receiv'd there: They were Lodg'd in a Houſe very magnificently Furniſh'd, each Embaſſador having a Canopy in his Chamber, beſides that that was over their Table, where they eat in common, and were defray'd during the whole time of their ſtay at *Stockholm*. On the 3d of *Auguſt* they had their firſt *Audience*.

The Queen, who was ſeated in a kind of Throne, ſtood up at the Embaſſador's firſt bow, at the ſecond ſhe made a Courteſy, and at the third, *ſhe deſcended to the firſt ſtep of her Throne*. They made their Harangue in the *Flemiſh* Language; and becauſe the Queen did not after the firſt Complements, *make them be cover'd, they made no difficulty to put on their Hats*, taking them off at certain periods where the diſcourſe was to be accompanied with ſome terms of reſpect. The Senators yielded them the Hand, the Door, and the Chair in all their Conferences; but at firſt they made ſome difficulty to give the Title of Excellency to the Embaſſadors, *and were of Opinion that theſe laſt ought not to be covered at the Audience*. However, all that was regulated to the ſatisfaction of the Embaſſadors. The Queen was very young at this time; but the Senators, and particularly the Chancellor, ought to to have inform'd her of what ſhe ought to do; and ought not to have been ignorant of the manner how the late King had treated the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces.

La Tuillerie, Embaſſador from *France* to *Sweden*, was throughly skill'd in the management of what related to the dignity of the King his Maſter, and yet he never put on his Hat in the *Audiences* he had of Queen *Chriſtina*. When he left *Stockholm*, he left there *Chanut*, his Relation, who for ſome Years Negotiated the Affairs of *France* there, in the Quality of Reſident; but with ſo much Capacity and Addreſs, that he ſoon had the Character of Embaſſador given him. In the firſt *Audience* that he had of the Queen in this Capacity, ſhe would have oblig'd him to be Cover'd, and urg'd him thereto. He made anſwer, that he ſhould not make any great difficulty to be Cover'd, were it but to ſhew that the King of *France* was willing to entertain a Miniſter of the firſt Rank near her Majeſty; but that the King his Maſter was a Prince ſo Civil and well-bred, that without doubt he would not be cover'd himſelf, if he had the Honour to ſpeak to the Queen; that is to ſay, to the Princeſs of the whole World, who moſt deſerv'd to be ſerv'd and reverenc'd; ſo that he hop'd ſhe would give him leave to perſiſt in that reſpectful poſture. The Repartee was Spiritual, and Gallant: We cannot pay too great ſubmiſſion to the Ladies; ſo that tho' all Embaſſadors were to imitate this action of *Chanut*, they would not be for ſo doing, either leſs worthy Perſons, or leſs able Miniſters. I ſhall here add, that neither he, nor *la Tuillerie*, run the ſame riſque that *Boreel* and his Collegues did; as well becauſe the Senators of *Sweden* would never have thought of diſputing the privilege of being Cover'd, with the *French* Embaſſadors; as becauſe the Queen her ſelf entreated them to be Cover'd, which ſhe had not done in reference to the others. May it not be ſaid alſo, that *Boreel* had a great deal of Wit and Ability, but that Gallantry was neither his Virtue nor Vice?

In the Year 1626, *Bethlem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, ſent into *England* a *German* Gentleman, nam'd *M. Quandt*, on account of the Wars; wherein the Elector *Palatin*, the King of *England*'s Son-in-Law, was very much concern'd. This Miniſter's Retinue was but indifferent, for an Embaſſador that would conſult his Maſter's Honour: And on the other ſide, the Prince himſelf was not well enough known, nor ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd, to be able to paſs for a Sovereign. The King therefore, who ſhew'd him the uſual Civilities, by making him be Conducted *to Audience by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, did not put on his Hat, thereby to oblige him to remain uncover'd.* The Miniſter afterwards ſaw the Queen, who preſs'd him two or three times to be Cover'd, and indeed *forc'd him to be ſo*. Hereupon the *Engliſh* blam'd him, and were of opinion he had committed a fault. He had in reality committed one, but the *Engliſh* were guilty of the firſt, and the greateſt; becauſe they ought to have acquainted the Queen, that the King had not made him be Cover'd. When the Maſter of the Ceremonies conducted this Gentleman to his *Audience* of leave, he ask'd him whether he intended to be Cover'd again when he ſpake to the Queen; but he made anſwer, that he would not put on his Hat, whatever inſtance the Queen might uſe to have him do it: That he had put it on in his firſt *Audience*, at the Queen's repeated Inſtances, but becauſe he then ſpake to her in his Maſter's Name, who had commanded him to ſee the Queen; whereas when he took his leave of her, he executed a private duty.

The King look'd upon the Repartee to be Spiritual, but the Courtiers did not make the ſame Judgment of it. The Prince of *Tranſilvania*, by commanding his Miniſter to acquit himſelf in that Court of the uſual Civilities, comprehended therein all the *Audiences*, the laſt as well as the firſt; ſo that it was in his Maſter's Name that he paid his Reſpects to the Queen, in the one, as well as in the other. The Duke of *Savoy*, by not Covering himſelf in the *Audience* he gave to my Lord *Falconbridge*, thereby to hinder him from being Cover'd, did not treat him like an Embaſſador.

The Marquiſs *Pompey Strozzi*, Embaſſador from the Duke of *Mantua*, arriv'd at *London* in the Year 1627, at a time when there was no remembrance of there ever having been ſeen at that Court an Embaſſador from that Prince. The King would not at firſt conſent to his being Cover'd; becauſe he knew the Embaſſador of *Mantua* does not cover himſelf, when he ſpeaks to the King of *Spain*. The Marquiſs alledg'd, that his Maſter's Embaſſadors cover'd themſelves in ſpeaking to the Pope, to the Emperor, and to the King of *France*; and that he himſelf going to ſee the King of *France*, who was Sick in Bed, his Majeſty had made him Sit, and be Cover'd. He did not mention the King of *Spain*, and he might have ſpar'd himſelf the trouble of naming the Pope, becauſe that even the Embaſſador of *France* is not Cover'd when he ſpeaks to him. Neither does the Emperor allow the Embaſſador of *Mantua* to be Cover'd. But what he afterwards ſaid of *France*, and that the Duke his Maſter does not viſit the Embaſſadors of the firſt Kings of *Chriſtendom*, nor give them the place of Honour at home, is true; and he has this in common with the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Great Duke, and within ſome Years with the Dukes of *Parma*, and *Modena*.

In the Year 1639, the *Bailo de Fourbin*, *Great Croſs*, Embaſſador extraordinary from *Malta*, being arriv'd in *France*, Complemented the King upon the birth of the *Dauphine*; and having been receiv'd in the manner I related in the foregoing Chapter, the Mareſchal *de St. Luc* had Orders to Conduct him to *Audience*. The Court was at *St. Germain*, and the Embaſſador being come thither, he was entertain'd at Dinner; during which time, *it was debated whether he ſhould be Cover'd*. The King was ſpoke to about it, who remember'd that he had before ſuffer'd the Commander *de Formigere*, who was alſo Embaſſador from *Malta*, *to be Cover'd at his Audience, altho' he was a Captain in the Regiment of Guards*.

It was likewiſe repreſented to the King, that his Majeſty had done the ſame Honour to the Marquiſs *de Ville*, Embaſſador from Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*; ſo that it was reſolv'd that the *Bailo ſhould be Cover'd*, but that he ſhould make a modeſt and reſpectful uſe of that Liberty; which accordingly he did. After he had pronounc'd a ſhort Harangue with his Hat on, he continu'd his diſcourſe to the King for ſome time uncover'd, and he did not put on his Hat at all in ſpeaking to the Queen. He viſited the Princeſſes of the Blood, whom he Saluted. The Prince of *Condé*, and Cardinal *de Richelieu* gave him the Title of Excellency, and the firſt gave him alſo the place of Honour. On the tenth of *April* he took his *Audience* of Leave with the ſame Ceremonies, and the King preſented him with a Pictur'd Box worth four thouſand Livres. When he ſet out from *Paris*, he did not go to *Malta*, to make a Report of his Embaſſy to the Great Maſter, but he went and Commanded the *French* Gallies, of which he was Lieutenant General

Axel Baron d'Oxenſtiern, Chancellor of *Sweden*, and Legate Plenipotentiary of the ſame Crown in *Germany*, not being able to reach the *Baltick*, to paſs into *Sweden*; and finding himſelf oblig'd to take his way through *France*, arriv'd at *Compiegne* on the 26th of *April*, 1635. The Count *d'Alais* and the Count *de Brulon* went to meet him with the King's and Queen's Coaches, and conducted him to one of the beſt Houſes in the Town, which the King had caus'd to be fitted up for him. The ſame day he was viſited by *M. de la Meiſleraye*, Knight of the Order; and the next day the ſame Counts conducted him to his *Audience* of the King, *who made him be Cover'd*. The Regiments of Guards, the Grand Prevoſt's Men, the hundred *Swiſs*, and the Body-Guards ſtood to their Arms. The Cardinal *de Richelieu* receiv'd him at the end of his Guard-Room, and re-conducted him to the bottom of the Stairs. The Cardinal going two days after to ſee the Chancellor, this laſt receiv'd him as he alighted out of the Coach; and when he re-conducted him back, he did not retire till the Coach mov'd off. On the 30th of the ſame Month, he had his *Audience* of leave with the ſame Ceremonies. The King made him a Preſent of a Diamond worth twelve thouſand Crowns, and ſent him beſides by the Introductor, a Box with his Picture, of the value of ſix thouſand Crowns. This Gentleman, who was one of the firſt Officers of the Crown of *Sweden*, had indeed the general and abſolute direction of of the affairs of *Germany*; but he had no *Character* that could oblige the King to make him be Cover'd; ſince ſome Years after he would not allow that Privilege to a Prince, who was equal to the firſt in *Europe*, as well for Birth, as for Merit.

I ſpeak of Duke *Bernard* of *Saxe Weimar*, and of the Journey he took to *Paris* in the Year 1636. The Duke of *Parma* was come thither ſome days before; and as he had receiv'd extraordinary Honours, the other believ'd he ought not to expect leſs; yet there was a great diſtinction made in the Reception of the one and of the other. The Duke of *Parma* was receiv'd at *Orleans*, whither were ſent one of the Introductors, a Steward of the Houſhold, a Comptroller, and two Gentlemen Waiters to treat him. The Mayor and the Sheriffs Harangu'd him, the Soldiers and Burgeſſes were under Arms, and the Magiſtrate made him the Preſent of Wine, and Sweetmeats. The Chapter and the Univerſity made him their Compliments: The Duke *de la Valette* with one of the Queen's Coaches, and ſix and thirty others went to meet him as far as *Chilly*. The Dukes of *Mercœur* and of *Beaufort* went with a great number of Lords and Gentlemen to receive him at *Bourg la Reine*, and conducted him to the *Louvre*, where the Regiments of Guards were under their Arms, and

and the *Switzers* and the Life-Guards were rang'd along the Stairs, and in the great Room. He went directly to the King, who was in his Chamber, *who advanc'd five or six Steps towards him*, and embrac'd him ſeveral times. Monſieur, who was there, ſaluted him likewiſe; and then *they all three put on their Hats.*

The Duke of *Weimar* ſaw no body from the King till he came to *Lagny*, where the Count *de Guiche* went to ſee him with three or four of his Friends; one Steward, and one Comptroller, with ſome Officers of the King's Houſhold, treated him at Dinner in the Camp, three or four Leagues from *Paris*, where the Duke *de la Trimoüille* came to him with ſeveral Coaches, and brought him to the *Arſenal*, which had been fitted up with the King's Furniture. He reſted himſelf the Day following, and the next Day the Duke *de la Trimoüille* conducted him to *Audience*; the King being then at St. *Germains*. The Duke of *Orleans*, who was preſent when *la Trimoüille* acquainted the King that the Duke of *Weimar* was come, ask'd whether he was to be cover'd when he ſpoke to the King. *La Trimoüille* made anſwer that he could not tell, and that he had ſpoke to Cardinal *de Richelieu* about it, who had told him he ought not to be cover'd. *Chavigni*, who was there preſent, was urg'd to tell his Opinion. He ſaid that he ought not, and that if the King approv'd thereof, he would ſpeak to the Duke of *Weimar* about it; but that he would not do it without an expreſs Command, becauſe that might make him have a Thought which perhaps he might not otherwiſe have: That he was of the Houſe of *Saxony:* That he was ſenſible the Biſhop of *Wirtsberg* was cover'd at *Metz*, and that he would, without doubt, think they could not refuſe him what had been granted to the Duke of *Parma*.

In fine, it was reſolv'd at laſt, that he ſhould not be ſpoke to. The Duke of *Weimar* waited in the mean time in the Apartment of the Superintendent of the Finances, where word was brought him that he might ſee the King. The Guards were not under their Arms when he arriv'd, but as he aſcended into the King's Apartment, the *Switzers* and the Life-Guards made a Lane for him. After he had made his Bows and his Complement, *ſeeing the King put on his Hat, he put on his at the ſame time*, which oblig'd the King to take his off, ſo that they talk'd for ſome time uncover'd; after which the King order'd the Duke to be conducted to Dinner. As he went from *Audience*, *Chavigny* ask'd the Duke's Miniſter how his Maſter intended to behave himſelf before the Queen, and whether he pretended to be cover'd: He was anſwer'd, that the Duke thought himſelf obliged to do what he did, after the Uſage the Duke of *Parma* had had, but that he did not deſign to be cover'd in the Queen's Preſence. He was conducted to her, and afterwards to Monſieur, who made him be cover'd; but then he did the ſame Honour to the Duke *de la Trimoüille*, and to the Prince of *Wirtenberg*, who accompany'd the Duke of *Weimar*. Cardinal *de Richelieu* receiv'd him at the top of the Stair-Caſe, and offer'd him the Place of Honour, but took it after ſome Civilities. At his going away, the Cardinal conducted him back to his Coach, into which the Duke would not enter till the Cardinal was withdrawn. Before the Duke's Arrival at *Paris* it had been agreed with his Miniſter, that he ſhould be cover'd when he ſpoke to the King, or elſe that he ſhould be ſeated on a Stool before the Queen; ſo that when he deſir'd to ſee the King after his *firſt Audience*, it was requiſite to agree upon freſh Terms, and after ſeveral goings and comings it was at laſt determin'd that he ſhould be contented with the Stool. The Duke ſaid, that for his part he was ſatisfy'd in having aſſerted what was due to his Birth, that thoſe of his Houſe might have nothing to reproach him: And therefore for the future he was willing to conform to the King's Will and Pleaſure. After this Declaration the King gave him a noble Entertainment, remain'd uncover'd for half a quarter of an Hour, and then put on his Hat; but this was in his Cloſet, in the Preſence of very few Confidents. After Dinner he went to ſee the Queen, who order'd him the Stool, but he did not ſit thereon above half a quarter of an Hour before he got up, and the Queen roſe at the ſame time; they remain'd both ſtanding till he retir'd, after the Converſation of half an Hour. When he ſet out from *Paris*, he deſir'd that one of the King's Coaches might carry him to *Chalon*; but Difficulties were objected on account of the Conſequence; ſo that Cardinal *de Richelieu* gave him one of his. The King's Officers treated him again at *Chalon*. We ſhall have a farther Occaſion hereafter to ſay ſomething more, with reference to the Duke of *Parma*.

Altho' what is done out of *Europe* does not always ſerve for a Precedent, yet it affords either matter of Inſtruction or Diverſion. I ſhall therefore give here the Hiſtory of an *Audience*, if not ſolemn, at leaſt very extraordinary, which an Embaſſador had in one of the Quarters of the World, the moſt remote from our Climate. In the Year 1623, that is to ſay, much about the time that *Garcia de Figueroa* was Embaſſador in *Perſia*, *Franciſco de Gama*, Count *de Vidigueira*, Viceroy of the Oriental *Indies*, ſent *Don John Fernandis Leitao* in the Quality of Embaſſador to *Venctapa Naſeka*, King of part of that Country, which the *Portugueſe* call *Biſnaga*. He had no Civilities at all done him at his Arrival at *Jekeri*, which is the Capital of this pretended Kingdom, neither did he receive the leaſt Complement; only the next Day ſome Refreſhments of ſmall Value were ſent him, as Sugar-Canes, Fruit, Sugar, and other Trifles; and withal he was told that the Day following he ſhould be conducted to *Audience*. The *Indians* came before the Hour appointed, ſo that the Embaſſador had not made an end of his Dinner, when a Meſſenger acquainted him that ſome *Indian* Lords waited for him in the Street, to conduct him to *Audience*. He ſent to deſire them not to be *over-civil*, but to give him leave to make an end of his Dinner, and to dreſs himſelf; becauſe in thoſe hot Countries People conſult their Eaſe during the exceſſive Heat of the Day. The *Indians* having waited ſome time at the Door, went into the Houſe, and there ſtay'd in the Entry, till the Embaſſador and his People were in a Condition to receive them. One of theſe *Indian* Lords had been Embaſſador to the Viceroy of *Goa*, from *Venctapa*, and was return'd with the *Portugueſe*

tugueſe Embaſſador; and the other had been General of his Army: This laſt, who had brought his Son along with him, made a Preſent to the *Portugueſe* of a piece of fine painted Cloth, which is very common in thoſe Parts, and the Embaſſador return'd his Preſent, by another of ſome Yards of Cloth. While this little Commerce was going on, a publick Woman gave them the Diverſion of a Dance. The Company being got on Horſeback, they proceeded in this Order. Firſt went two Men, having each of them a led Horſe; one of which belong'd to the Embaſſador, and the other was a Preſent that the Viceroy ſent to *Venctapa*: And after theſe follow'd ſome *Indians*, ſome of which were arm'd with Muskets, and the others with half Pikes; ſome were on Horſeback and others on Foot, accompany'd with their uſual Muſick, compos'd of Drums and Flutes. Then follow'd ſome Muſqueteers, all cloth'd after the ſame manner, repreſenting the Embaſſador's Guard. A certain *Portugueſe* nam'd *Hidalgo*, who on this Occaſion did the Office of Captain of the Guards, march'd in their Rear on Horſe-back, and well enough clad. Immediately after him came the Embaſſador, accompany'd by the two *Indian* Lords: and four or five *Europeans*, mix'd with as many *Indians* (who were the Embaſſador's Gentlemen, and thoſe of the Conductors) clos'd the Cavalcade. Thoſe of the Embaſſador's Retinue, who as I ſaid, were in Number four or five, were on Horſe-back; except one, who not finding any Horſe to hire, was gone before, and waited for the others at the Palace-Gate, in order to get in with the reſt. The Palace was in a great Incloſure, hem'd in with ſeveral Walls and Ditches; ſo that there were ſeveral Bridges and Gates to paſs over and through, before one came to the Body of the Place. The Horſemen that compos'd the Cavalcade, having paſs'd through the two firſt Gates, alighted; and as they went through the fourth Gate, they perceiv'd the King, who was ſeated in a little Court oppoſite to the Gate. He was upon a rais'd Floor, under a Canopy inclos'd like a Field-bed, and ſupported by four Pillars of Wood gilt. He had under him a ſorry Carpet and a little Quilt, and was leaning againſt one of the Pillars, having at his Back two Cuſhions of Cotten Cloth, very fine and white. His Sword, the Hilt whereof was Silver, lay by him upon another little Quilt; and on the other ſide of him, was a little Table of an Octogone Figure. The lower Floor from the Canopy to the Gate was of Wood, having in the middle an Opening about the Wideneſs of the Mouth of a Well: and they ſaid, that underneath the Cover there was a Reſervatory, that ſupply'd Water to a Fountain that was plac'd thereon during the violent Heats of Summer, which were not at the time we are ſpeaking of very troubleſome; for which Reaſon this Opening was ſo ſtopp'd, that it was a difficult matter to perceive there was one. The King had by him, on his right Hand, ſeveral Noblemen, and among the reſt, one that was cover'd with a very fine Cotton Cloth, and kept playing with a Fan to drive away the Flies. All that were about the King were ſtanding, except one ſingle Perſon, who was ſaid to be his Favourite, who was under the ſame Canopy againſt the Wall. The Embaſſador, as ſoon as he ſet foot within the Court, made a Bow after the manner of the *Portugueſe*, holding his Hat in his Hand, and he was ſeated at an equal Diſtance from the King and the Favourite; the King remaining all the time as immoveable as a Statue. One of the Lords Introductors, who was to ſerve as Interpreter, plac'd himſelf by one of the Pillars, which was oppoſite to that the King lean'd againſt. The King having enquir'd after the Healths of the King of *Spain*, and of the Viceroy, and the Embaſſador having anſwer'd thereto, this laſt added that the Subject Matter of his Embaſſy was only a Viſit of Civility, to entertain a good Underſtanding and Friendſhip with his Highneſs; and that the Viceroy as a Token thereof had ſent him a Horſe, which he deſir'd he would accept of, till the Preſents the King of *Spain* intended him ſhould arrive, which were to be ſent by the Opportunity of the firſt Ships; as would appear by the Viceroy's Letters. I ſhall here obſerve by the by, that the *Portugueſe* give the Title of *Highneſs* to all the Kings in thoſe Parts, becauſe that before the Union of the Crown of *Portugal* to that of *Caſtile* they gave no other to their own King; neither did the *Spaniards* themſelves give the Title of Majeſty to the King of *Caſtile*, before the Reign of *Charles* V.

The Embaſſador having finiſh'd his Complement, he aroſe from his Place, *put one Knee on the Ground*, and preſented his *Credentials* to the King, who without the leaſt Inclination of his Body took them, and gave them to the Nobleman who ſerv'd as Interpreter, by whom they were delivered to the Secretary of State. The Embaſſador had Letters alſo from the King of *Spain*, but he kept them for another *Audience*. In the mean time the Viceroy's Preſent was brought, which conſiſted in ſome Fragments of Cloth of ſeveral Colours, and were put into a Baſon of Wood gilt, which is a common Utenſil among the *Indians*; and a Lance after the manner of the *Moors*, with a ſharp Spike like that of a Pike, and a very pretty Target. The Horſe was likewiſe brought, cover'd with a ſilk Houſing. After the King had view'd him, and handled the Lance a little, which the Embaſſador ſaid was of the Faſhion of *Portugal*, the Gentlemen of his Retinue were ſeated. It is obſerv'd that the Embaſſador *did not cover himſelf during the Audience*. And he that gives us this Relation, farther adds, *That this was a Precedent of ſo much the worſe Conſequence, as it was the firſt Embaſſy the* Portugueſe *had ſent to* Venctapa, *and ſo would ſerve as an Example to his Succeſſors: That theſe Examples being capable of doing the greateſt Prejudice, the Miniſter ought to be very cautious in what he does on theſe Occaſions: But that the* Portugueſe *that are in the* Indies *are very ignorant, and know nothing of what belongs to the Court, how knowing ſoever they may be, or think themſelves to be; as this Embaſſador, for inſtance, who had a very great Opinion of his own Merit.* It muſt be acknowledg'd that the *Portugueſe* did too much, and that the Meanneſſes to which he ſtoop'd were criminal; even tho' he had had to do not with a *Venctapa*, but with a King of *Pegu*, or of *Siam*, the *Mogul*, or even the Emperor of *China*. He might alſo have forborn telling that little

King, that formerly he had been at that Court in a private Capacity, and that he had offer'd to ſell him ſome Horſes. The *Audience* being turn'd into Converſation, and at laſt into Feaſting, the *Portugueſe* Embaſſador ran every now and then into inſupportable Extravagancies: even to the asking *Venctapa* to give him Letters of Recommendation to the King of *Spain*. The Converſation having laſted a conſiderable Time, the King caus'd a piece of Cloth of Gold to be brought him, of the largeneſs of a Toilet, and put it upon the Embaſſador's Shoulders, who retir'd with that Preſent.

I believe I may ſay, that it is perhaps the only Embaſſador who did not cover himſelf at an *Audience*, where he ought and might have done it. The Embaſſadors of the *Swiſs Cantons*, who at their Entry had receiv'd Honours which are not done to thoſe of the greateſt Monarchs, could never obtain that which is not refus'd to the meaneſt Princes of *Italy*. After they had made their Entry into *Paris*, in the manner we have related in the foregoing Chapter, the Count *de Harcourt*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and the two Introductors, went and receiv'd them with the King's Coaches, at the Chancellor's, where they had din'd, in order to conduct them to *Audience*. The two Regiments of Guards were under their Arms: The Duke *d'Enguien*, Prince of the Blood, accompany'd by ſeveral Dukes and Peers, and by ſome Mareſchals of *France*, receiv'd them at the bottom of the Stairs: The Marquiſs *de Vardes*, Captain of the hundred *Switzers*, was at the Head of his Company, and the Marquiſs *de Villequirs*, Captain of the Life-Guards, was at the Entrance into the King's Chamber. The King had by him the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Officers of his Houſhold. At their going from this *Audience*, they were conducted to the Queen's, and from thence went and paid their Reſpects to the *Dauphin*. *They had made preſſing Inſtances, that they might be cover'd when they ſpoke to the King*, but it was refus'd them, and the King was reſolv'd to keep Poſſeſſion of the Advantage the Kings his Predeceſſors had acquir'd and left him; and the *Switzers*, who prefer Money to Honour, were willing to neglect the one to preſerve the other. And indeed the King makes a great Difference betwixt the *Swiſs* and his other Allies. He ſometimes gives Subſidies to theſe, but he gives Penſions to thoſe; the one's are his Friends, the other's are his Penſioners; he hires and buys Soldiers of the one's, and the others aſſiſt him by virtue of their Alliance.

There is a verbal Proceſs, or an Act of the Oath that was taken at *Turin* in the beginning of the Year 1652, for the Execution of the Treaty of Alliance which was juſt renew'd between the Duke of *Savoy* and the nine Catholick Cantons, wherein it is expreſly obſerv'd, that when the Duke went from under his Canopy, to go to the Table at which the Oath was to be taken, the Embaſſadors from the Cantons advanc'd towards the other ſide, uncover'd; all the reſt of the Aſſembly being in the ſame State, except the Duke, who was cover'd. Every body remain'd uncover'd, while *Hartman*, Secretary to the Cantons, made an Harangue, and while the Duke's Chancellor made an Anſwer in his Royal Highneſs's Name. They were cover'd while the Count *Nomis*, the Duke's Interpreter, explain'd the one and the other. But after the Duke and the Embaſſadors had taken the Oath, the Duke plac'd himſelf again under the Canopy, and put on his Hat, *the Embaſſadors and Lords of the Court remaining uncover'd.*

It is alſo obſerv'd in *France*, that when an Embaſſador enters into the Chamber, or Cloſet, where the King gives him *Audience*, the Door-keeper *opens both the Folds of the Door*; but if it be a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, he then opens but one. As ſoon as the Embaſſador has put on his Hat, *all the Princes* that are preſent at the *Audience put on theirs likewiſe:* And it is not only the Princes of the Blood, nor thoſe, who altho' deſcended from a ſovereign Houſe, have ſettl'd themſelves in *France*, as thoſe of *Savoy* and of *Lorrain*, that enjoy this Privilege; but alſo all thoſe whom the King has declar'd to be Princes; as thoſe of the Houſe of *la Tour*, on the Score of the Territory of *Sedan*, which they have been in Poſſeſſion of for ſome Years. The laſt Duke *d'Eſpernon*, whoſe Father was the firſt Lord of the Family, procur'd it, tho' he had no Principality; and that the Father, who thought he ow'd the King nothing, had never carry'd his Thoughts ſo high. When the Duke of *Parma* arriv'd at *Paris*, he cover'd himſelf before the King, and, to do him the greater Honour, the King forbad the Princes to be cover'd; and they accordingly obey'd: But then the Princes of the Blood would not be preſent. In *France* there is no particular Place appropriated to *Audiences*; the King moſt commonly gives them in his Chamber, by his Bed-ſide, in his Cloſet, or in a Gallery, as Occaſion happens. In *England* the King gives them to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and ſometimes to the others, in the Preſence-Chamber; and to Miniſters of the ſecond Order in ſome other Place, where he may happen to be. No Civilities are done them, except that formerly they were accompany'd by ſome Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, but that is no longer practis'd.

The Reſpect that is due to Sovereigns, requires, that the Embaſſador at his *Audiences* ſpeak with an intelligible Voice, but low. It is true this cannot be well perform'd in Republicks, where the *Audiences* are giv'n in Aſſemblies compos'd of many Perſons; yet nevertheleſs, even on thoſe Occaſions, Diſcretion muſt be us'd, and he ought to direct his Diſcourſe to the Doge, or to the Preſident of the Aſſemblies, rather than to the whole Company. Neither ought his Speeches to be long, tedious, and wide from the purpoſe. It is a piece of Incivility to abuſe the Patience of a private Perſon, and a Friend, but it is an unpardonable Imprudence to irritate that of a Prince. Nothing can be imagin'd more impertinent, than the Doctor, who being order'd to back the Negotiation the Duke of *Mecklenburg*'s younger Son was to carry on in *Sweden*, made an Harangue in *Latin* to Queen *Chriſtina*, that laſted two Hours, extending himſelf on common Places, and every now and then touching on the *Italian* Politicks, which are oppoſite to the Rules of Chriſtianity, in as much as they prefer *Utility* to *Honeſty*. It was a great Tryal

of the Diſcretion of a Princeſs, who could not endure either Pedants or Pedantry; ſince ſhe was ſenſible of their Foible. They that know her, are convinc'd ſhe is not a Wit can take delight in Common-places. It is ſaid, that *Alphonſo the Magnanimous*, King of *Arragon* and of *Naples*, took ſo much Pleaſure in hearing *Jonas Maneti*, Embaſſador from *Florence*, that in his Attention he did not feel a Fly that ſettled on his Noſe at the beginning of his Harangue, and remain'd there till it was ended. It might be ſaid, that perhaps it was not very long: but then it may be ſaid again, that all Kings are not *Alphonſoes*, nor all the Embaſſadors *Maneties*.

I took notice in the Xth Chapter, that in the firſt *Audience Lewis* XIII, gave to Cardinal *Barberin* Legate from *Urban* VIII, he order'd him an Arm'd-Chair: and I have elſewhere ſpoke of ſome King's of *Caſtile* and *Poland*, who have caus'd Embaſſadors to ſit. But it is a long time that this has been left off in *Spain*, and the other Courts, where the Ceremonies are regulated. The Pope ſtill cauſes the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads to be ſeated, but every where elſe the Prince that gives *Audience* is ſtanding, as well as the Embaſſador that receives it.

Theſe Civilities therefore being almoſt equal amongſt all the Princes, we muſt ſee a little what is practis'd in the two Republicks, where Princes have their Embaſſadors. *At* Venice *they take their Audiences in the College*, and they are conducted thither by the ſame Senators who have done them Honour at their Entry. The College is compos'd of the *Seigniorie*, that is to ſay, of the Doge and his ſix Counſellors; of three Deputies of the *Quaranty* Criminal; of ſix Grand Sages; of five Sages of *Terra Firma*, and of five Sages of the *Orders:* making in all ſix and twenty Perſons. As ſoon as the Embaſſador ſets his Foot in the Hall, the whole Aſſembly riſes, and all are uncover'd except the Doge, who takes off his Cap only to ſovereign Princes, to the *Infanta*'s of *Spain*, to the Princes of the Blood of *France*, and to Cardinals. The Embaſſador makes his three Bows, and three at each time; the firſt to the Doge, and the ſix Counſellors who are oppoſite to the Door; and the other two, to the Senators who are on each ſide; the Grand Sages with the Deputies of the Quaranty, being on the Right, and the Sages of *Terra Firma*, and of the *Orders*, on the left. The Embaſſador having taken his Place on the right Hand of the Doge, he preſents his *Credentials*, which are read by a Secretary: the Lecture being over, the Door is ſet open that any body may enter. The Embaſſador ſpeaks to the Republick, and begins his Diſcourſe with *Moſt Serene Duke*; *Moſt Excellent Lords:* and this tho' the Doge be not preſent. This being done he retires, and the Chevalier that conducted him to *Audience*, re-conducts him back to his Palace, where he complements him afreſh, and the Embaſſador ſees him back to his Gondola, giving him the Place of Honour. The Embaſſadors of thoſe Princes who have only the Quality of Duke are alſo ſeated on the right Hand of the Doge; but the College does not riſe till they have made their ſecond Bow, in the middle of the Hall. *Reſidents are not ſuffer'd to ſit:* not even the Emperor's, who for that Reaſon, has moſt commonly, only an Agent at *Venice*. The Reſident of *Tuſcany* has his firſt *Audience* openly, which is an Advantage that he has over the other *Subaltern Miniſters*, to whom *publick Audience* is not given.

At the *Hague*, an Embaſſador is conducted to his firſt *Audience*, with the ſame Civilities which he has receiv'd at his Entry; that is to ſay, by two Deputies of the States-General, who go and receive him at his Houſe, with a Cortege of thirty or forty Coaches, which follow a very large and fine Coach enough, belonging to the State, but the Horſes that draw it belong to private Perſons; and conduct him to the foot of the Stair-Caſe of the Great Hall of the Palace. There they alight, and go through the Hall, to the Appartment where the States meet. They all riſe as ſoon as the Embaſſador enters, and remain ſtanding and uncover'd till the Embaſſador ſits down and is cover'd. He has an Arm'd-Chair of green Velvet, and a Cuſhion of the ſame, which are ſet directly over againſt that of the Preſident; and the two Deputies that conducted him, place themſelves on each ſide of him. The Embaſſadors addreſs themſelves to the Aſſembly, and moſt of 'em treat it, with *High and mighty Lords*. The Miniſters of the Emperor, and of the King of *Spain*, who were not willing to do more than the Embaſſador of *France*, begin their Harangue by *Meſſieurs*, and treat the Eſtates with *Seigneuries* or Lordſhips. The King of *France*, even when he writes to them, gives them no other Quality than that of *Dear and Good Friends, Allies and Confederates*. He gives no other, either to the Republick of *Venice*, nor to the *Swiſs Cantons:* yet nevertheleſs, when his Embaſſadors ſpeak to the College, they give the Doge the Stile of *Moſt Serene*, and the reſt of the Senators that of *Moſt Excellent Lords*; and to the *Swiſs Cantons* that of *Moſt Magnificent Lords*. The King of *Great-Britain*, and after his Example the *Northern* Kings, and all the other Princes and Sovereigns, give them the Stile of *High and Mighty Lords*. *M. d'Eſtrades*, now Mareſchal of *France*, at his firſt *Audience* in the Year 1662, began his Diſcourſe by *Illuſtrious Lords*; but they were not pleas'd therewith. This Title, it is true, expreſſes ſomething more than that of *Meſſieurs*, of which the King makes uſe when he ſpeaks to the States of his Kingdom, and even to his Parliaments, that are his Subjects: nay I am willing to think it rather more honourable than that of *High and Mighty:* but they were of Opinion, that it was not neceſſary to change the Stile, to abridge them of any thing they could pretend to: and at Court they were not ſatisfy'd with him neither; becauſe he had done the States an Honour which his Predeceſſors were not us'd to give them. It appears in the Negotiation of Preſident *Jeannin*, that the Arch-Duke was unwilling to ſuffer the States to take the Titles of *High and Mighty*, and that he gave them at the Treaty, that of *Illuſtrious*. However it muſt be acknowledg'd, that in the ſimple Title of *Meſſieurs*, there is ſomething greater, than in all the Epithets that can be added to it. *Sire* in *France*, and *Senner* in *Spain*, expreſſes better the Grandeur of thoſe two *Monarchs*, than all the Titles of *Moſt Serene*, *Moſt Excellent*, &c. which other Princes aſſume, are able to do. The States of *Holland* take upon them

them the Titles of *Noble*, *Great*, *and Puiſſant Lords*; and thoſe of the other Provinces, the Quality of *Noble and Puiſſant Lords*. There is ground to wonder, that the Eſtates of thoſe Sovereign Provinces ſhould be contented with thoſe Titles which they have in common, not only with the Deputies of the States General, with thoſe of the Council of State, and even with their own Deputies; but alſo with the Court of Juſtice of *Holland*, whoſe Judges aſſume likewiſe the Title of *Noble and Puiſſant Lords*; tho' it be properly but a *Preſidial*, whoſe Sentences are ſubject to Caſſation and Reformation.

After the Embaſſador has finiſh'd his Complement, and that his *Letters of Credence* are read, the Preſident, who takes Advice of three or four Deputies, who ſit next him, makes an Anſwer: and then the Embaſſador retires, and is conducted back to his Lodgings by the ſame Deputies who had brought him thither. Envoys are alſo conducted to *Audience* by two Deputies. But all their *Cortege* conſiſts in one Coach with four Horſes, and another with two; and the Arm'd-Chair he ſits in, is only of Cloth. The Reſidents and Agents of Princes, who are not of the firſt Rank, have ſomething leſs: and the Agents, as alſo the Deputies of the *Hanſeatick* Towns, are only conducted by one of the Regiſter's Clerks in a Coach with two Horſes.

At the *Hague* they alſo make a Difference between the Embaſſadors *Extraordinary*, and thoſe in *Ordinary*. Thoſe never receive *Audience*, but they are conducted to it with the ſame Ceremonies which were paid them at their firſt; but this Honour is done to thoſe in Ordinary, but only at their firſt and laſt: at their other *Audiences*, they come in their Coach to the bottom of the Stairs, that lead to the Appartment of the States, who ſend two of their Deputies to receive them there: as they cauſe the Miniſters of the ſecond Order to be receiv'd after the ſame manner, at the top of the Stairs.

The Parliament at *London* had a mind to erect alſo a ſort of Republick, during the laſt Commotions in *England*. The *Sieur de Sabran*, who reſided there on the part of *France*, endeavour'd to contract a Familiarity with ſome of the Deputies of the Parliament, in order to wipe away the Impreſſion, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter's Diſcourſes made there, to the Prejudice of the King his Maſter. He had no *Credentials*; for which reaſon not one of the Members would admit him. He procur'd *Letters of Credence*, and then he demanded *Audience*. The Parliament granted it to him; but inſtead of giving it him in the uſual manner, and much after that the *Dutch* Embaſſador had been receiv'd: he was told, that he ſhould have a Chair, in which he might ſit at his firſt coming: but that the Parliament expected, *he ſhould make his Speech ſtanding and uncover'd*. He refus'd *Audience* on theſe Terms, and had ſome Conferences thereupon. None but Kings are allow'd to treat Miniſters of the ſecond Order after this haughty manner. For altho' theſe cannot pretend to the ſame Honours, that are paid to thoſe that are call'd *Characteriz'd*; ſince not only Sovereigns, but alſo Embaſſadors diſtinguiſh them; yet there is an Obligation, to conſider the Princes they repreſent, and not to proſtitute their Grandeur or Dignity by Submiſſions, that are only due to crown'd Heads. At *Venice* Reſidents are cover'd: at the *Hague* they are not only cover'd, but ſit. They have neither Entries nor Reception, but ſome Civilities are done them at their *Audiences*. It is not long ſince they receiv'd conſiderable ones, not only at the *Northern* Courts, but alſo in that of *France*: However ſince they have been aboliſh'd in this, they have not been continu'd in the others. At *Copenhaguen* it was uſual to receive the Envoys of Electors in a Coach with ſix Horſes, till the preſent King alter'd this Cuſtom, as well in reference to the Envoys of the Electors, as to thoſe of crown'd Heads: as he notify'd it to the Miniſter of *Brandenburg*, in the Month of *September* 1671. I have ſpoken more amply hereof in Chapter V.

After the Marriage of the Prince of Conti, Cardinal *Mazarine*, Unkle to *Mademoiſelle Martinozzi*, whom the Prince had marry'd, ſignify'd to the foreign Miniſters, that he ſhould take it as a Favour if they paid ſome Civilities to the new-marry'd Couple. To this the Reſident of *Brandenburg* made anſwer, that he ſhould be always ready to expreſs his Complaiſance to his Eminency, provided the uſual Method were obſerv'd, and that the Introductor of Embaſſadors, or his Aſſiſtant, notify'd the Marriage to him, and that the Civilities of the *Audience* were regulated. He was given to underſtand, that it was hop'd he would not make any great Difficulty to remain uncover'd, while he ſpoke to a Prince of the Blood. The Reſident reply'd, that the Cardinal himſelf did not exact this Submiſſion from him: that his Eminency knew very well, how the Reſidents of Princes, that have the Title of *Moſt Serene*, are treated at *Rome*: that he hop'd he ſhould not be oblig'd thereto in a *publick Audience*; and that it ſhould never be reproach'd him, that he had been guilty of ſo great a Meanneſs, while he was in the Service of a Prince, to whom the Prince of *Conti* would be oblig'd to give place every where. The Cardinal was ſatisfy'd therewith, and ſaid, that in reality the Prince of *Conti* could not pretend to it with Juſtice.

I have ſpoken in the foregoing *Chapter* of the Entry *Emery Nani*, Embaſſador from *Venice*, made at *Conſtantinople* in the Year 1615. I hope it will not be tedious to my Reader, to ſee in this, the Particulars of his firſt *Audience*; becauſe they have no manner of relation with thoſe Ceremonies, that are done in the other Courts of *Europe*. The 27th of *May* being fix'd for that purpoſe, and thoſe that were to perform the *Cortege* being come before the Embaſſador's Palace, the two Bailos came out, and went on foot as far as the Arſenal, where they enter'd into a cover'd Barge, in which they paſs'd the Gulph that divides *Pera* from *Conſtantinople*. They had on very rich Veſts of Gold Brocade, and all their Retinue were very fine. At their landing near the *Jewry* Gate, they ſaw the *Grand Seignior*'s Horſes, and the *Chiaoux* who were to conduct them, accompany'd by a great many *Turks*, who do not fail to be preſent on theſe Occaſions, in expectation of getting a few *Aſpers* of the Embaſſadors. It rain'd; wherefore the Embaſſadors, and

thoſe of their Retinue having put on *Balandrans*, or Clokes for Rain, took the direct way to the *Seraglio*. Having paſs'd through the firſt Court, which is very large, and wherein was a great Number of *Spahees* on Horſe-back, which were drawn up on both ſides; They alighted at the Gate of the ſecond Court, which no body enters on Horſe-back, but only the *Grand Seignior*. Here the Embaſſadors quitted their Clokes, as did alſo their Retinue, that they might ſhew their Veſts, and their Peoples fine Clothes. In this ſecond Court there are two Allies of *Cyprus* Trees, the one whereof leads from the Gate of the ſecond Court, to the Gate, through which one enters into what truly compoſes the *Seraglio*, or the *Sultan*'s Palace, and the other guides to the Gate of the *Divan*; that is to ſay, to the Place where the *Bachas* Vizirs meet about the Affairs of the State. The Word *Divan* ſignifies the Council it ſelf, as well as the Place where it aſſembles. Four thouſand *Janizaries* drawn up in order of Battel, were poſted under a Gallery on the right ſide of the Gate of the *Divan*, and obſerv'd ſo profound a Silence, that a Mouſe might have been heard to run along, and they remain'd as immoveable as ſo many Statues. On the other ſide were to be ſeen ſeveral *Chiaoux*, in the ſame Reſpect, and in the ſame Silence; the reſt of the Court was ſo vacant that not one ſingle Perſon was to be ſeen therein. The two Embaſſadors, and their Retinue, paſs'd through the middle of theſe *Chiaoux*, and of theſe *Janizaries:* and were receiv'd by the *Chiaoux-Bachi* at the Gate of the *Divan*, were the Vizirs were aſſembled. The *Chiaoux-Bachi* was accompany'd by ſome other Officers, who had all of them a Silver Staff in their Hands; and he conducted the Embaſſadors into a Gallery, which ſerves as an Entry to the *Divan*. The *Divan* it ſelf is but an indifferent Building, having neither Hangings nor other Furniture. The *Bacha*, or *Pacha*, (for ſo they call the Grand or Firſt Vizir, by the way of Excellency) was ſitting on a Bench oppoſite to the Door, under a little Grate, through which the Sultan can ſee and hear all that paſſes in the *Divan*. On the ſame Bench, and on the right Hand of the Firſt Vizir ſate the other *Bachas:* and on his left, but at ſome diſtance, the two *Cadileskers*, or Judges of *Romelia* and *Natolia*, that is to ſay, of *Europe* and *Aſia*. At the end of the Table which was before them, ſate the two *Teſterdas*, or Super-intendents of the *Finances:* and behind them on a ſeparate Bench, ſeveral Clarkes or Secretaries, who had all of them a Pen in their Hand, ready to write whatever ſhould be commanded them. And on the right ſide, oppoſite to the *Teſterdas*, ſate the *Naſcangi*, or Chancellor, who ſigns the Ordinances of the *Divan*, and the Will and Pleaſure of the *Sultan*. Not one of the Baſhaws roſe up when the Embaſſadors enter'd: and they, on their part, did not ſo much as touch their Caps, nor thoſe of their Retinue their Hats. They were ſeated on two Stools right againſt the Firſt Vizir: and thoſe of their Retinue, which the littleneſs of the Place did admit of, ſtood behind them. After ſome Complements had paſs'd on both ſides, the Firſt Vizir commanded the Steward to cauſe Dinner to be ſerv'd up. In the mean time the Veſts were brought, which the Embaſſadors preſent the Baſhaws with; but theſe gave it very well to be underſtood, that they receiv'd 'em as a Tribute; having the Impudence to make them be meaſur'd in the Preſence of the *Bailoes*, and reproaching them, that ſome of them were ſhorter than the others.

Dinner being ready, a certain Officer came and caſt here and there ſome Towels, like thoſe they uſe in Convents inſtead of Napkins; but on this Occaſion, they ſerv'd to wipe the Hands of the Company after they had waſh'd: over theſe Towels the ſame Officer put others of a ſtreak'd Cloth, which ſerv'd inſtead of Napkins. This being done, they plac'd before the Firſt Vizir, on a low Stool, a Silver Ring, of the ſize of the bottom of a Hogſhead, the Rim whereof had ſeveral pieces of Bread upon it, the Middle being void for a Diſh; for there was but one ſerv'd up at a time. At this firſt Table were two of the Baſhaws with the Firſt Vizir, and the two Embaſſadors. Another Table like the firſt, was put before the other Baſhaws: a third before the *Cadileskers:* one before the *Teſterdas*, and a fifth before the *Naſcangi*. Each Table had thirty four Diſhes ſerv'd upon it, moſt of them fill'd with Rice, and three or four Fowls roaſted or boyl'd, with Sauces after their manner. The laſt Services conſiſted of Paſties: but they had neither Soop nor Intermeſſes, nor Fruit, nor Sweetmeats; becauſe the *Turks* do not eat any either at Dinner or Supper, but only betwixt Meals. They don't drink till they have done eating; ſo that the Sherbet was not brought till the latter end of the Repaſt. There was of all ſorts, and very excellent, which was ſerv'd in large ſilver Cups, becauſe after the firſt had drank, it paſs'd from Hand to Hand till it was empty'd. It was ſerv'd on a Plate, or tin Salver, and the Meats in Diſhes of the ſame Metal. Dinner being over, all was taken away except the Towels, which were left, till they had waſh'd again, and dry'd their Hands. The Embaſſadors having taken their leave of the *Divan*, went and ſate down in the Court, near the Gate, through which one enters into the *Grand Seignior*'s Appartment, till ſuch time as they ſhould be introduc'd: And it was here, that they put on the Veſts the *Sultan* had preſented them with. The Ground of them was Red and Violet, interſpers'd with Flowers of Gold; but the Workmanſhip was ſo mean, that the Embaſſadors uſually beſtow them on their *Valets de Chambre*, as they go from their *Audience*. There were four and twenty on this Occaſion, without reckoning the three the Firſt Vizier had preſented the two *Bailos* with, and the *Chiaoux* who had conducted the new one from *Venice*, and theſe were put over the others the Embaſſadors had already on. While the two Embaſſadors were thus ſitting in the Court, all the Officers of the *Divan* went to the *Audience* of the *Sultan*; the leaſt Conſiderable taking it firſt, contrary to the Cuſtom of *Europe*, where the beſt qualify'd go firſt to *Audience*. The *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, who went to it firſt, and who ſate juſt by the Door, inſtead of going directly in, took the Compaſs of the whole Court, paſſing by all the *Janizaries*, who ſaluted him with a very low Bow, remaining afterwards with their Arms acroſs, and their Eyes down-

wards, till he was gone in. Then the two *Cadileskers* went in together, he of *Romelia* taking the Place of Honour; both the one and the other carrying in their Looks the Tokens of Reſpect and Fear, that the approaching the *Grand Seignior* imprints in his Slaves. After them all the Vizirs went together in a File, the *firſt* being Speaker for them all. Their *Audience* was very ſhort, and as ſoon as it was over, the two Embaſſadors were fetch'd, and ſome of their Retinue, in the following manner. The old *Bailo* enter'd firſt, and after him the new one; then the Secretary of the old one, and the Secretary of the new one, the two Sons of this laſt, and after them ſome Gentlemen, who with the *Drogomans* made up ſeven and twenty in Number. Going through the third Door, which is over againſt the ſecond, and has a Gallery on both ſides, there are ſeen in a little Paſſage between two Doors (which are every where double) ſome white Eunuchs, and ſome other Officers; who are the Keepers thereof, and who convey'd the Embaſſadors into a great Court, where nothing elſe was to be ſeen, except the Structure that makes the Hall, where the *Sultan* gives *Audience*. It is an Appartment diſtinct from the Body of the Palace, the Entrance into it, is a kind of Gallery pav'd with black Marble. The Door of this Building is ſo ſtrait, that two Men have enough to do to go through it a Breaſt, and it has on each ſide a little Fountain, whoſe Water comes out of the Wall, which is all fac'd with black Marble, having here and there ſome *Turkiſh* and *Arabick* Characters. Ye go up two Steps to the Door, which is ſo contriv'd, that to view it on the outſide, one would think that it were in the middle of the Structure, and yet being got into it, it is found to be in one of the Corners of the Hall, having a Wall on the right adjoyning to the Door. On the other ſide of the Hall, at that end which is moſt remote from the Door, there was a Glacis, or Slope cover'd with a *Perſian* Carpet, the Ground whereof was Gold, and all the reſt of the Floor was cover'd with a very fine *Turkiſh* Tapeſtry. There was no other Ornament on the Walls, but little ſquare Tyles painted and gilt, with *Flurons* after the *Arabian* manner. The *Sultan* was ſitting on the Glacis or rais'd Floor, with his Face turn'd towards the Vizirs, who were ſtanding in order over againſt him, with a Meen and Countenance of Slaves: ſo that the Embaſſadors and thoſe of their Retinue, could have no ſight of the *Grand Seignior* but in *profile*. The Embaſſadors ſtopp'd at the Entrance, till thoſe that were to follow them had join'd them, and that two *Capigibachis*, or Maſter-Porters, in order to lead them to the *Glacis*, had took them by the Hand; but as gently as the Phyſician does the Patient when he feels his Pulſe. The two Embaſſadors being brought after this manner pretty near the *Sultan*, but yet at ſome diſtance, made their Reverence to him, putting one Knee on the Ground, and advancing their Heads a little to kiſs the Hem of his Veſt, which one of the *Capigibachis* preſented to their Mouths. After they, and their Secretaries, and their Gentlemen had made their Reverence to the *Grand Seignior*; theſe laſt were led back, and made to go retrograde to the Door, and put into the Court, while the Embaſſadors pronounc'd their Complement, which was very ſhort. The *Glacis*, on which the *Great Turk* ſate, was not ſo high as our ordinary Benches; and notwithſtanding the *Sultan* had a Stool with a Cuſhion under his Feet, yet he did not ſeem to be very much at his Eaſe; becauſe the *Turks* may be ſaid to ſquat rather than ſit. There ſtood by him, on a Stool, a very fine Standiſh, cover'd with Diamonds, his Waiſtcoat was of Cloth of Silver, and his Veſt was a white Sattin, lin'd with Sables. He ſaid not a Word to the two *Bailos*, but the Firſt Vizir anſwer'd their Complement, telling the former, that the *Grand Seignior* wiſh'd him a good Voyage, and the new one, that he was welcome. Being come out of the Hall they took off the Veſts the *Grand Seignior* had given them, mounted their Horſes, and return'd home in the ſame manner that they came.

In the Year 1601, in the Reign of *Henry* IV, two *Turkiſh* Miniſters came into *France*, *Barthelemy de Coeur*, a Provençal Renegade, and Phyſician of the *Grand Seignior*, who was follow'd by a *Chiaoux* in the Year 1607. But there was nothing extraordinary in their Audiences, as there was in that of *Soliman Muſtafa Feraga*, which was very ſingular. He arriv'd in *Provence* in the Year 1669, and having perform'd his Quarantine, by reaſon of the Plague which rag'd then at *Conſtantinople*, he was brought to *Paris*, where he was lodg'd at the Houſe of the Extraordinaries. *Lionne* viſited him, and told him, that his *Letters* giving him no other Quality than that of *Eleki*, which is common to the Miniſters of the firſt and ſecond Order, it created ſome Difficulty to conſider him as Embaſſador. *Muſtafa Feraga* reply'd, that he had others; but that he was order'd on pain of Death, to deliver them to no other than the Emperor of the *French* in Perſon. It was reſolv'd he ſhould be treated after the *Turkiſh* manner, and while things were preparing for that purpoſe, he was ſent to lodge in one of thoſe Houſes of Pleaſure, of which there are ſo many in the Village of *Iſſy*, two Leagues off of *Paris*. On the 12th of *November* three Coaches with ſix Horſes each were ſent him, which brought him to *Paris* to the Lodgings of *Lionne*. At his getting out of the Coach, he found no body in the Court to receive him: but being aſcended into an upper Hall, he there found *Lionne*'s firſt Clark, who advanc'd three or four Steps to meet him; ſeated him on a Stool, and plac'd himſelf by him, and order'd ſomething to drink. In the mean time *Muſtafa Feraga*'s Interpreter, went to know of *Lionne*, when his Maſter might ſee him, and brought Word back, that that Miniſter had an Affair to diſpatch, and as ſoon as ever it was done, he would let the *Turk* know it: and accordingly he did, in a very little time after. He was led through a little Gallery, which was full of Perſons of Quality, and from thence into a ſmall Room, where *Lionne*, who was entertaining himſelf with ſome of the Company, did no more than ſalute the *Turk* very ſlightly with his Hat; and having finiſh'd his Diſcourſe, he went and plac'd himſelf on a Bed of Repoſe of Gold Brocade, which ſtood upon a *Perſian* Carpet of Silk, the Ground whereof was Gold and Silver, leaning his Back againſt

againſt two Cuſhions of Gold Brocade, and caus'd *Muſtafa Feraga* to be ſeated on a folding Stool of crimſon Damask, with a Gold and Silver Fringe, which was plac'd before the Foot Carpet. *Lionne* told him, That he knew he had been made to believe that he, *Lionne*, was in *France*, what they call in *Turky Vizir-azem*, or Firſt Vizir; but that he ought to be undeceiv'd, becauſe the Emperor of *France* did not communicate his Authority to any body: And as for himſelf, he was only one of the four little Secretaries, who ſerv'd to ſee the Commands of the Sovereign executed: That after all, he did not know whether the King would give him *Audience* or not, by reaſon he brought him no Preſents, which the Emperor his Maſter caus'd to be given him as a Tribute. However he had *Audience*, and he was conducted to it by the Introductor, and by one of the Eſquires of the great Stables. The Guards, both Foot and Horſe, were under their Arms; not to do him Honour, ſince he was not accompany'd by a Prince, nor a Mareſchal of *France*; but to ſhew him the Grandeur of *France*. The King was ſeated in a Throne at the end of the great Gallery of the new Caſtle of St. *Germains*, and had on a Suit of Cloaths cover'd with precious Stones, worth above five Millions. *Muſtafa* began to make his Bows at the very beginning of the Gallery, and did not leave off till he had preſented his *Credentials*; the King not ſo much as offering to touch his Hat all the time. The King, who knows very well how to appear what he really is, did it perfectly well on this Occaſion. But *Lionne*, who was but one of the four little Secretaries, as he ſaid, ought not to have play'd the *Vizir-azem*. The firſt Miniſter of the Port, who has an Authority beyond Compariſon, more abſolute than that of the Miniſter of *France*, has ſome reaſon to treat the Embaſſadors of foreign Princes with Haughtineſs, ſince even the Cardinals do not ſcruple to do it. But *Lionne*, who was neither Cardinal nor firſt Miniſter, play'd but an indifferent part in this Comedy. In all likelihood he was the Author of it; it is plain it ſavour'd of the *Turk*.

There is ſomething more extraordinary in the following Example; and indeed the one was only an Imitation, whereas the other was truly *Turkiſh*. It is certain that the *Turks* treat Publick Miniſters after ſo offenſive a manner, that it is ſpeaking improperly to ſay they do Civility to Embaſſadors. In the Month of *May* 1677, the *French* Embaſſador being come to the Firſt Vizir's, according to the Aſſignation which had been made him, they brought him into the Secretary's Chamber, where he waited three Hours before he was introduc'd into the Hall, where he was to have *Audience*; where he was amus'd again another good Hour. There was plac'd upon an Alcove, rais'd about a Foot and half, a Velvet Chair embroider'd with Gold and Silver, for the Firſt Vizir, and *at the Foot of the Alcove a Velvet Stool for the Embaſſador*. The Embaſſador was ſo vex'd to ſee himſelf treated after this haughty and unequal manner, that he commanded his Interpreter to put the Stool upon the Alcove by the Vizir's Chair. Hereupon one of the *Chiaoux* told him, that that was none of his Place, and that the Alcove was reſerv'd for the Vizir, which put the Embaſſador into ſuch a Paſſion, that he took himſelf the Stool, placed it on the Alcove, and ſeated himſelf thereon. The Firſt Vizir, being inform'd thereof, ſent him word that his Pretenſions were ill-grounded, and that Embaſſadors never had the Privilege of being on the Alcove; but the Embaſſador appearing obſtinate in the matter, he gave his Commands to remove him from thence either by fair or foul means. The *Chiaoux Bachi* being return'd into the Hall with this Order, told the Embaſſador, with a fierce and diſdainful Air, to withdraw from thence; and becauſe the Embaſſador was not over-haſty in retiring, he commanded ſome of his People to draw the Stool from under him; which was executed ſo ſuddenly, that all the Embaſſador could do, was to get up before they flung him down. He thereupon retir'd, ſaying, that ſince he was ſo uncivilly us'd he had no Occaſion for an *Audience* of the Vizir; who was ſo little concern'd thereat, that he ſignify'd to the Embaſſador, That ſince he would not receive his *Audience*, he might go and take that of the Devil.

As thoſe People are Slaves, and capable of the meaneſt Submiſſions, they think that all the reſt of the World are ſo likewiſe, and that they may treat them with the ſame Superiority. In the Year 1646, the Embaſſador of the *Cham* of *Tartary*, taking *Audience* of the King of *Poland*, appear'd there with his Veſt of Taffata, which he wore over his Caſſock of Sheep-Skins, the Wool whereof was outward. The King was ſitting under a Canopy, in a Chair that repreſented a kind of Throne, all of Gold Brocade. The Embaſſador entring into the Hall, *kneel'd down on the Threſhold of the Door, as did all thoſe of his Retinue; he did the ſame when he came to the King's Feet; bowing his Head down to the very Floor before he kiſs'd the Hem of the Royal Cloke:* Becauſe none but Chriſtians are ſuffer'd to kiſs his Hand. After the Embaſſador had preſented his *Credentials*, both he and his People retir'd on their Knees, as far as one of the Corners of the Room, where he made his Harangue. Theſe voluntary Meanneſſes, which are done by the Conſent of the Prince who ſends the Embaſſador, are pardonable in a People that make at beſt but a third Species between Men and Brutes.

Too great Civilities degenerate into Submiſſions that are unworthy of a Publick Miniſter, and of the Prince who employs him. The *Portugal* Embaſſador of the Viceroy of *Goa*, whom we before mention'd, who in preſenting his *Letters of Credence* to a little *Indian* King, put one Knee on the Ground, and did not cover himſelf during the *Audience*; committed an inexcuſable Incongruity. *Don Garcia de Silva Figueroa*, Embaſſador from the King of *Spain*, in *Perſia*, underſtood it much better. On the Day he made his Entry at *Iſpahan*, the two Governors of the Town, who accompany'd him in this Ceremony, led him through the *Maidan*, and would have oblig'd him to alight off his Horſe to kiſs the Step of the *Schach*'s Palace. They ſaid that it was a Cuſtom, from the Obſervation of which, no body could be exempted; and that even the King's Sons were forc'd to pay that reſpect to the Palace of their Father. But *Figueroa* made Anſwer, That he would not hinder them from acquitting themſelves of their Ceremonies, but as for his own part he ſhould

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be very cautious of paying an Honour to the *Schach* which he would not pay to his own Maſter. So that altho' the two Governors and their Followers alighted from their Horſes, the Embaſſador commanded his People not to quit theirs; and being come near the Palace, he contented himſelf with turning his Horſe's Head towards the Gate, and to ſalute it with his Hat. The Honours the Embaſſadors pay to the *Grand Seignior*, and the profound Inclination of Body are forc'd from them, and have their Origin from the Adoration the Oriental Kings exact from thoſe that approach them; of which we have an Inſtance in the Hiſtory of the Wiſe Men, who came to pay their Adoration to our Saviour ſome time after his Birth. Their Adoration had not for Object the Divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*, but a humane Majeſty, tho' very extraordinary. Theſe Wiſe Men were not more illuminated than St. *John*, who was not ſo but from the Voice from Heaven, which declar'd, *This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well-pleaſed.* The *Chicane*, with which both the Church and the Inns of Court are infected, would be apt to make here a Diſtinction betwixt the Adoration of *Latria* and *Doulia*.

Africa has produc'd another kind of Monſter. In the Year 1670, there arriv'd at *Paris* an Embaſſador from the King of the *Ardeans* in *Guinea:* His Name was *Matthias Lopez*, and was about ſeventy two Years of Age; however he had with him three Wives, of whom he had as many Sons, and he was beſides well enough attended. When he made his Entry into *Paris*, he was in a Coach with ſix Horſes, his Wives were in another, and theſe Coaches were follow'd by the King's, the Queen's, and thoſe of the Princes. Twelve Negroes went before his Coach, the Captain whereof blow'd a Horn, inſtead of ſounding a Trumpet. His Wives and Sons were cloath'd after the *French* Faſhion, and they eat in publick. He was lodg'd in the Houſe of *Lunes*, and treated at the King's Expences. The Company of the *Weſt Indies*, who promis'd themſelves no ſmall Advantages from this Embaſſy, provided them with Veſts of Gold Brocade for their *Audience*. The Embaſſador, when he approach'd the King, ſaluted him after the manner of his Countrey, *by proſtrating himſelf on the Ground.* He offer'd the King the Acceſs and Entry into all the Ports and Harbours belonging to the Kingdom of *Ardea*; ſo that the *French* flatter'd themſelves very much with the Hopes of a rich Commerce with that Coaſt, and believ'd they were already in Poſſeſſion of all the Gold and Ivory of that Countrey; but not a Syllable has been heard of it ſince. The Monkeys of thoſe Parts ſurpaſs in Malice and Infidelity thoſe of the *Indies*, and all the reſt of the World beſides.

I could ſwell this Chapter with many more Examples, and even with the Particulars of the *Audiences* which the Kings of *England*, and of *Bohemia*, and ſome other Princes had a mind to take, at the *Hague* and elſewhere. But beſides that Embaſſadors could not reduce 'em into Precedents, I think I am not here oblig'd to ſpeak of things which do not properly belong to my Subject.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Honours and Civilities that Embaſſadors are oblig'd to pay, and of thoſe that are done to Embaſſadors.

MEſſieurs *d'Arpajoux*, and *de Bregy*, Embaſſadors of *France*, being in *Poland* during the *Interregnum*, after the Death of King *Uladiſlas*, gave the Title of Majeſty to Prince *Caſimir*, even before his Election. Queen *Chriſtina*, who conſider'd that this Title could not be given him, but by reaſon of his Pretenſion to the Crown of *Sweden*, was very angry thereat, and made great Expoſtulations thereupon to *Chanut*, the *French* Embaſſador at *Stockholm*. This Miniſter, who was much in her Favour, ſeeing his bad Excuſes only ſerv'd to exaſperate her, ſaid at laſt that the Court of *France* had diſown'd them. This ſatisfy'd the Queen in ſome Meaſure; but that ſhe might be perfectly cur'd of her Inquietudes, ſhe ask'd *Chanut* whether the King and the Queen Mother, when they wrote to Prince *Caſimir*, gave him the Title of Majeſty? And as *Chanut* ſaid, at all Adventures, no, tho' he knew nothing of the matter; ſhe reply'd, That then ſhe had no reaſon to complain, *becauſe the Civilities of Embaſſadors are not to be minded, being of no Conſequence.* In the Treaty of the Truce that Monſieur *d'Avaux* had brought to a Concluſion between *Poland* and *Sweden*, the King of *Poland* had not taken the Quality of Hereditary King of *Sweden*, and had given that of Queen of *Sweden* to *Chriſtina*; yet nevertheleſs, when the Miniſters of the two Crowns met at *Lubeck*, in the Year 1551, the Embaſſadors of *Poland* were for giving the Quality of King Hereditary of *Sweden* to *Caſimir*, and refus'd that of Queen of *Sweden* to *Chriſtina:* Which was the moſt apparent Cauſe of the breaking up of the Aſſembly; tho' otherwiſe there was in either of the Parties but very little Diſpoſition to an Accommodation. The Queen was in the right to ſay, *that the Civilities of Embaſſadors are of no Conſequence*, when they are only mere Complements: But it muſt be own'd that they are of Conſequence, when they are ſtudy'd and affected: As it is certain on the other ſide, that the Refuſal an Embaſſador makes, to pay Civilities to thoſe to whom he owes them, may have very vexatious Conſequences. Now he owes them to the Prince to whom he is ſent, to his Eſtate, and to his Miniſters; and he cannot be wanting therein, without failing in his Duty. At his Arrival on the Frontiers

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he ought to make himſelf known to the Governors, and pay, to the Places and Arms of the Sovereign, that Reſpect which cannot be refus'd him without offending him.

The Count *d'Averſperg* being, in the Year 1640, arriv'd at the *Hague*, on the part of the Emperor, inſtead of communicating his *Credentials* to the Preſident of the Aſſembly of the States General, he caus'd them to be given to a Door-Keeper, who carry'd them into the Aſſembly. The Inſcription of them was fraught with magnificent Titles, *viz. Illuſtribus, Generoſis, Nobilibus & Honorabilibus noſtris, & S. Romani Imperii fidelibus Dilectis, N. N. Ordinibus Unitarum Provinciarum.* Yet nevertheleſs nothing could be more offenſive, than to uſe the Terms of Truſty and Well-beloved to a Sovereign and Independent State. The States inſtead of opening the Letter ſent it back to the Count, and ſignify'd to him by three Deputies, That they had ever been diſpos'd to live in a good Intelligence with the Empire and the Emperor, and that they would always receive the Embaſſadors of his Imperial Majeſty with Reſpect; but on the other ſide, they were oblig'd to maintain with Jealouſy and Zeal the Rights of their Sovereignty: That the Inſcription of the Letter giving them a Suſpicion, that the State was not better treated in the Text thereof, the Count would do well (in their Opinion) to go himſelf to the Emperor, to inform his Council how they ought to be writ to, and to get his Letters reform'd: Or elſe that he might retire into the Electorate of *Cologn*, or to ſome other neighbouring Place, till he had receiv'd others. The Court of *Vienna* ſent him others, but they again found ſomething to cavil at in them; ſo that the Count, who all this while was at the *Hague*, perceiving they had a mind to be vexatious, and that he had no Hopes of ſucceeding in his Negotiation, retir'd, after he had ſtay'd there ſeven or eight Months to no purpoſe. *M. Friquet*, who came and reſided at the *Hague* on the part of the Emperor, in the Year 1658, brought Letters with the Inſcription of *Chariſſimi Amici.* But beſides that they did not carry the Air of Superiority, which is found in the Terms of *Noſtris & S. R. Imperii Fidelibus Dilectis*, the Emperor did as the King of *France* does. The Ignorance of thoſe that have the Direction of the Chanceries, is the Cauſe of the Faults Princes commit on theſe Occaſions: As the Ignorance of the Publick Right makes others fall into Faults ſo groſs and criminal, as to violate the Publick Safety in the Perſon of a Publick Miniſter.

In the Year 1639, the *Palatin* of *Smolensko*, paſſing through the *Hague* in his way to *France*, whither he was going to ſollicit the Liberty of Prince *Caſimir*, deſir'd Audience of the Eſtates; but as they knew his *Credentials* did not give them the Title of *Celſi & Præpotentes*, they would not admit him to Audience: They remember'd how Prince *Janus Radzivil* had treated them in the Year 1633. This Prince ſtudy'd at *Leiden*, (where the Publick Right is not taught) when King *Uladiſlas* gave him the Quality of Embaſſador, to acquaint the States of the United Provinces with his Election. The Inſcription of his *Letters of Credence* was ſwell'd with the Titles of *Illuſtriſſimis, Illuſtribus, Magnificis, Generoſis, Nobilibus*, &c. of which they are very prodigal in *Poland*; but then there was not any ſingle one that expreſs'd the Sovereignty of the State. The Embaſſador, in making his Harangue, began with *Illuſtres, Magnifici*, ſpeaking to the Prince of *Orange*, and the States, as if he had been talking to the Magiſtracy of ſome Town: treating even the Prince of *Orange* leſs honourably than he would have done a *Palatin* of *Poland*. By endeavouring to play the Embaſſador too much, he made it plain that he knew nothing of the matter; being ſo rude as to leave in the Entry the Deputies the Eſtates had ſent him, inſtead of accompanying them to the Coach. He was oblig'd to make Reparation, and to acknowledge his Error.

I neither will, nor am able to enter into a Diſcuſſion of the Rights of the King of *Great Britain*, who cauſes his Flag to be reſpected in the *Britannick* Seas, as far as the Coaſts of *France:* neither ſhall I diſpute whether *Manſel*, Vice-Admiral of *England*, could hinder the Vice-Admiral of *France*, to hoiſt the Flag of the King his Maſter in the ſight of *Calais*. He did it by the Order of *M. de Sully*, who was going to *England* in the Quality of Embaſſador; but *Manſel* made him take it down, and acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Sea to the *Engliſh* Flag. It is well known what is due to the Ship of an Admiral, or to any that has the Tokens thereof; but in *France* they are of Opinion, that the King's Admiral may carry the Marks of the Sovereignty of his Maſter every where: and that as at this time that the King's Maritime Forces are not inconſiderable, the *French* Admiral would make no difficulty to ſalute the Flag of the King of *Great-Britain* on the Coaſts of *England*: ſo would he expect the ſame Uſage on the Coaſt of *France*, and an Equality of Honour in the open Sea; eſpecially if their Strength was equal. The *Swediſh* Embaſſador, who refus'd to ſalute the *Engliſh* Flag on the River *Thames*, was in the wrong, ſince he thereby acquir'd no Right nor Advantage to the King his Maſter; and he inform'd the *Engliſh*, that when they came into the Roads and Harbours of *Sweden* they were not oblig'd to ſalute the King's Flag, even in his own Kingdom. The Earl of *Eſſex*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *England*, coming in a Man of War into the Sound, in the Month of *May* 1670, either neglected or diſdain'd ſaluting the Caſtle of *Cronenbourg*. Major General *Holke*, who commanded there, in order to remind the *Engliſh* of their Duty, fir'd three Guns at 'em with Balls. The Embaſſador was ſcandaliz'd hereat, but *Holke* ſignify'd to him, That he was oblig'd to preſerve the Rights of Sovereignty of the King his Maſter, who expected to have the ſame Reſpect paid him on his own Coaſts, that the King of *England* exacted on thoſe of his Kingdom. The Earl obtain'd no other Satisfaction, no more than the Duke of *Sully* did, when he complain'd at *London* of *Manſel*. Princes never diſavow theſe Actions, eſpecially when they have no reaſon to fear the Conſequences thereof.

Now if the Embaſſador, who refuſes to acknowledge the Sovereign to whom he is ſent, and to ſalute him at his Arrival on his Coaſts, is wanting in Reſpect; what muſt be

ſaid of a Miniſter that ſhall conteſt with the Sovereign, his Qualities and Titles, and who does his Endeavour to deprive him of them? It cannot be deny'd, that it is an Outrage of that Nature, that may oblige the Prince to paſs over all the Conſiderations that ought otherwiſe to be had for a Publick Miniſter. The Republick of *Venice* was extremely offended that the Duke of *Savoy* had taken the Title of King of *Cyprus*. She had complain'd every where thereof, yet for all that the Count *de Bigliore*, the ſaid Duke's Embaſſador, dar'd to ſet over the Gate of his Palace the Arms of his Maſter, *quarter'd with thoſe of* Cyprus. Hereupon the Senate ſent the Embaſſador Word, that if he did not cauſe thoſe Arms to be taken down, he ſhould have the Mortification to ſee them taken away, and broken to pieces before his Face. So that the Embaſſador choſe rather to take them down, than to expoſe himſelf, and the Prince his Maſter, to an unavoidable Affront, which was at the ſame time irreparable.

There is alſo a Reſpect due to the Miniſters, and to thoſe that are moſt conſiderable in the State where the Embaſſador is employ'd. The Embaſſadors of *England* did not ſee Cardinal *Richelieu*, becauſe he did not give them the Hand, and alſo becauſe they had not for him the Conſideration they ought to have. In the Month of *Auguſt* 1635, the Lord *Scudamore* Embaſſador from *England*, being ready to make his Entry into *Paris*, the Introductor ask'd the Cardinal whether he would ſend his Coach to meet him; the Cardinal made anſwer, That if the Embaſſador would ſee him he would ſend his Coach, but not otherwiſe. The Agent of *England* was conſulted thereupon, who being urg'd thereto, ſaid that *Scudamore* would do as his Predeceſſors had done; that is to ſay, that he would not ſee his Eminency: So that the Cardinal's Coach was not there. I may ſay for certain, that the Contempt the *Engliſh* had for that Miniſter, was one of the chief Cauſes of the King's Misfortune, and of the Diſorders of the Kingdom.

Cardinal *d'Eſte*, Protector of *France*, who had obtain'd the Hat at the Emperor's Nomination, had quitted the Party of the Houſe of *Auſtria* to ſide with that of *France*. The Admirant of *Caſtile*, Embaſſador of Obedience on the part of the King of *Spain*, in the Year 1646, when he ſent to deſire the Cardinals to do him Honour at his Entry, omitted asking Cardinal *d'Eſte*, and even declar'd that he would not viſit him, nor cauſe his Coach to ſtop when he met him in the City. This Incivility was the Cauſe that not only the Cardinals *Grimaldi*, *de Valencay*, and *Theodoli*, Partiſans of *France*, did not ſend their Families to meet him, but alſo of a very troubleſome Diſpute, in which the Admirant came very ill off. Cardinal *d'Eſte* ſaid, he would find the means to procure himſelf the Reſpect that was due to him, and that he would take Care that the Admirant's Coach ſhould be ſtop'd whereſoever he met it; and that he might not fail therein, he ſent for Soldiers from *Modena* and other Places. The Admirant, on his ſide, ſent for a thouſand Men from *Naples*, and did not ſcruple to ſay, that he would take the Cardinal away by Force out of his own Palace. This Animoſity oblig'd the Pope to order Troops to repair to *Rome*; and all the other Cardinals reſenting the Affront that was done to Cardinal *d'Eſte*, ſignify'd to the Admirant that *they would not admit of his Viſit*; ſo that the Embaſſador finding the whole College declar'd againſt him, was forc'd to an Accommodation, and to pay Civility, and even make a kind of Reparation to the Cardinal *d'Eſte*. Thoſe Embaſſadors, who create themſelves Affairs of this Nature, ought to concert well their Meaſures, becauſe the Intereſt and Dignity of the Prince ſuffers on theſe Occaſions, and they beſides make themſelves odious in the Court where they reſide.

The Emperor *Ferdinand* I, ſending his Embaſſadors to *Trent* in the Year 1562, *forbid them to give the Hand to any Perſon whatever, except to the Legates only*. Theſe Embaſſadors being one Day come to the Lodgings of the Senior Legate, with a Deſign to accompany him to the Church, gave to underſtand, that they would not give place to Cardinal *Madrucci* becauſe he had not the Quality of Legate, conformably to the Orders particularly expreſs'd in their Inſtructions. It was repreſented to them, that their Inſtructions being copy'd from thoſe the Emperor *Charles* V. had formerly given his Embaſſadors, when all the Cardinals that were at *Trent* were Legates, they ought to draw no Conſequence therefrom to the Prejudice of Cardinal *Madrucci*: That they could not but know, *that all Cardinals take place of Embaſſadors every where*: And that hereunto might be added, that the ſame Embaſſadors of *Charles* V. had yielded the Precedency in the ſame Place to the Cardinals of *Trent* and of *Jaën*, who were not Legates. The Embaſſadors of *Ferdinand* reply'd, That it was not their Buſineſs to explain the Emperor's Intention, contrary to the formal Words of their Inſtruction: So that the Cardinals *Hoſius* and *Simonetta*, who expected the Embaſſadors in another Room, were forc'd to go to them, and remain Guarantees of the Approbation they aſſur'd the Emperor ſhould give, to the Honour they ſhould do to Cardinal *Madrucci*. The Emperor allow'd of what they did: However this Procedure ought not to ſerve for an Example; becauſe nothing can warrant the Miniſter that acts contrary to his Inſtructions, if he be not otherwiſe aſſur'd of his Maſter's Intention.

Theſe Occurrences are by ſo much the more inconvenient, that they at firſt imprint a very bad Opinion of the Conduct of the Embaſſador on the one ſide, as on the other ſide the Incivility that is done him ought to make him doubt of the Intention of the Prince, and of the Succeſs of his Embaſſy.

The Admiral *de Chaſtillon* had nothing to negotiate at *Bruſſels*, when he was ſent thither in the Year 1555, to ſee the Obſervation of the Truce, that had been concluded at *Vaucelles*, ſworn to. By the manner he was receiv'd, it was eaſy to judge that the Treaty had ſuperſeded the Animoſities of the Princes, but had not quite extinguiſh'd them. The Admiral, who was Governor of *Picardy*, and Nephew to the Conſtable, was for appearing with a fine Retinue; but the Count *de Boſſu*, whom the Emperor *Charles* V. ſent to meet him, rather to obſerve him than to do him Honour, told him at firſt, That the Town of *Bruſſels*

was ſo throng'd, by reaſon of the Aſſembly of the States of all the Provinces of the *Low Countries*, whom the Emperor had there conven'd, that the Embaſſador's numerous Train, would not be able to find Lodgings there, ſo that he would do well to ſend back part of of it, as indeed he was oblig'd to do. When he was conducted to *Audience* he was led thro' the great Hall of the Palace, which was hung with Tapeſtry, wherein was repreſented, with the Battel of *Pavia*, one of the greateſt Diſgraces which ever happen'd to *France*. The Admiral was very much offended thereat, and the Noblemen of his Retinue could not forbear ſhewing their Reſentment. It muſt be own'd that after *Philip* King of *Spain*, who had alſo ſign'd the Treaty, few Princes would be capable of receiving the Embaſſador of a great Monarch in ſo diſobliging a manner.

After the Concluſion of the Treaty of *Vervins*, the Cardinal of *Florence*, (who had aſſiſted there in the Quality of Legate) as he was returning from the Frontiers of *Picardy* in order to go back to *Rome*, expreſs'd a Deſire to ſee St. *Germains*. The King having a mind to regale him, becauſe he was a Prelate very well affected to *France*, gave his Orders, that the fineſt Furniture belonging to the Crown ſhould be carry'd thither. The Warden of the Furniture accordingly did not fail to ſend thither a Bed and Hangings that Queen *Jean* of *Navarre*, Mother of King *Henry* IV, *had embroider'd with her own Hands*, as being the richeſt Furniture he had in his keeping; and had caus'd the Room where the Legate was to lie, to be hung therewith. Good Fortune ſo order'd it, that the Marquiſs *de Roſny*, who had Orders to take care of his Treatment, having a mind to ſee whether the King's Intention had been fulfill'd, preſently eſpy'd this Piece of Furniture, which he knew was fill'd with an Infinity of Devices againſt the Pope, and againſt the Clergy. He therefore had it taken away immediately, and ſo prevented a very ſtrange Scandal. Some Years ago, one of the greateſt and moſt powerful Cities of *Europe*, intending to give a ſplendid Entertainment to a certain Princeſs, caus'd to be repreſented at her Entry, all the Particulars of a horrible Tragedy, wherein the Father of this illuſtrious Lady, had acted the chief Part. The Mind muſt be ſtrangely turn'd, to be able to think, that Objects ſo odious and frightful, can any way be grateful to a Perſon whom we deſign to divert and ſhew Reſpect to. Theſe Incongruities are inconſiſtent with common Senſe: but yet they very frequently happen to thoſe, that have more Lecture than Study, and who have travell'd, like *Jonas*, in the Body of a Beaſt. Hiſtory obſerves as a very great Incivility what happen'd to the King of *Poland*, *Henry* of *Valois*, at *Heidelberg*. The Elector, who was otherwiſe a very civil Prince, and who could not be ignorant that the King was coming to ſee him, not only did not ſend any body to meet him, but did not ſo much as leave one ſingle Perſon at home to compliment him at his coming to the Caſtle. In the Night he had a very warm Alarm, under the Pretext that one of the Apartments was on fire: and the Elector himſelf, as he conducted him through the Galleries and Chambers, ſhew'd him, and made him take notice of the Pictures of ſeveral Noblemen, who had been maſſacre'd on St. *Bartholomew's* Day, and among the reſt, that of Admiral *Chaſtillon*. *Henry* had been one of the chief Authors of the Murder; for which Reaſon the Elector expreſs'd himſelf to him in ſuch Terms, as ſerv'd for a cruel Reproach to thoſe who had contributed to the Death of a Man, who was one of the worthieſt Subjects the King of *France* had. But the Elector might have forborn treating after this manner a Prince, to whom he ought in his own Palace, to have ſhewn the Reſpect that was due to him; or elſe he ſhould not have receiv'd him.

Commines has reaſon to ſay, that there is no City where more Civility is done to Embaſſadors, than at *Venice*; becauſe there is not any, where they are more magnificently receiv'd. To which I muſt add, that there is not any State, where publick Miniſters enjoy a greater Safety. When *Selim* II, Emperor of the *Turks*, ſent *Cubat Chiaoux* to the Republick of *Venice*, to demand the Iſland of *Cyprus*; that is to ſay, to declare War againſt it; the Senate nevertheleſs paid him Civilities; he was conducted to Audience by Senators, and he had the moſt honourable Place given him, as the other Miniſters of the *Port* always had. A Prince cannot ſhew too much Civility to a foreign Miniſter, but he may err in not doing enough. It is no leſs his buſineſs to make him be conſider'd within his Dominions, than it is to ſee that his own Embaſſador be reſpected in the Court of another Prince. There is not any thing, that Princes who underſtand themſelves are more ſenſible of, than of the Treatment that is dealt to thoſe who repreſent them. It is what Princes ought not to be ignorant of; or if they are, they ought to have Officers that are knowing therein; for fear of being neceſſitated to make ſhameful Reparations, or not very honourable Excuſes. As that King of *Poland*, who to excuſe the Ruſticity with which he had receiv'd the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces, had recourſe to his Chamberlain, who as he ſaid, ought to have inform'd him of what he had to do.

I have before obſerv'd in Chapter XVIII, that *there is no Maſter of the Ceremonies at* Venice, *nor in* Holland: but he is for all that a very neceſſary Officer, and of great Importance, when he is an able Man. For as he is oblig'd to ſee the Embaſſadors often, as well on account of the Audiences, and publick Aſſemblies, as out of Civility, he may and ought to viſit them from time to time; and in converſing with them, he cannot but receive ſome light, which tho' uncertain ſometimes, yet does not fail to guide him to true ones.

As for the matter of Civility, even the *Turks*, when they have had either great Princes, or able Miniſters, have paid it to Embaſſadors: and have own'd that it was what could not be avoided, without deſtroying that Commerce, which is not leſs neceſſary to Sovereigns than to private Perſons. After that *Rocquendolf*, who commanded the Arms of *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, had beſieg'd *Buda* without Succeſs, and that *Soliman* had made himſelf Maſter of that Town, which is the Capital of *Hungary*, *Ferdinand* ſent to him *Nicholas de Salms* and *Sigiſmund de Ligenſtein*. There was an open War

War between the two Princes, but that did not hinder *Soliman* from receiving the Embaſſadors perfectly well. Soliman *caus'd them to be handſomely treated by the Baſhaws; and thoſe of their Retinue by Sangiacs; and after Dinner he had them conducted all over the Camp, that they might ſee it, and admire the Order, Diſcipline, Neatneſs and Silence thereof.* And as for the Negotiation it ſelf, he ſignify'd to them by *Ruſtan* his Firſt Vizir, that he was ready to make Peace, if *Ferdinand* would reſtore all the Places that *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, Brother-in-law to *Ferdinand*, had been poſſeſs'd of: If he withdrew all his Troops, and reimburs'd the Charges he had been at in the War, by paying for his Hereditary Lands of *Auſtria*, ſuch a yearly Tribute as they ſhould agree upon: adding, that if theſe Conditions were not agreeable to *Ferdinand*, he had nothing to do, but to reſolve upon continuing on the War.

But before we enter on a Detail of theſe Civilities we muſt lay down this Poſition, that thoſe which are done to an Embaſſador, out of publick and ſolemn Actions, cannot be made uſe of as Precedents, neither by his Succeſſors, nor other Miniſters of the ſame Character. Provided the Embaſſador has thoſe Civilities paid him which are his due, he ought not to find fault with thoſe that are done to another, out of particular and perſonal Conſiderations. Queen *Elizabeth* was willing to honour the Mareſchal *de Biron* ſo far, as to play on the Spinet before him, to dance to divert him, altho' ſhe was not young, and to viſit him at his own Houſe, cauſing her Litter to ſtop before the Palace where he was lodg'd. *Lewis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, being inform'd that *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, had ſurpris'd *Navarra*, while *Charles* VIII, was in the Kingdom of *Naples*, *went to ſee* Jerome Leonne, *the* Venetian *Embaſſador*, *at his own Houſe*, to pray him to repreſent to the Senate the Danger he was in, and to haſten the Succours he demanded. King *James* I. of *England*, was ſo familiar with Count *Gondemar*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, that the Officers the moſt neceſſary about his Perſon, did not approach him with more liberty, than did that Embaſſador. The late King of *Sweden*, *Charles Guſtavus*, ſuffer'd the *French* Embaſſador to play the Companion with him; but then he took pleaſure in him, as in a Perſon more capable to divert him, than to negotiate. The preſent King of *Great-Britain* does not diſdain going to the Entertainments Embaſſadors make him; and the *Northern* Kings ſometimes do that Honour, not only to Embaſſadors, but alſo to Miniſters of the ſecond Order; the other Embaſſadors (with whom he does not live ſo familiarly) not being able to take offence thereat. This is not practis'd in *Spain*, where no body eats at the King's Table: and I don't think, that the preſent King of *France* has ever done it. A Sovereign Prince, who neither gives the Hand, the Step, nor the Chair to Embaſſadors, is cautious of making them Viſits at their own Houſes. *Henry* IV, and *Lewis* XIII, Kings of *France*, and *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, have indeed viſited the Legates; but then it was out of particular Conſiderations, and that has not been ſufficient to make an Example. *Lewis* XIV, and *Philip* IV, have not done it. I often mention the Illuſtrious Embaſſy, that *France* ſent into *Germany* in the Year 1620. Several Princes viſited the Embaſſadors, and ſome of them, even prevented them in the firſt Viſit. The Embaſſadors underſtanding that the Duke of *Bavaria* did not intend to viſit them, deſir'd to know of the King their Maſter how they ſhould govern themſelves in reference to him. They receiv'd for anſwer, that they might ſound the Duke underhand, and that if they did not find him diſpos'd to return their Viſit, they ſhould not go, but only ſend to him, to make their Excuſe.

Formerly when all Embaſſies were Extraordinary, Embaſſadors were defray'd. *Philip de Commines* ſays, that the Republick of *Venice* knew what ſhe was to give every Year to the Embaſſador of *Milan*, and the Duke of *Milan* knew what he was to furniſh to the Embaſſador of *Venice*; and that he himſelf was defray'd for above a Year that he reſided there. This was practis'd every where: and in ſome Places the Extraordinaries were ſtill defray'd at the beginning of this Age. The Senate of *Venice* allow'd *Don Franciſco de Caſtro*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Spain*, two hundred Crowns a Day for his Table: it offer'd the ſame to Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, who was there at the ſame time on the part of *France*, but he refus'd it. I have ſaid above, that in the Year 1640, the Embaſſadors Extraordinary of the United Provinces were defray'd in *Sweden*. But ſince moſt Embaſſies are become in Ordinary, and that even the Extraordinaries are often for ſeveral Years, Princes have thought fit to eaſe themſelves of that Expence, and to change it into a Treat, which makes part of the Civilities they do to Embaſſadors. It does not laſt for the moſt part above three or four Days; that is to ſay, till the Day of their firſt Audience, or that enſuing it. *None but Embaſſadors are treated in* France, *and not all of them neither.* Thoſe of the Princes of *Italy* are not, no more than thoſe of the Republick of *Genoa*. *Berliſe*, one of the Introductors of Embaſſadors in *France*, told *Sauli*, Embaſſador from that Republick, that the King treated only the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads: but he did not explain himſelf well. He ought to have added, that the King did that Honour alſo to the Republicks of *Venice*, and of the United Provinces; ſince he did it even before the Civilities were regulated in reference to theſe, as I have obſerv'd elſewhere, ſpeaking of the Reception that was made to *Pau* and *Knuit* in the Year 1634. The Embaſſadors are treated, either by a Comptroller, and by the other Officers of the King's Houſhold, or elſe by Preſents; that is to ſay, by ſending them home ſuch a Quantity of Meat and Fowls, that they may have them dreſs'd by their own Domeſticks. In this no Diſtinction is made between the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and others: becauſe the Uſage is ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another.

The Duke of *Paſtrana*, who came into *France* in the Year 1612, on the ſcore of the double Marriage, *was treated by Preſents*, during the Stay he made at *Paris*, and was treated by the King's Officers only at *Fontainbleau*, after he had took his Leave of the Court, which remain'd at *Paris*. Several Entertainments were made for the Miniſters of the Cantons, when they

they came to *Paris* about the Renovation of the Alliance in 1602, and in 1663; but the King did not cauſe them to be treated during the time that preceded their Audience: and not one of the Civilities was done them that are uſually paid to Embaſſadors, except that the Guards were under their Arms; becauſe it was thought proper to ſhew thoſe Soldiers, to the Miniſters of a Countrey that ſupplies *France* with ſo many. The Czar of *Moſcovy* defrays all Embaſſadors, from the Day they enter into his Dominions, till they leave the ſame. The *Grand Seignior* and the Emperor defray alſo mutually the Embaſſadors they ſend each other, and treat them either by Preſents, or elſe they give them Money.

He that was ſent by *Sultan Ibrahim* to *Vienna* in the Year 1665, requir'd ſuch a prodigious Quantity of Proviſions for himſelf and thoſe of his Retinue, that there was enough to ſubſiſt a whole Town. This will eaſily be believ'd, when it is known, that barely to make his Sauces, he requir'd to be furniſh'd every Day with four Pounds of Pepper, four Pounds of Cloves, two Pounds of Saffron, ſixty Pounds of Sugar, eighty Pounds of Honey, a hundred Pounds of Butter, and eighty Pounds of Almonds, *&c.*

It is only on extraordinary Occaſions now, that Princes give Repaſts to Embaſſadors after their firſt Audience, and that they make them dine with themſelves; as I ſhall make it appear, after I have ſaid a Word or two, concerning a Cuſtom, which has been aboliſh'd in *France* but within ſome Years. It is not long ſince the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of the City of *Paris*, were us'd to make a Preſent of Flambeaux of white Wax, of Sweet-meats, and of Wine to thoſe Embaſſadors, who came thither about extraordinary and important Affairs. They paid this Civility to the Lord *Haye*, who came to renew the Alliance in the Year 1616, and to the three Embaſſadors who were there on occaſion of the Marriage of the late King and Queen of *England*. I do not find that thoſe Civilities have been done to any other Embaſſadors ſince that time: and as even theſe were attended with ſome Circumſtances particular enough, I ſhall here take notice of ſome of them.

It was in the Year 1625, that the Marriage was ſolemniz'd at *Paris*: and the Queen of *England* being ready to ſet out, the King commanded the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs to go and pay their Reſpects to her, and to carry her, as alſo to the Earl of *Carliſle*, and to the Lord *Rich*, ſince Earl of *Holland*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from *England*, the uſual Preſent of the City. Theſe Officers of the Town, after they had ſaluted the Queen, went to ſee the Embaſſadors at their Houſe, *and were receiv'd by 'em in the middle of the Stairs.* The Earl of *Carliſle*, who was the firſt, offer'd the Hand to the Lord Mayor: and not being able to prevail with him to go firſt, they went into the Room together, the Lord *Rich* following them. At their going away, the Embaſſadors *conducted them to their very Coach*, and did not retire till the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs were got in. Some Days after they made the ſame Preſent to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was come thither after the Marriage. He receiv'd them in the middle of the Hall, where they made their Speech to him, and preſented the Flambeaux, the Wine, and the Sweet-meats. He would have conducted them back to their Coach, but meeting the Duke *de Nemours* upon the Stairs, the Lord Mayor deſir'd him to leave them to entertain the Duke, which accordingly he did, after ſeveral obliging Expreſſions, and having deſir'd the Lords of *Carliſle* and *Rich* to conduct the Gentlemen of the City to their Coach.

It is thought ſomewhat ſtrange, that the King of *Spain*, who did ſuch great Honours to the Prince of *Wales* when he went to *Madrid*, did not once make him dine at his own Table. It is an Honour that the King of *Spain* does to no body. The other Kings who were us'd to do it to Embaſſadors, have left it off by degrees. In *France* and in *England* it is not done but at the Solemnities of a Marriage, or of an Oath for the Obſervation of Treaties: and as thoſe Oaths are out of date, by reaſon the Ratification ſupplies the uſe thereof, theſe Entertainments are no longer practis'd neither. It is needleſs to repeat here what has been ſaid on that Head in the Memoirs, ſince even in the *North* they imitate in this and in ſeveral other things, what is practis'd in other Kingdoms. I have hitherto obſerv'd but the ſingle Example of Cardinal *Caraffa*, Nephew to *Paul* IV, whom *Philip* II. caus'd to dine with him at *Bruſſels*.

Embaſſadors Extraordinary are alſo lodg'd till the Day of their *Audience*; and in moſt Parts of the Kingdom there are Houſes appointed for that purpoſe. Formerly the States of the United Provinces lodg'd even the Embaſſadors and Reſidents in Ordinary of crown'd Heads: and the *French* Embaſſadors had their particular *Hoſtel* at the *Hague*, till the Year 1648. At that time *la Tuillerie* being Embaſſador in *Holland*, left it ſomewhat abruptly; that the ſeparate Peace which had been concluded at *Munſter* might not be publiſh'd in his Preſence. Before he ſet out, he ſent back the Keys of his Houſe, which his Predeceſſors were us'd to leave in the Cuſtody of the King's Agent, during the time there was no Embaſſador; and he gave the States to underſtand, that for the future the Commerce between the King and them would not be ſo great, but that it might be carry'd on by a Miniſter of the ſecond Order. Whereupon the States reſolv'd in the Month of *January* 1649, that for the time to come the Embaſſadors and Reſidents of crown'd Heads, ſhould be no longer lodg'd at the Charge of the State.

I juſt now ſaid, that the Extraordinaries are lodg'd till the Day of their *Audience*, and that is obſerv'd almoſt every where; but yet not ſo very regularly, but that ſometimes Embaſſadors are ſuffer'd to continue there; more eſpecially if they are not oblig'd to make room for a later Comer. And even on theſe Occaſions, they cannot be diſlodg'd handſomely, tho' at the ſame time it is a Piece of Incivility to ſtay there beyond the uſual Term. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, Embaſſador from *England*, was lodg'd at *Paris* in the Houſe of the Extraordinaries, when *Zavadsky*, Chamberlain and Embaſſador from *Poland*, arriv'd there in the Year 1636. Some were for diſlodging the Earl; and Car-

dinal *de Richelieu* insisted upon it so much the more, because the *English* Embassador did not visit him. But *Berlize* represented to the Cardinal the Consequence of affronting the Earl by dislodging him by force; and added, that infallibly the same Usage would be dealt to *M. de Sennecterre*, Embassador of *France* in *England*, who was there lodg'd at the King's Expence. The Cardinal acquiesc'd therefore; and *Zavadsky* was lodg'd at the *Hostel de St. Chaumont*. *M. Servien*, at his Arrival at the *Hague* in the Year 1647, found the House of the Extraordinaries occupy'd by the *Muscovite* Embassadors. The utmost Endeavours were us'd to dislodge them, but they could not be wrought upon to comply, so that the States were oblig'd to lodge *Servien* elsewhere. It would have been an Act of Injustice to dislodge the *Muscovites*, because the Czar lodges and defrays all Embassadors.

It is again a necessary Civility that the Prince causes to be done to the Embassador, by having him visited on the same Day he arrives, or else the Day following: In which I said, there is also a Distinction made between the Embassadors of crown'd Heads, where I comprise also those of *Venice* and of *Holland*; and between those of the other Princes and Potentates of *Europe*. It is not done to those of the Cantons; and since they are not allow'd to be cover'd, that they have not the Title of Excellency, and that the Princes and Ministers do not yield them the Hand, it must be believ'd, that they are not treated as Embassadors. These two Civilities of the Title and the Hand, shall take up the greatest part of this Chapter, because all the others are granted without Difficulty to those that have the Quality of Embassador.

It is only since the latter end of the foregoing Century, that Embassadors have assum'd the Title of Excellency. *Lewis de Gonzague*, Duke of *Nevers*, being sent to *Rome* by King *Henry* IV, in the Year 1593, the Pope would not own him as an Embassador; but the Ministers of the other Princes, who were well affected towards *France*, visited him notwithstanding: and as he was a Prince of the House of *Mantua*, they made no difficulty to give him the Title of Excellency.

The Partisans of *Spain*, who would not have the Embassador of that Crown to be inferior to the other, in any respect whatever, gave him the same Title. *Foscarini*, who was at that time Embassador in *France* from the Republick of *Venice*, which is in Possession of a Right to be upon the *Par* with crown'd Heads, and to follow them immediately, bethought himself of being treated with the Title of Excellency by the *Sieur de Jacob*, Embassador from *Savoy*, and made no scruple to give him the same Quality. The Marquiss of St. *Maurice*, who succeeded *Jacob*, follow'd the Example of his Predecessor: and these two Embassadors continu'd to treat one the other with this Equality, till *Contarini*, who succeeded *Foscarini*, refus'd to do this Honour to the Abbot of *Maurice*, St. *Maurice*'s Successor. The Pretext of his Refusal was, that he could not give the Title of *Excellency* to a Prelate of the second Order, while only that of *Most Reverend*, *and Most Illustrious Lordship* was given to Cardinals. However as it really was but a Pretext, the same *Contarini* refus'd it also to the Count *de Verrue*, Successor to the Abbot. He said he should be very cautious how he gave the Count a Quality, which he had refus'd to his Predecessor; by this means making his Game both of the one and the other; notwithstanding the Pope's Nuncioes, *Spada*, *Bichi* and *Ceva*, had given it him without any Difficulty. The Duke complain'd thereof, as well as of the Wrong he said the Doge did him, in refusing to insert in the Inscription of his Letters, the Title of Highness, which he gave him in the Text thereof.

There has always been a Jealousie between this Republick and the Dukes of *Savoy*, since near these two hundred Years. She formerly gave place to the Dukes; till *Emanuel Philibert*, seeing the Emperor *Charles* V, did not protect him powerfully enough against *Francis* I, reclaim'd the Protection of the Senate of *Venice*, and procur'd himself the Quality of Son of St. *Mark*. Now as the Son could not with a good Grace take place of the Father, he yielded the Precedency to the Republick; on condition that at Visits and other Ceremonies, they should treat one another with Equality as to Titles. This is what was observ'd on both sides till the time above mention'd. The Duke Cardinal *Emanuel*, was so extremely offended at the Refusal of *Contarini*, that he would not see him, when he pass'd through *Savoy*, in his Return from his Embassy in *France*, and forbid doing him those Civilities, which were usually paid to the *Venetian* Embassadors when they pass'd through his Territories. The Animosities even went so far, that in the Year 1631 he expell'd the *Venetian* Embassador from his Court, under pretext, that he there carry'd on Intrigues against his Service: but this Hatred is become in a manner irreconcileable, since the Duke has taken the Quality of King of *Cyprus*, and has disputed it with the Republick, that possess'd that Kingdom when *Selim* II. conquer'd it about a hundred Years ago. It would require too great and too tedious a Digression, to speak of the Rights and Pretensions of the Republick, and of the Duke of *Savoy*; for which Reason I shall not meddle therewith.

The Marquiss *de St. Maurice*, Embassador Plenipotentiary of the same Duke of *Savoy* at the Congress of *Westphalia*, would not make his Entry at *Munster*, till he knew first after what manner he should be treated. Before he left *Turin*, *France* had assur'd that Court, that he should not be distinguish'd from the Ministers of the United Provinces. The Nuncio signify'd to him, that he was ready to give him the Title of *Excellency*; provided he obtain'd it also from the Embassadors of the Emperor and of the crown'd Heads. At his Entry there were only the Nuncio, the Embassadors of *France*, the Bishop of *Osnaburg*, Plenipotentiary of the Electoral College, the Plenipotentiaries of *Bavaria*, and the Resident of *Sweden*, sent their Coaches to meet him. The Nuncio, and the same Ministers I just mention'd, paid him the first Visit: but *the said Nuncio*, *the Embassadors of the Emperor*, *and of* Spain, *refus'd to give him the Title of Excellency*: for which he express'd so much the greater Resentment against those of *Spain*, because sometime after

after they were so prodigal thereof, to those to whom the Embassador of *Savoy* would fain have given the Quality of Rebels, while they treated so unworthily a Prince that was nearly related to their Master. The Nuncio, who had made so many Steps, might very well have made one more, since *Pope* Innocent X. *ordain'd some time after, that the Embassadors of* Savoy *and of* Tuscany, *should have the Style of* Excellency.

It is not very long, since great Difficulties arose on this Subject. In the Year 1603, *Francisco de Castro*, Embassador Extraordinary from *Spain* to *Venice*, gave to understand that he would not give the Style of *Excellency* to the Embassadors in Ordinary that resided there, not even to him of *Spain*; but those from *France* and *England* signify'd to him, that if he refus'd to give them the Title which was due to their Character, they would not see him: That all the other Ministers, and even the Cardinals, making no Difficulty to give it them, they did not know under what Pretext the Embassador of *Spain* could refuse it them. *Don Francisco* was for backing his Design by the Example of the Constable of *Castile*, who going some time before to *England*, had not given it to the Ordinaries; however, *Don Francisco* was at last forc'd to yield, and do as the rest did.

The Emperor, tho' he order'd his Plenipotentiaries to pay to those of the Electors the same Honours they paid to the Embassador of *Venice*, as well with Reference to the first Visit, as to the reconducting part, *would not at first allow them the Title of Excellency*, because it is not given to the Representants, which are on their part at the Diets; yet at last he alter'd his mind on this Article, and caus'd it to be given them. *D'Avaux* and *la Tuillerie*, Embassadors from *France* to *Venice*, did not refuse to give the upper Hand in their own Houses, to the Embassadors of the United Provinces, neither did they make any Difficulty to reconduct them; *but yet they would not give them the Title of Excellency.* In which it must be confess'd, that there is something so very odd, that it is hard to comprehend the meaning of it. While Matters were settling with the States, in Reference to the Civilities that were to be done to their Embassadors at *Munster*, Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was willing to gratify them a little, *was of Opinion that the Style of Excellency might be given to their Embassadors, though at the same time they were deny'd the Hand.* He said that at *Rome* the Cardinals, and even the Cardinal Nephews, give *the Title of Excellency to all Embassadors, and yet do not yield the Place of Honour to any one of them.*

In the Year 1644, *Boreel* and *Renswoude*, Embassadors from the United Provinces, in *England*, had a Dispute on this Subject with the Count *de Harcourt*, Embassador from *France*. They say, in the Report they make of their Embassy, that the Count had refus'd them *the Place of Honour, and the Title of Excellency.* The Count, on the contrary, said that he had refus'd them neither the one nor the other, and that he had made no other Answer to those who had spoke to him about it, than this, That he would give to Civility all that could be reasonably desir'd of him, and even more; but that he did not pretend to oblige himself thereto by a formal Contract or Stipulation; and that he had not explain'd himself more particularly thereon. The *Dutch* Embassadors were prudent enough not to contend any farther with the Count *de Harcourt*, who was more accustom'd to act the Prince and the Captain than the Embassador.

In the Year 1641, the States of the United Provinces sent to *London* that solemn Embassy of which we make mention elsewhere. The *Venetian* Embassador paid the usual Civilities to the Embassadors of the States, as soon as they arriv'd at *London*; but it is observ'd, that his Secretary never made use of the Word *Excellency.* He follow'd therein the Example of those of *France*, and particularly that of *d'Avaux* and of *la Tuillerie*, who being Embassadors at *Venice*, did not give the Title of *Excellency* to those of *Holland*, as I just now took notice.

However, we are sensible of the Contests the Emperor's Ministers and those of the King of *Spain* have had on this account, even with the Embassadors of *Venice*. In the Year 1622. *Girolamo Landy*, Embassador from *Venice* at *London*, being inform'd that the Count *de Suartzemburg*, Embassador Extraordinary from the Emperor, was arriv'd there, sent his Secretary to complement him; and gave him to understand that he would soon acquit himself of his Devoirs to him in Person. But the Secretary observ'd that the Count, when he made mention of the *Venetian* Embassador, only gave him the Style of *Most Illustrious Lordship*, after the Example of Count *Gondemar* and of the Marquis of *Inoyosa*, Embassadors from *Spain*, who had behav'd themselves after the same manner. *Landy* being very much offended at the Procedure of the Count *de Suartzemburg*, who had sent no body to visit him, got the Master of the Ceremonies to speak to him about it, as well as concerning the Style of *Most Illustrious Lordship.* The Count made answer, That he could not treat otherwise a State that was so much below the Dignity of the Emperor his Master: *That he could not give him the Title of Excellency*, which he knew the *Spanish* Embassador did not give him: That what the other Embassadors had done could be no Precedent to him; and if the Embassador of *Venice* pretended to make use of the Style of *Most Illustrious Lordship* to him, he would then give him but the bare Title of *Lordship*; and that he would always make some Distinction: That *Landy* had no Reason neither, to complain of his not having return'd his Complement, because the Secretary had told him that his Master would immediately come and see him; and that he had expected him accordingly. These two Embassadors did not see one another, nor indeed could they, after what had happen'd. The Count *de Suartzemburg* did not understand Civility very well, or else he would not understand it.

At the same time that the Count treated *Girolamo Landy* after so offensive a manner at *London*, the Count *d'Ognate*, Embassador from *Spain*, did not use *Peter Gritti* better at *Vienna*, refusing to give him the Title of *Excellency.* The *Spaniards* were very powerful at that Court, and had the chief Direction of Affairs there; wherefore the Emperor not daring to oppose

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the Pride of the Count *d'Ognate*, could not hinder likewiſe *Gritti* from complaining to the Senate, who thereupon order'd him to retire, and leave a Secretary in that Poſt. Theſe are often the Effects of the Capriciouſneſs of the Miniſter, more than of the Will and Orders of the Maſter. In the Year 1624. the Count *de Kevenhüller*, the Emperor's Embaſſador at *Madrid*, refus'd to give the Title of *Excellency* to the Embaſſador of *Venice*. His Predeceſſor had given it, and the Count's Refuſal had like to have been the Cauſe of a great Scandal; becauſe the two Embaſſadors happening to meet one Day in the King's Antichamber, where none but the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads have Admittance, they came at laſt to ſuch high Words that they were juſt going to draw: They were however pacify'd, and prevail'd upon to ſalute one another with their Hats when they ſhould chance to meet; but ſhould not ſpeak. The whole Matter was regulated in the Year 1636, when *France* and *Spain* having deſir'd the Republick to endeavour an Accommodation between them; and ſhe having nominated *John Peſaro* for that Purpoſe, the Miniſters of the Emperor and of the King of *Spain* promis'd they would, for the future, treat the Embaſſadors of *Venice* as they did thoſe of crown'd Heads.

The Count *Francis Nerli*, Plenipotentiary of the Duke of *Mantua* at *Munſter*, pretended to have the Style of *Excellency*, and obtain'd it of the Embaſſadors of *France*, and of thoſe of the Electors; which is worthy Obſervation: But the Nuncio, and the Emperor's Embaſſadors, abſolutely refus'd to give him that Title. The *French* therefore declar'd to him, that if he did not likewiſe obtain it of the Emperor's Miniſters, they would not continue to give it him neither. The Count, to maintain himſelf in his new Acquiſition, pretended not to ſee the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries any more; but yet he under-hand entertain'd a Correſpondence with them. His Wife dy'd, and he betook himſelf to the Church: So that not being able to lay any farther Claim to the Title of *Excellency* from the Nuncio, he was contented with that of *Moſt Illuſtrious Lordſhip*, with which even the Nuncio himſelf was forc'd to be ſatisfy'd.

In the Year 1639. the *Baillo de Forbin*, Great-Croſs, came to *France* in the Quality of *Embaſſador Extraordinary from* Malta. He was a *French* Man, Lieutenant-General of the Galleys of *France*, and yet the King permitted him to be cover'd; the Prince of *Condé* and Cardinal *de Richelieu* gave him the Title of *Excellency*, and the Prince yielded to him the Place of Honour. There is no doubt but the Great Maſter of *Malta* is a Sovereign, but it is no Injuſtice to him to ſay that he is, properly ſpeaking, but the General of a Religious Order: That his Sovereignty is confin'd within the Circumference of a Rock, and that his whole Strength conſiſts in ſix or ſeven Galleys, which, inſtead of making War againſt the *Turks*, for the moſt part only infeſt private Perſons by their Depredations, of which the Republick of *Venice*, and with her all *Chriſtendom*, have had a ſad Experience. I cannot forbear ſaying here, That it is ſurprizing enough to ſee the Embaſſadors of *France* give the Title of *Excellency* to a Miniſter, to whom thoſe of the Emperor refuſe it; and the King, who grants to his Officers and Subjects thoſe Honours which he refuſes to powerful Princes, whoſe Alliance he has not diſdain'd. It is what is hard to comprehend. The Count Duke *d'Olivares*, Firſt Miniſter of *Spain*, aſſum'd the Title of *Excellency*, as well on account of the Poſt he was in, as by reaſon of his Quality of *Grandee*; and nevertheleſs he had accuſtom'd the Embaſſadors to be contented with his giving them no other Title than that of *Lordſhip*. But fearing leſt the Marquiſs *de Rambouillet* (who was ſent into *Spain* with the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary towards the end of the Year 1626.) ſhould not conſent to this Inequality, he got *du Fargis*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, to ſpeak to him about it. He aſſur'd the Marquiſs, that if he granted him this Advantage, he would do him more Civility than he could otherwiſe pretend to, or hope for. The Marquiſs did not explain himſelf any farther, but contented himſelf with anſwering in general Terms, That he would return the Civilities that ſhould be done him, after that manner the Count Duke could deſire he ſhould. This general Anſwer, which ſignify'd nothing, giving reaſon to judge, that the Marquiſs would not part with his Right: The Count Duke ſignify'd to him, that notwithſtanding all the Grandees of *Spain* made Difficulty to be upon the Level with Embaſſadors in reference to Titles, That he was one of the Grandees, and that he had poſitive Orders to give no other Title to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads than that of *Lordſhip*; ſo that it was not in his Power to make any Alteration therein; yet he was willing nevertheleſs to eſtabliſh that Equality betwixt the Marquiſs and him, *that they ſhould mutually treat one another with no other Style than that of* Signiorie *or* Lordſhip. The Marquiſs acquieſced thereto, and it was very punctually obſerv'd. The Count Duke, hoping that an Exceſs of Civility might procure him an Advantage, which he could not promiſe himſelf of Right, went to ſee the Marquiſs as ſoon as he underſtood he was arriv'd at *Madrid*, doing thereby an Honour to the Embaſſador of *France* that he had refus'd to the Legate: But he got nothing by it.

It is what will afford a great many Reflections. *The Princes of the Blood, in* France, *make no Difficulty to give the Style of* Excellency *to Embaſſadors; notwithſtanding they have within ſome time refus'd to yield the Place of Honour to them.* The Cardinals make none neither, nor *alſo the Sovereign Princes of* Italy, tho' in their own Courts they take the Hand of 'em; for which Reaſon I cannot tell whether the Grandees of *Spain* have any Right to diſpute with them the Title of *Excellency*. Moreover, I know very well that Kings do not give the Style of *Excellency* to Embaſſadors, but I cannot tell whether they can forbid their Miniſters giving them that Title; and I do not make any Diſtinction here between the firſt and the others; for tho' the Confidence repos'd in Him gives him a greater Power, yet it does not give him a Quality that acquires him a new Title. The Cardinal *Patrone* has all the Authority, but he has not for that a ſuperior Quality; neither does he pretend to any other Title than that

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which is given to the other Cardinals. On the other ſide the Embaſſador ought not to ſuffer the Title of *Excellency* to be deny'd him, becauſe it is given him as to the Repreſentative of a Sovereign Prince. The Marquiſs *de Rambouillet* might in ſome meaſure be ſatisfy'd, becauſe the firſt Miniſter, who was a Duke and Grandee of *Spain*, pretended nothing from him, that he did not likewiſe grant him on his part; but *du Fargis* could not conſent thereto, without injuring the Grandeur of the King his Maſter.

Philip IV, King of *Spain*, made difficulty to give the Title of *Seignor* to *M. de Baſſompierre*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France* at *Madrid* in the Year 1621. He ſaid, he was only a Gentleman, who had not the Quality of Marquiſs, nor of Count. But admitting *Baſſompierre* had not been of a Birth Illuſtrious enough, and although even in the Court of *France* he had not been in the Rank of the firſt Lords of the Kingdom, after the Dukes and Peers and the Officers of the Crown, the King of *Spain* could not refuſe the Title of Lord to his Character of Embaſſador Extraordinary. It is true the King of *Spain* has not that Civility for the Noblemen of his Court, which the King of *France* has for thoſe of his: But it was neceſſary to have diſtinguiſh'd betwixt a Subject and a Stranger; betwixt a private Perſon and a publick Miniſter. *Philip* recover'd himſelf from his firſt Sentiment, and receiv'd *Baſſompierre* ſo well, that the Day he made his Entry at *Madrid*, all the Priſons were open'd; not only to the Domeſticks of the Embaſſadors in Ordinary of *France* and of *Venice*, who had committed any Outrages, but alſo to all other *Frenchmen*.

That Embaſſador who does not give to others the Title that is their due, has no reaſon to complain, if that of *Excellency* be not given him. In the Year 1603, the Duke of *Mantua* being come to *Venice*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador viſited him; but inſtead of giving him the Title of *Highneſs*, he gave him that of *Serenity*, as being leſs eſteem'd in *Spain*, where that of *Highneſs* was given only to the King, before *Charles* V's Reign, and even for ſome time afterwards. However, as that Title has given place to that of Majeſty for a conſiderable time, and that even the King's natural Sons are allow'd the Title of *Highneſs*, the Duke perceiving that it was not the Embaſſador's Intention to do him Honour, he only gave him likewiſe the Title of *Signiory* or *Lordſhip*. The Doge of *Venice* thinks himſelf honour'd by the Title of *Serenity*; and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, has made preſſing Inſtances to the Moſt Chriſtian King, to give it him.

The Baron *de Haſlang*, firſt Plenipotentiary to the Elector of *Bavaria*, not being able to obtain the Title of *Excellency* from the Embaſſadors of *France*, and yet being oblig'd to negotiate with them, he did not give them the Title, but only ſpoke to them in the third Perſon, after the manner of *Germany* and *Italy*; and they on their ſide did the like; as for example, *M. d'Avaux* has ſaid, *M. le Baron* has ſaid, *&c.* This Matter has ſince been regulated in reference to the firſt Plenipotentiaries of the Electors; but the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, never gave the Title of *Excellency* to the ſecond, nor to their other Embaſſadors; and the Miniſters of the Princes of *Germany* gave it neither to the one nor the other; that is to ſay, neither to the firſt nor ſecond Electoral Embaſſadors.

This Title is become ſo common ſince the Aſſembly at *Munſter*, that it can no longer be refus'd to thoſe, whom the Sovereign has cloth'd with the Character of Embaſſador; tho' the Miniſters of *France* pretend to adhere to the Regulation eſtabliſh'd at *Munſter*, and to give it only to the firſt. It is what I ſhall ſpeak to hereafter in Chapter XXV. There is however an Exception to be made for thoſe, who by reaſon of their Birth or Dignity, have a Quality above that which the Character gives them. Cardinal *Alexander Bichi* was Embaſſador Plenipotentiary from *France* in *Italy*, but that did not hinder him from having the Stile of *Eminency*; and thoſe Honours were done to the Cardinal, which would not have been done to the Embaſſador. No body refus'd the Title of *Highneſs* to the Cardinal Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, Embaſſador from the Emperor at *Rome*. The Miniſters of *France* made no Difficulty to give the Title of *Highneſs* to the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, Plenipotentiary of the Electoral College, before they had Orders to give that of *Excellency* to the Plenipotentiaries of the Electors: and the Duke of *Nevers* himſelf had that Quality given him, as being a *Prince of the Houſe of* Mantua, and not as Embaſſador of *France*. The Moſt Chriſtian King, before he ſent the Duke of *Longueville* to the Aſſembly of *Munſter*, would have the Title of *Highneſs* given him; as well becauſe he was in ſome manner of the Royal Blood, being deſcended from the Count of *Dunois*, natural Son of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, who was Brother to *Charles* VI, as becauſe he poſſeſs'd in Sovereignty the Territory of *Neufchaſtel* in *Switzerland*; but for all that the Duke met with very great Difficulties to have it given him at the Place of the Congreſs. The Plenipotentiaries of the Electors made none at all; becauſe *France* had granted them the Title of *Excellency*, which was a great Novelty in the Empire. The Mediators, and the Emperor's Embaſſadors, refus'd to give it him: even thoſe of *Sweden*, judging that the Dignity of their Crown was concern'd therein, would do nothing but what they ſaw the reſt do. On the ſame Day that the Duke arriv'd at *Munſter*, the Nuncio, and the *Venetian* Embaſſador ſent to complement him by two Gentlemen of their Retinue; but becauſe they deſir'd to ſpeak with *M. le Duke*, without mentioning the word *Highneſs*, he would not admit them; excuſing himſelf on the *laſſitude* he felt after the Fatigues of his Journey. So that the Mediators themſelves did not ſee him, till after it was agreed, that it ſhould not be eſteem'd a formal Viſit, nor of Ceremony; but ſhould paſs for a Conference of Buſineſs, where no Titles ſhould be given on either ſide, and where they ſhould talk to one another in the third Perſon, after the manner of *Italy*. The Count *de Pegnaranda* being arriv'd at *Munſter* ſome Days after, *M. de Longueville*, who had as yet admitted of no publick Viſits, and who apprehended leſt the Mediators ſhould viſit the Count firſt, ſignify'd to them, that notwithſtanding he was not in a Condition to receive Viſits, yet that ſhould not

hinder him from ſeeing thoſe who would give themſelves the trouble to come to him. The Mediators made anſwer, that they and the Emperor's Embaſſadors had already ſent to deſire Audience of *Pegnarande*, who had fix'd them an Hour the Day following after Dinner; and that otherwiſe they would not have fail'd to make him the firſt Viſit, *as to him that came firſt.* The *French* Embaſſadors took it ill; however it had no farther Conſequence. Eight Days after, the Mediators ſent word to the Duke of *Longueville*, that the Count had communicated his Powers to them, and that they ſhould be very glad to exchange them. He that brought the Meſſage made no mention of *Highneſs*; for which Reaſon the Duke would not ſee him, but ſent him an Anſwer by one of his Domeſticks. The Secretary of the Embaſſy of *France*, going afterwards to ſee the Nuncio, to carry him the Duke of *Longueville*'s Powers; and having enter'd on the Diſcourſe of Titles, the Nuncio told him, that when hereafter he ſhould ſend any of his Gentlemen to the Duke, he would order him to give him the Title of *Highneſs*; provided that no Conſequences were drawn there-from, to the Prejudice of the Mediators themſelves; as would be practis'd in *Italy*, where he that cauſes a Title to be given by his Domeſticks, is deem'd to expreſs his Intention to do the like himſelf. Accordingly, the Gentleman who carry'd to the Duke of *Longueville* the Powers of *Peguarande*, on the part of the Nuncio, gave him the Title of *Highneſs*. *Servien*, who carry'd back the ſame Powers to the Mediators, took an occaſion to tell the Nuncio, that he could not comprehend, why any Perſon ſhould make difficulty to do himſelf, what he caus'd to be done by one of his Gentlemen. That the Mediators had always ſaid, they would follow therein the Example of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, and that *theſe had given the Title of Highneſs to the Duke of* Logueville. The Nuncio reply'd, that that was a thing not to be mention'd any farther; ſince when he offer'd the Secretary of the Embaſſy of *France*, to cauſe the Title of *Highneſs* to be given the Duke by his Gentleman, he had expreſſly added, that it ſhould be on condition, that after that, nothing more ſhould be requir'd of him, which he could not juſtify by the Example of the Count of *Naſſaw*. *Servien* ſaid, that the Duke had heard nothing of any Condition: ſo that it was found neceſſary to come to a clearing of the Point with the Secretary of the Embaſſy. The Secretary therefore going to the Nuncio, put him in mind that he had ſaid nothing elſe to him, than that what his Gentleman ſhould do, ſhould not be prejudicial to his own Perſon: but that no mention had been made of Conditions, nor of the Count of *Naſſaw*. *Servien* pretended, that ſince the Mediators had imitated the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, by giving the *Title of Highneſs to the Duke of* Longueville by a Gentleman, they might very well make one Step more; ſince he, of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, who was Spokeſman for them both, gave him the ſame Quality: but for all this the Mediators remain'd obſtinate. *Servien* did not ſay all. It was not true, that the ſecond Plenipotentiary of the Emperor had given the *Title of Highneſs to the Duke of* Longueville, when he had alſo ſpoken for the Count of *Naſſaw*; and he had been diſavow'd at *Vienna*, in the Advances he had made in his own particular. The Name of the Secretary of the Embaſſy of *France* was *Boulanger*, and he had an admirable *Genius* for that Function, accompany'd with a Probity, that had procur'd him the Eſteem of all Men of Honour and Honeſty. He was of all the *French*, the Perſon for whom the Nuncio had ſome Affection, and he continu'd to give him ſome Tokens thereof after his Promotion: Inſomuch that *Boulanger*, promiſing himſelf a great Advantage from the Exaltation of *Fabio*, reſolv'd to go and viſit him at *Rome*. But Pope *Alexander* VII, ſoon gave him to underſtand, that in his new Dignity, he was not a better *Frenchman*, than he had been during his Nunciature; and that the Averſion the Pope had for all the Nation, extended as far as his own Perſon: which was the occaſion of his remaining in *France*.

It might be here ask'd, whether the Moſt Chriſtian King, who has a greater Power in his own Kingdom, than the Emperor has in the Empire, has not the ſame Faculty as he has, to create Princes? But that is not the thing in queſtion. It was not the King's Intention to make the Duke of *Longueville* a Prince, when he gave him the Title of *Highneſs*; but only to declare, that ſince the Duke was Sovereign of *Neufchaſtel*, he could not be deny'd the Title of *Highneſs*. In the ſame manner, the King by ordering his Embaſſador to give the ſame *Title to the Prince of* Orange, did not declare him a Prince, nor did not erect *Orange* into a Principality or a Sovereignty; but he judg'd, that the Prince being a Sovereign, he ought to have the Title of *Highneſs*. It is true at the ſame time, that this Declaration cannot lay any Neceſſity on other Sovereigns to follow his Example; but then it cannot alſo be deny'd, that after the firſt King of *Chriſtendom*, had ſhewn a Willingneſs to do this Honour to a Prince, the other Kings ought not to have refus'd it: and the Prince that receives it, ought not to ſuffer it to be taken from him.

I ſaid before, that the Plenipotentiaries of *France* offer'd to give the Stile of *Highneſs* to the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, before they had receiv'd Orders to give that of *Excellency* to the Plenipotentiaries of the Electors; and they actually gave him the Title of *Grace*, or Dignity of Prince, to expreſs what is call'd in the *German* Language *Furſtlizehe Genade*, or *Burde*, and after the Duke of *Longueville* was arriv'd at *Munſter*, they gave the Biſhop the Title of *Highneſs*. I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay here, that as in *Italy* it is not given to all Princes without diſtinction, ſince the Republick of *Venice* gives only *that of Excellency to the Duke of* Parma, and that there are ſome Houſes, where it is not given to the younger Children, ſo in *Germany* the Title of *Durchleuchtegheid*, which anſwers that of *Highneſs*, is not given to Biſhops nor Prelates; nor even to thoſe Electors, who are only Princes by reaſon of their Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, and are not ſo by Birth. Neither is it given to all Princes indifferently; but yet there are ſome, who notwithſtanding they are not of the firſt Rank, have the Stile of *Furſtliche Gnade*. The word *Gnade* properly ſigni-

ſignifies Grace, Pardon, or Clemency: But as the Word *Grace* ſignifies alſo Bounty, Favour, or good Diſpoſition, it is alſo made uſe of in thoſe Countries where the *French* Expreſſion is adapted to the *German* Thought, to do Honour to thoſe Princes who do not pretend to the Title of *Highneſs*. The Queen *Margaret* of *Valois* ſays, in her Memoirs, That in paſſing through the Countrey of *Liege*, to go to the *Spaw* Waters, that Quality was given to the Biſhop thereof, who is a Prince of the Empire. This Quality of *Gnade* is ſo common in the *Upper Germany*, and particularly in *Auſtria*, and the neighbouring Provinces, that there is not a Baron that does not aſſume it as a Title inferior to that of *Excellency*. The *Engliſh* make uſe of it likewiſe, and give it to their Archbiſhops, and to Perſons of the firſt Quality, after that of Princes; whereas the *Spaniards* give the Style of *Merced*, which has the ſame Signification, to Merchants, Artificers, and the moſt vile and abject Perſons among the Commonalty. Nevertheleſs in *Holland*, where the Word *Gnade* is underſtood only in its firſt Signification, they are ſo jealous of their Liberty (of which they have form'd ſuch a ſtrange Idea) that they cannot endure it; and in this Averſion the States themſelves chuſe rather to give the Title of *Highneſs* than that of *Grace*, to thoſe who would be very well contented with the one, and have no Pretenſion to the other. But this is not the only Irregularity that is there committed, in Reference to Honours and Civilities. They think there, they do Honour to him to whom they give the Title of *Heres*, which in effect ſignifies no more than *Sir*, or *Lord:* And they think they do ſtill a greater Honour to thoſe to whom they give the Quality of *Monſieur*, which certainly expreſſes ſomething more than *Sieur* or *Lord*, which is the Title of Merchants in *Brabant*. There are ſome young Women in *Germany*, and after their Example in *Holland*, who would think themſelves affronted if they were ſtil'd *Demoiſelles*; and if they were call'd *Fraulein*, which is a *German* Word, that has the ſame Signification and the ſame Etymology. For as in *France* the Word *Damoiſelle* has been form'd of *Dame*, ſo in *Germany* the Word *Fraulein* is deriv'd from *Frau*. In *France*, the King's Brother gives no other Style to his eldeſt Brother and Sovereign, than that of *Monſieur:* And the firſt Princeſs of *France*, after the King's Daughters, and the richeſt in all *Europe*, glories in being alſo the firſt *Demoiſelle* thereof.

A great many things might be ſaid on this Subject; but this is ſufficient for a Digreſſion. I ſhall only add, that altho' the Difference of *Gnade* and of *Durchleuchtigheid* is obſerv'd alſo among the Electors, as I above took notice; yet at the Aſſembly of *Munſter*, the Emperor thought fit that the Plenipotentiaries of the one's and the other's ſhould have the ſame Style as thoſe of *Venice*. The Nuncio could never be brought to give the Title of *Highneſs* to the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, but he always gave him the Style of *Moſt Illuſtrious Lordſhip*; becauſe the Biſhop was not a Prince by Birth; and the Nuncio, who gave the Title of *Highneſs* only to thoſe who were born Princes, and to thoſe Cardinals who were likewiſe Princes, was very cautious of giving it to the Biſhop, who was not ſo.

As when the Pope gave the Title of *Eminency* to Cardinals, he neither could, nor pretended to oblige crown'd Heads thereto, (amongſt whom the Republick of *Venice* has been compris'd by a particular Declaration;) ſo Embaſſadors by procuring that of Excellency from their Equals or Inferiors, could not thereby oblige Sovereigns to treat them after the ſame manner. Neither is there any King (at leaſt among thoſe who are knowing in the Matter of Civilities) that gives the Style of *Excellency* to Embaſſadors. The Senate of *Venice* gives them only that of *Seigneurie* or *Lordſhip*, and the States General of the United Provinces are the only, to the beſt of my Knowledge, that give Embaſſadors the Stile of *Excellency* on all Occaſions, by word of Mouth and in Writing. The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, writing on the 24th of *May* 1620, to the Duke of *Engouleſme*, to the Count of *Bethune*, and to *Chaſteauneuf*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from *France* in *Germany*; gives to the Duke, who was a Prince, the Title of *Excellency*, and to the two others that of *Moſt Illuſtrious Lordſhip*. After his Example the Duke of *Bavaria* deceas'd, writing to them on the 16th and 20th of *June*, in the ſame Year, gives the Title of *Excellentiſſimus* to the Duke, and to the two others that of *Illuſtres*. Thus the Duke of *Bavaria*, being Elector, and writing to the Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries, who were on the part of *France* at *Munſter*, on the 26th of *October* 1644, gives them only the Title of *Meſſieurs*, and of *Vous*, or *You*, the firſt Line without Civility; and in the Subſcription, *Your Moſt Affectionate*. It is true, the Duke of *Longueville* was not then come; however it looks as if there was a little Incivility in this manner of writing to Miniſters Repreſentants, who had a full Power from the moſt powerful King in *Chriſtendom*; who were not his Subjects, and whoſe Friendſhip was ſo neceſſary to him for the ſecuring his moſt important Intereſts. Sovereigns do not ſhare their Dignity but with their Equals: But I dare be bold to ſay, that there is nothing gives it a greater Luſtre than the Civilities they beſtow on thoſe Perſons, who owe them nothing but the Hat; and there is no Liberality that coſts leſs. It is true that the Duke, and the two other Plenipotentiaries on their ſide, us'd the Duke of *Bavaria* very Cavalierly in the Inſcription of their Letters, directing them to *Monſieur*, *Monſieur the Duke of Bavaria*; and in the Subſcription, which was no other than barely *Your very humble Servants*. *D'Avaux* and *Servien* writing a Circular Letter to the Princes of *Germany*, on the 20th of *January*, 1645, give them the Title of *Moſt Serene*, and that of *Highneſs*; but in the Subſcription, *Ready to ſerve your Highneſs*. The Duke of *Angouleſme*, on the contrary, although a Prince by Birth, writing, with his Collegues, to the Count of *Hanau*, ſigns, *Your moſt affectionate Servant*.

In the Year 1641, the King of *Spain* offer'd the Poſt of General of the Sea to Prince *Charles* of *Medicis*, Brother to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, which was vacant by the Death of *Don Carlos* the King's Brother: But the Great Duke would not ſuffer him to accept it, unleſs it was given him with all the Advantages that had been granted to Prince *Philibert* of *Savoy*.

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He ſtipulated, amongſt other things, that the Prince ſhould not be oblig'd to yield the Hand, at home, to the Grandees of *Spain*, even tho' they had the Quality of Viceroy, or of Embaſſador: And all this was promis'd him. The Great Duke, at the ſame time, forgot to ſtipulate that the King ſhould oblige the Grandees of *Spain* to go and viſit the Prince, becauſe without that it was very probable they would not do it: ſince they refuſe to give the Title of *Highneſs* to the younger Princes of the Houſe of *Savoy*, who take place of thoſe of *Tuſcany*; and that they gave it to *Don John* of *Auſtria*, but on Condition that he ſhould give them the Title of *Excellency*.

It is only within ſome Years, that the Miniſters of the Court of *France*, and even the Secretaries of State, aſſume to themſelves the Title of *Excellency*. It is from the Example of ſeveral other Courts of *Europe*, amongſt whom that of *Sweden* pretends that it cannot be refus'd to the Senators, becauſe they are not ſo much Members of the King's Council, as of the Senate of the Kingdom. The *Italians*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Germans*, ſpeak almoſt always in the third Perſon, but the *French* find it hard to habituate themſelves thereto; for which Reaſon thoſe Titles are not very common there. The Prince of *Condé* cannot endure to have the Stile of *Highneſs*, ſince that Title, which belongs only to Sovereigns, has been proſtituted to Perſons who could hardly make out their Nobility: So that it was going to be almoſt as common as that of *Sir* is at *Lions*. *Royal Highneſs* is only ſpoke of ſince the firſt Journey the late Duke of *Orleans* took to *Bruſſels* in the Year 1631: It is only given to the Offspring of Kings; and the Duke of *Savoy* takes it but on account of his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, tho' improperly enough. If that Kingdom be his, he is a King; and if it does not belong to him, he ought not to have the Title of *Royal Highneſs* neither.

When I ſpoke above, in the XVIIIth Chapter, of the Reception that was made to the *Swiſs* Embaſſadors at *Paris*, I took notice that *Lionne*, Secretary of State, took at Home the Place of Honour, the Hand, the Door, and the Chair of them; which the Miniſters do not do to the Embaſſador of the meaneſt Prince in *Italy*. The Embaſſadors, on their ſide, ought to do Honour to the Miniſters, and to all the Perſons of Quality that viſit them on the part of the Prince. In the Year 1620, the Mareſchal *de Cadenet*, who has ſince been known under the Quality of Duke and Mareſchal *de Chaunes*, was ſent into *England* on the Occaſion of a Journey the late King, *Lewis* XIII, took to *Calais*, from whence he thought himſelf oblig'd to ſend to viſit the King of *Great Britain*. The Mareſchal being arriv'd at *Dover*, the Maſter of the Ceremonies brought him twenty Coaches and three hundred Horſes: The Lord *Hunſdon* went to meet him as far as *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Arundel* complemented him at *Graveſend* from the King. The Mareſchal *receiv'd him only at the top of the Stairs, and in reconducting him, he accompany'd him no farther than the Place where he had receiv'd him.* The Earl was ſo ſcandaliz'd thereat, that when they were to ſet out the next Day, he would not ſee the Mareſchal at his Lodgings, but ſent him word that the Embaſſador's Retinue ſo fill'd the Houſe where he was lodg'd, that his Perſon being thereby inacceſſible, he would ſtay for him in the Street, in order to conduct him to the Barge. He accordingly waited for him, and being come to *Denmark*-Houſe, where the Embaſſador was lodg'd, he took his leave of him at the Foot of the Stairs, leaving him in the Hands of ſome Gentlemen who accompany'd him into his Chamber. This was not all the Reſentment the Earl ſhewed. He complain'd thereof to the King, who caus'd it to be remonſtrated to the Mareſchal by the Comptroller of his Houſhold, and oblig'd him to make Reparation. The Mareſchal ſaid that his Indiſpoſition had hinder'd him from going to meet the Earl at *Graveſend*, and from reconducting him: But it was but a very bad Excuſe, which would have been ſomewhat leſs deficient had he made it to the Earl himſelf. This Embaſſador was Brother to the Favourite, and it was in that Conſideration that extraordinary Honours were done him. The Marquiſs of *Buckingham*, and the Earls of *Dorſet* and *Warwick*, conducted him to Audience, and ſome Days after the King made him dine with him.

La Villauxcleres de Lomenie, who has ſince been known under the Quality of Count of *Brienne*, went in the Year 1624. into *England*, as Embaſſador Extraordinary, for the Ratification of the Contract of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and *Henrietta* Daughter of *France*. Being arriv'd at *Graveſend* with the Marquiſs *Deffiat*, who went as far as *Dover* to meet him, altho' he had the ſame Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary; he was there complemented in the King's Name by the Earl of *Dorſet*, who came thither with a Retinue of five and twenty Gentlemen, and with a Cortege of two and twenty Barges. The Earl being arriv'd at *Graveſend*, went directly to the Inn where the Embaſſadors were lodg'd, and *was receiv'd at the bottom of the Stairs in the Entry, by the Marquiſs* de Rotelin, *and by Monſieur* de Maſſy, *Brothers-in-law to* La Villauxcleres, *and by the two Embaſſadors at the top of the ſame Stairs*. They paid one another great Civilities at the Chamber-Door, but at laſt the Earl was oblig'd to enter firſt. *La Villauxcleres* follow'd him: After him enter'd *Edward Herbert*, who had been Embaſſador in *France*; and the Marquiſs *Deffiat* would do the Honours of the Houſe. At his going away, the Earl refus'd a great while to take the Place of Honour, and did not take it but after great Conteſtations. The two Embaſſadors reconducted him to the Houſe-Door. *La Villauxcleres* thought himſelf the Man of all *France*, who underſtood beſt the Buſineſs of Ceremonies: And it muſt be own'd, that after the ineſtimable Cabinet of the Count *de Bethune*, there was to be found with him a Collection of the fineſt Memoirs in the World: But one would think that on this Occaſion neither he, nor all the others, knew very well what they did. The Earl of *Dorſet* was deputed by the King of *England*, the Place of Honour was his due in the Embaſſador's Lodgings. He might indeed make ſome Refuſals of it, out of Civility, but he could not ſuffer it to be taken from him. *La Villauxcleres* ought to ſend his Family to meet the Earl at the Street-Door, and ought to deſcend

ſcend ſome Steps, to receive him on the Stairs. It was none of *Deffiat*'s Buſineſs to do the Honours of the Houſe: On the contrary, notwithſtanding that *la Villauxcleres* had the Step and Hand of him, as being the laſt Comer, That could not take place at *la Villauxcleres*'s Lodgings, who was oblig'd at home to do Honour to his Collegue, who had the ſame Character he had himſelf. *Herbert* alone did well in receiving the Civility that was offer'd him. The *Engliſh*, going from thence, put it into deliberation, whether they ſhould not ſignifie to the *French* Embaſſadors, that it was expected they ſhould the next Day make a Viſit to the Earl; and that if they fail'd therein, they on their part would not go to receive them, in order to conduct them to the River. This was certainly a very impertinent Propoſition, and as ſuch it was let drop.

Berliſe, one of the Introductors of Embaſſadors in *France*, relates in his Memoirs, that going one Day from the King, to ſee the Viſcount *Scudamore*, Embaſſador from *England*; and being about twenty Paces from the Inn, where the Viſcount was lodg'd, he ask'd the *Sieur Giraut*, whether the Embaſſador would not do by him as the other Embaſſadors had done by the other Conductors of Embaſſadors. That *Giraut* indeed told him, there was no need to doubt it; and nevertheleſs he was willing to be inform'd therein by *M. de Vic*, the *Engliſh* Agent, before he went in; and that *de Vic* told him, that *Wake*, *Scudamore*'s Predeceſſor, *had been blam'd in* England *for having yielded the Place of Honour to the Introductor*. That thereupon he had told *Giraut*, that he who had been a long time in the Office, ought not to expoſe him that repreſented the King's Perſon: That that was the firſt time he had been ſurpris'd, and that it ſhould be the laſt. It was therefore reſolv'd immediately, that *Berliſe* ſhould ſee the Embaſſador in his Hall, without ſitting down: That from that time he would not go to the Embaſſadors any more; and that Cardinal *de Richelieu* had told him, he did well to preſerve the Dignity of his Office. *Berliſe* adds, that he went to the Embaſſador from the King, and that on that account he ought to be conſider'd and honour'd. If we take the pains to reaſon on what theſe Memoirs ſay, we ſhall be oblig'd to judge, that in this Example the Cuſtoms of *France* and *England* differ: ſince this laſt takes it ill that *Wake* ſhould yield at home the Place of Honour to the Conductor of Embaſſadors, it is reaſonable to think, that Embaſſadors do not yield it to the Maſter of the Ceremonies at *London*. And that is moſt certain; as it is alſo certain, that the Introductors are in poſſeſſion of a Right to inſiſt upon having it in *France*. I have ſeen it more than once, and that the Embaſſadors conducted the Introductor to his Coach. However it looks as if there were ſome Deficiency in the Reaſoning of *M. de Berliſe:* and there are ſo many other things to be obſerv'd on this Subject, that ſome would be apt to queſtion the Right of the Conductors, and whether *England* has not more Reaſon of its ſide than *France*. *Berliſe*, in ſaying that he went to ſee the Embaſſador from the King, ſays indeed the truth; but then he gives it a Turn which is not natural. He went as the King's Officer, and according to the Duty of his Office; ſo that he could not be conſider'd as a Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, a Maſter of the Wardrobe, or ſome other Officer of the Houſhold, whom the King employs to complement the Embaſſador. This Officer or Lord, who is a Repreſentative, being a kind of Embaſſador, ought to be conſider'd as the King's Deputy, but I do not think the ſame can be ſaid of the Introductor, who only does what the Function of his Office obliges him to.

I am well aſſur'd that it will be a hard matter to reconcile the Pretenſions of *M. de Berliſe*, with thoſe of the Preſident *de Bellievre*, who being Embaſſador from *France* in *Holland*, did a great deal more than the Viſcount *Scudamore* did. He had been Embaſſador at *Venice* and in *England*. He was Grand Son to two Chancellors of *France*; he was a Preſident *au Mortier*; and he had beſides all this, a Merit that brighten'd very much what there was of Illuſtrious in his Office and Birth. His Predeceſſors had taken in their own Houſes, the Hand and the Door of the Deputies of the States that went to ſee them. But the Rank and Titles had been regulated in the Aſſembly of *Munſter*, and the State of the United Provinces had been acknowledg'd to be in ſuch manner Sovereign, that the King of *Spain* had not only renounc'd his Right, but alſo his Titles; for which Reaſon the States, not being able to brook any longer their being us'd like the *Swiſs Cantons*, repreſented to *M. de Bellievre* the Reaſons they had to inſiſt upon having that Honour paid them in his own Houſe, which was their Due, by his doing Civility to their Deputies, when they came to ſee him on their part. They took thereupon ſeveral very ſtrong Reſolutions; but the Embaſſador continu'd nevertheleſs to refuſe them the Place of Honour in his Houſe. He ſaid he could not do it without Orders, and the Court not being in a Condition to think of thoſe kinds of Affairs, he went from the *Hague*, where he did not leave any great Satisfaction of his Perſon. I ſhould conceive that the Embaſſador of *England* might very well do in reference to an Introductor, (who is not one of the firſt Officers of the King's Houſhold) what the Embaſſador of *France* did to the Deputies, who went to ſee him from the States, and who were of the Body of their Aſſembly. *Chanut*, *de Thou*, *Deſtrades*, and *Pompone*, have done it without Conteſtation.

Moreover it looks like a Piece of Injuſtice to exact that Complaiſance from foreign Embaſſadors, when the King won't ſuffer his to have it even for Princes. I do not here ſpeak of thoſe imaginary Princes, as that of *Tarentum*, who refus'd to make the firſt Viſit to *M. Deſtrades*, Embaſſador from the King of *France*, whoſe Subject the Prince of *Tarentum* was; and who pretended to have the Hand, the Door and the Chair at the Embaſſador's Houſe; but of thoſe truly Princes, who have been oblig'd to yield to Embaſſadors all the Advantages imaginable, where-ever they chanc'd to meet, even in the Embaſſador's own Palace. The Duke of *Guiſe*, a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorraine*, and Chief of that Branch that had taken Root in *France*, being at *Rome*, to try to annul the Marriage he had contracted with the Counteſs of *Boſſu* at *Bruſſels*, and who had caus'd

the Family to loſe above a hundred thouſand Crowns in Benefices, made difficulty to go and viſit the Marquiſs *de Fontenay Marûel*, Embaſſador from *France*, becauſe this laſt refus'd to give him the Hand in his own Houſe. Upon the Complaints the Embaſſador made thereof, the King wrote to the Duke of *Guiſe* on the 27th of *June*, 1644, "That the Refuſal the "Duke made, to give Place to the Embaſſador, regarded his Royal Perſon, and gave "Strangers a very bad Opinion of the Reſpect "the Duke had for his Sovereign, and for the "Dignity of his Crown: *That he therefore "commanded him, not to delay any longer paying "to his Embaſſador an Honour, that was ſo juſtly his due:* That the Prince of *Joinville*, eldeſt "Brother to the Duke, had acquitted himſelf "thereof without Reluctancy, to the *French* "Embaſſador in *Piedmont:* That all the World "was ſufficiently ſatisfy'd, there could be no "Competition betwixt the Duke, and the Marquiſs *de Fontenay*, as a private Perſon; but "at the ſame time he could not without Scandal, continue his Conteſt with a Miniſter, "who repreſented his Perſon. So that he "hop'd, the Duke would without delay diſcharge that Duty, and without any other "Concern, than what he might have for not "doing it ſooner. Cardinal *Mazarine* added alſo a Letter which was at leaſt as forcible; ſo that the Duke was oblig'd to obey. The Prince of *Tarentum* had this Example before his Eyes, yet nevertheleſs he continu'd obſtinate not to ſee *M. Deſtrades*, till he was neceſſitated to do by Force, what he might have done with a good Grace. Wherefore I ſhall ſay on this Occaſion, that ſince Embaſſadors treat Princes after this Manner, the Miniſters of the ſecond Order have no great Reaſon to complain, when they receive either the ſame Honours, or Civilities that come near to thoſe they pay to Princes. A great many more things might be ſaid on this Subject; but what is for our preſent Purpoſe is, that it ſeems one might doubt, whether the Embaſſador, who does not in his own Houſe yield the Place of Honour to a Prince, be oblig'd to give it to the Introductor of Embaſſadors.

The Lord Hollis, *Embaſſador from* England, *and the Embaſſador of* Venice, *would not in a third Place, yield Precedency to the Prince of* Conde. I won't ſay they were in the right: On the contrary, I am of Opinion that in *France*, ſomething is due to the Princes of the Blood. I ſay ſomething, but not all that the King has granted them within this little while: and I believe that the Embaſſador of *Venice* was by ſo much the more in the wrong, as he could not be ignorant of the Conſideration which is had for the Princes of the Blood, even in his own Countrey; but I ſay it only on this account, that I think there is a great deal more reaſon to refuſe the Place of Honour to a Conductor, than to diſpute it with a Prince of the Blood, in a third Place. The Duke of *Savoy* would not permit *Priuli*, Embaſſador from *Venice*, to take the Precedency of Prince *Thomas* at the Proceſſion of *Corpus Chriſti*, tho' at the ſame time he allow'd the Embaſſador of *Spain* to take this Advantage of him. The Republick reſented it, and without doubt would not have ſuffer'd the ſame Prince to have taken the Place of Honour of the Embaſſador, in his own Houſe.

The Pope's Nephews are not Princes of the Blood, becauſe an Elective Sovereignty is not communicable to Relations; for which Reaſon the Cardinals refus'd to give the Title of *Highneſs* to Prince *Caſimir*, Cardinal of *Poland*. The Nephews, who are Cardinals, are conſider'd on account of their Dignity, and *Thadeus Barberin* enter'd into Competition with the Embaſſadors, but only by reaſon of his Quality of Prefect of *Rome*. *M. d'Urſé*, Embaſſador of *France*, writing to *Henry* II, on the 5th of *November*, 1549, ſays, that on occaſion of the Anniverſary, he had been invited to the Entertainment the Pope gave to the Cardinals and Embaſſadors: That before they ſate down to Table, the Steward and the Biſhop of *Imola*, came and ask'd him from the Pope, and in his Preſence, *if he pretended in this Ceremony to take Place of Duke* Horatio, *his Holineſs's Nephew*? And that he made anſwer, Yes: That he expected that *Horatio*, as Duke of *Caſtro*, ſhould ſit below him: However he was willing to give him the Precedency, *not on account of his Quality of Duke, but becauſe he was going to be Son in-law to the King his Maſter:* and to ſhew that it was merely on this ſcore he yielded it to *Horatio*, he declar'd he would neither give the Hand, nor any other Advantage to *Octavio* his Brother: That he had deſir'd the Maſter of the Ceremonies to regiſter it accordingly; and at the ſame time he took *Horatio* by the Hand, and ſeated him above him: He moreover adds, *that this Procedure was look'd upon to be very gallant; becauſe that, far from doing any Prejudice to his Character, he had made it known publickly, that had it not been for the Honour of the King's Alliance, to which* Horatio *pretended, he would not have given Place to the Quality of Duke:* That the Pope himſelf (notwithſtanding he was not over-pleas'd to ſee the Embaſſador's Pretenſions, who took the Rank of his Nephews) had ſome Satisfaction in the Hopes that were given him of the Marriage.

As Civilities are not a Branch of the *Law of Nations*, they ought to be regulated by Cuſtom, or according as the Occaſion requires; but Embaſſadors will always do wiſely to be free, or reſerv'd therein, as ſhall be requiſite to anſwer the Intention, and promote the Intereſt of their Maſters. *Chanut*, Embaſſador from *France* in *Sweden*, had Orders to accommodate himſelf to the Will of Queen *Chriſtina*, in reference to the Civilities he might pretend to, from the Prince *Palatine*, who was intended to ſucceed to the Crown; as well as in reference to thoſe the Prince ſhould deſire from him: when he was ask'd, whether he would give the Place of Honour to the Prince, and whether he would give him the Title of *Royal Highneſs*, *Chanut* made anſwer, that he would do whatever ſhould be requir'd of him; but that he alſo expected to receive the ſame Honours, that the Princes of the Blood of *France* do to Embaſſadors. The Maſter of the Ceremonies reply'd, that as the Prince *Palatin* was the preſumptive Succeſſor to the Crown, the Embaſſador could pretend to no other Honours from him, than thoſe the Duke of *Orleans* would do to a Miniſter of his Character. He added, that the Prince being nominated Succeſſor, and having been declar'd ſuch by an Act of the Eſtates, he was ſome-

thing

thing more than the Duke of *Orleans*. *Chanut* then told him, that *Monſieur* was the Son and Brother of a King, and that in that Quality he had an Advantage which the Prince *Palatine* had not. This Difficulty was the Cauſe that *Chanut* reſolv'd not to viſit the Prince. But at the very firſt Overture *Chanut* caus'd to be made to the Prince himſelf, he found him diſpos'd to give him the Hand, the Door, and the Chair. He was therefore conducted to him by the Maſter of the Ceremonies. The Prince receiv'd him at the Coach Door, and re-conducted him to the ſame Place. Here he did too much. At the Entry that was made for Queen *Chriſtina*, when ſhe came to *Upſal*, the City where ſhe was to be crown'd, the *French* Embaſſador's Coach gave place to the Prince *Palatin*'s: and at the Feaſt that follow'd after the Ceremony, the Embaſſador was ſeated immediately after the Prince: and the Embaſſadors of *Portugal* and of *Brandenburg* were likewiſe plac'd before the other Princes. *Chanut* pretended to no other Honour, than that the Princes of the Blood pay to Embaſſadors. It is true, that at that time the Princes of the Blood yielded both the Hand and the Step to Embaſſadors; and not only to thoſe of crown'd Heads, but alſo to thoſe of the Republicks. The Count *de Brulon*, obſerves in his Memoirs, that in the Year 1639, the late Prince of *Condé* did this Honour to the *Baillo de Fourbin*, Embaſſador of *Malta:* and *Lionne* ſays in a Letter, that was intercepted about ten Years ago, that the Embaſſadors of *England* and *Venice*, refus'd to grant Precedency in a third Place, to the preſent Prince, as we have before obſerv'd. So that *Chanut* might pretend the ſame Advantage over the *Palatine*, who one may ſay was Prince of the Blood but by Adoption. In the Year 1667, *George d'Aubuſſon de la Feüillade*, Archbiſhop of *Embrun*, being Embaſſador at *Madrid*, went and paid a Viſit to *Don John* of *Auſtria*, the King's natural Brother, before he had concerted the Civilities he might expect from him. *Don John* did him none; but in his own Houſe took the Place of Honour of the Embaſſador: with which the *French* Court was ſo diſatisfy'd, that the Embaſſador was forbid continuing his Viſits, unleſs the other gave him the Hand at home: and indeed they would not allow the Embaſſador to yield Precedency to *Don John* in a third Place. Natural Sons are much eſteem'd in *Spain*, but for all that they cannot hold the ſame Rank there, that the Princes of the Blood hold in *France*, and nevertheleſs the Embaſſadors of *England* and of *Venice* refus'd them the Place of Honour: and the Marquiſs *de Fuentes*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, did not give it to the Duke of *Vendoſme*. The Fault *M. d'Embrun* committed was ſo much the greater, becauſe he did more than the Emperor's Embaſſador had done, who would not viſit *Don John* at his own Houſe, by reaſon of his Pretenſions. Within ſome Years the King has deſir'd the Princes to behave themſelves otherwiſe, and that at home they would take all Advantages of Embaſſadors: But as the Princes do not meddle in the Affairs of the State, I do not think that thoſe Embaſſadors who have made difficulty to yield Precedency to them in a third Place, as *Lionne* remarks, will be over eager to viſit *M. le Prince* at home, there to be affronted. It is a refin'd Policy in thoſe, who having a mind to remove the Princes of the Blood from all kinds of Affairs, deprive them alſo of the Communication they might have with foreign Miniſters.

The Dukes of Bavaria, *of* Neuburg, *of* Lorrain, *and all the Princes of* Italy, *to the Duke of* Parma *incluſively, take at home the Hand of the Embaſſadors of* France, *tho' there are ſome amongſt them that give it to the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and of* Spain. I ſay a great deal more; That the younger Princes of the Houſe of *Savoy* pretend to have it at home, and they have made it be given them in a third Place; as we ſhall obſerve elſewhere. I have heretofore ſpoken of the Reception the late Duke of *Neuburg* made in the Year 1633. to *Gaſpar de Voſbergue*, Embaſſador from the United Provinces. That his Civility to him might be complete, he would have the Major of the Garriſon go and receive his Orders from the Embaſſador. The Hour of Supper being come, the Duke went himſelf to his Appartment to fetch him; and conducted him to the Hall where Supper was ſerv'd, and caus'd him to waſh at the ſame time with him; but the Duke took the firſt Place at Table. *Vosbergue* having expreſs'd ſome Diſſatisfaction thereat, the Duke ſignify'd to him, that he never had given the firſt Place to the Miniſters of the United Provinces: That he had treated after the ſame manner the Count *de Grimbergue*, whom the *Infanta* had ſent to him; and that at home he gave the Hand neither to the Embaſſadors of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, nor even to the Nuncio; and that there was none but the Embaſſador of *Spain* to whom he granted that Advantage: That there was not one ſingle Inſtance, that any of the Electors on the *Rhine* had done it, becauſe being nearer to *France* and *Italy*, they were much more punctual in the matter of Ceremonies, than the Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*. The Duke of *Neuburg* was in the right, to inſiſt on having the ſame Reſpect paid him at home, that the Dukes of *Mantua* and of *Parma* aſſert to themſelves in their own Palaces: but I know not how to reconcile what he ſays of the Nuncio, and of the Embaſſador of *Spain*; nor how he could refuſe to the firſt, what he granted to the ſecond. There is no likelihood, that there will be of a long time, any Embaſſadors from *France* ſeen at *Duſſeldorp* or at *Neubourg:* but if in the Revolution of Affairs, the King ſhould think fit to ſend a Miniſter thither, he muſt at leaſt be treated equally with him of *Spain:* and other Kings have reaſon to expect the ſame Uſage. He might very well ſay alſo, that in the Courts that are remote from thoſe of *France* and *Italy*, they are not ſo ſcrupulous, tho' in that of *Berlin*, ſeveral things have been much better regulated, ſince the Baron of *Sturin* has there had the chief Direction of Affairs; but the Elector of *Saxony* will alter nothing in the ancient Cuſtoms.

He that gave to the Publick an Extract of the Negotiation the late *M. Chanut* tranſacted in *Sweden*, and at *Lubeck*, ſays, It is obſerv'd in *Denmark, that the King gives the Hand to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, who have been particularly invited to the Ceremony.* That that was the reaſon why, at *Copenhagen*, *d'Avaux* and

and *la Tuillerie* had met with that Uſage, and why the ſame had been done to *Benk* or *Benedict Schut*, Embaſſador from the Queen of *Sweden*, who had been ſent thither to preſent one of the Princeſſes to Baptiſm; but that he never does this Honour to Embaſſadors in Ordinary. He alledges for that, the Particulars of the Ceremonies that were perform'd at the Marriage of King *Frederick* II, in the Year 1575; and he obſerves that, at the Feaſt, the King ſat at the upper end of the Table, having on his right Hand *Dauffay*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, and on his left *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*. But one would hardly think this Example could be of any Uſe to the Intention of the Abbreviator; ſince the King being the Perſon that was marry'd, the firſt Place was his due even on that account. *James*, King of *England*, would not be preſent at the Marriage Feaſt of the Princeſs his Daughter, becauſe he would have all the Honour of the Day paid to the Perſon marry'd, *viz.* the Elector *Palatin*. As for the Rank that is given in *Denmark* to the Embaſſador of *France*, above the Elector of *Saxony*, who ought not himſelf to give place to the Embaſſador at home, I muſt own I have not ſtudy'd the Ceremonial enough, to comprehend that Irregularity; and I am oblig'd to have recourſe to the Duke of *Neubourg*'s Principle, who ſays, that in the *Northern* Courts the Ceremonies are not ſo well regulated, as in thoſe that are Neighbours of *France* and *Italy*. At the Feaſt that was made in the Year 1634, at *Copenhaguen*, on account of the Marriage of the Prince with the Princeſs of *Saxony*, the Honour was done to the new marry'd Couple: The King was not there, and the Embaſſadors were placed after Them, above all the Princes and Princeſſes. At the Supper of the third Day, the *Embaſſadors had the firſt Place, before the newly marry'd*; and at the Ball that enſu'd, *the King took the fourth Rank, after the three Embaſſadors*. Three Days after, was ſolemniz'd the Marriage of Count *Pens* with one of the King's natural Daughters, where *the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and of* France, *conducted the Bridegroom, and the Embaſſador of* Poland, *with the King, the Bride*. At the *Carouſel*, which was perform'd on the *Sunday* following, the *King took place again after the Embaſſadors*. They repreſented their Maſters who had been expreſly invited to the Prince's Wedding; but they had not been invited to the Marriage of the natural Daughter; So that the Reaſon, or rather the Diſtinction, which has been remark'd here above, cannot take place there, and much leſs in what I am going to ſay of *la Tuillerie*. This Miniſter, after having in the Year 1645. mediated a Concluſion of the Treaty of *Bromſebro*, between the two Crowns of the *North*, took his way through *Denmark*, to return to *Holland*. The King of *Denmark*, who had not gain'd his Ends in the Treaty, did him, for all that, all the Honours imaginable. The Artillery ſaluted him, and the Burghers were under their Arms in all the Towns through which he paſs'd. The General of the Cavalry went to meet him with a thouſand Horſe, at ſome Leagues diſtance from *Copenhaguen*; and the Admiral of the Kingdom receiv'd him without the Town, with a great Cortege of Coaches. The King himſelf did him a thouſand Civilities; even to that Degree, that having made a great Feaſt on his account, *he plac'd him at the upper end of the Table*. The moſt Chriſtian King had not been expreſly invited to it, nor his Embaſſador, yet nevertheleſs he had an Honour done him which did not belong to him. I ſpeak in another Place of *la Grange aux Ormes*, whom Cardinal *Richelieu* got baniſh'd from Court, becauſe he had ſuffer'd the Elector of *Saxony* to ſet him above himſelf at Table. It is impoſſible in reading this, not to be ſeiz'd with Indignation at the Inſolence of theſe Miniſters, as well as at the Weakneſs of the Sovereigns, who knowing what they are, do not exact what is their due. It is the Buſineſs of the Gods to revenge the Injuries that are done to Gods. All Sovereigns have an Intereſt therein, and have an Intereſt to puniſh their Subjects, of what Quality or Character ſoever, if they fail in the Reſpect they owe to thoſe in whom they ſee the Image and Character of the Grandeur and Dignity of their Prince.

I have ſeen in the Court of a Prince, who is the Head of one of the firſt and moſt powerful Houſes of *Germany*, the Miniſter of an Elector, take the firſt Place every where, at Table, in Coach, at the Caſtle, and in the Town, as if he could pretend to it by an indiſputable Right. Thoſe who agree that the Princes of *Germany* have the Right of Embaſſy, in reference to foreign Princes, maintain that they have not the ſame Right in the Empire; becauſe they are there as at home. But tho' an Elector ſhould give the Character of Embaſſador to his Miniſter, how ſhall this dare to take the Place of Honour of a Prince in his own Palace, who would not give it to the Embaſſador of a crown'd Head, or at leaſt ought not to give it?

In the Year 1530, Queen *Eleonora*, ſecond Wife of *Francis* I, made her Entry into *Paris* after her Coronation; and at Night there was a Feaſt in the Palace, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe times, where the Queen, who ſate at the middle of the Table, had on her right Hand the Cardinal of *Sens*, the Pope's Legate, and the Cardinals of *Grammont* and of *Trivulce*, *the Embaſſadors of the Pope, of the Emperor, of* England, *and of* Venice; *and on her left Hand were Princeſſes, and other Ladies*.

In the Order that was obſerv'd at the Feaſt of the Eſpouſals of *Philip* II. and *Elizabeth* of *France* in the Year 1559, the King and Queen ſate at the middle of the Table, the betroth'd Lady on the King's right Hand; next to her the Duke of *Alva*, *Philip*'s Embaſſador; then Madam, the King's Siſter, and the Duke of *Lorrain*; and after them ſeveral other Princes, Princeſſes, and Cardinals, the Embaſſadors of the Pope, of *Portugal*, of *Venice*, of *Ferrara*, and of *Mantua*.

At the Feaſt that was made at *Maiſieres*, in the Year 1570, on the Day of the Marriage of King *Charles* IX, and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, the King ſat at the middle of a great Table, having on his right Hand the Queen his Wife, and the Dukes of *Anjou* and of *Alençon*, his Brothers. On his left Hand were *the Queen his Mother, the Elector of* Triers, *who was one of the Emperor's Embaſſadors*; *the Dutcheſs of* Lorrain, *Madame the King's Siſter, and the*

Duke

Duke of Lorrain. On the other ſide of the Table, over againſt the Elector, were ſeated *the Nuncio*, and *the Embaſſador of* Spain, *of* Scotland, *and of* Venice. There were beſides this two other Tables; at one of which were *the Cardinals of* Bourbon, *of* Lorrain, *and of* Guiſe, *the Biſhop of* Strasbourg, *the Marquiſs of* Baden, *and the Count of* Zolern, *Embaſſadors from the Emperor*; *the Dutcheſs of* Monpenſier, *the Princeſs Dauphin*, *and Madam* de Nevers: Where we muſt obſerve, that of the four Embaſſadors of the Emperor, only the firſt had a Place at the King's Table, with the Embaſſadors of the Pope, of *Spain*, of *Scotland*, and of *Venice*: So that a great Diſtinction was made betwixt the firſt and the three others; tho' among theſe were two Princes of the Empire.

When *Henry* IV. was crown'd at *Chartres*, in the Year 1594, the Embaſſadors of *England*, and of *Venice*, who had been preſent at the Coronation, were alſo treated at the Feaſt. The King's Table was plac'd upon an Alcove: On the Right there was a Table for the Peers who were Eccleſiaſticks, and on the Left one for the Secular Peers; and a little lower, one for the Embaſſadors, for the Chancellor, and for the other Officers of the Crown. I cannot tell in what Order they ſate, but we muſt believe they held the ſame, as to Rank, that was obſerv'd at the Coronation of *Lewis* XIII. The Tables were diſpos'd after the ſame manner, and the Embaſſadors were ſo ſeated, that the Nuncio, the Embaſſador of *Savoy*, and *Bonœil*, Introductor of the Embaſſadors, were on the Wall ſide, and the Embaſſador of *Venice*, with the Chancellor, on the other; all the Embaſſadors were, by this means, above the Chancellor. *Bonœil* had a Place there on account of his Function, and not for the Dignity of his Office. Where we muſt obſerve that the Peers, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Secular, were there in their reſpective Functions, and made part of the Ceremony: So that no body could be plac'd betwixt the King and them.

Whether Embaſſadors are oblig'd to be preſent at all kinds of Ceremonies, is what we ſhall ſpeak to in the following Chapter. I ſhall only ſay in this, that when they are, they ought not to carry their Pretenſions too high. The Embaſſador of *France*, who was at *London* in the Year 1612, was invited to the Feaſt that was made there for the Marriage of the Princeſs of *England* and the Elector *Palatin*. The King would not be there, becauſe he would have the newly marry'd have all the Honour; for which Reaſon alſo they had arm'd Chairs, while the Prince of *Wales* had only a ſimple Chair, tho' he repreſented the neareſt Relation of the Bride. Nevertheleſs the *French* Embaſſador took a Fancy, as did alſo, by his Example, the *Venetian*, to inſiſt upon having arm'd Chairs; and that the Carver, who was to ſerve the newly marry'd, ſhould be below them. But their Pretenſions were judg'd to be ſo impertinent, that they were given to underſtand that their Abſence would be diſpens'd with, rather than gratify them therein. The ſame Embaſſador of *Venice* was, the Year following, at the Marriage of a Lady of the Court, where he had an arm'd Chair, becauſe the Prince of *Wales*, who was there too, had one. The Count *de Bregy*, Son to *M. de Fleſſelles*, *Preſident in the Chamber of Accounts at* Paris, had made two Journies to *Uladiſlas* King of *Poland*, to whom he had made the firſt Overtures of a more ſtrict Alliance with *France*. It was confirm'd by the Marriage which the King contracted ſome time after with the Princeſs of *Mantua*: And foraſmuch as *Bregy* had been very inſtrumental thereto, the King of *France* order'd him to aſſiſt at the Ceremonies, as his Embaſſador. *Uladiſlas* ſent to meet the Queen, by Prince *Charles* his Brother, who receiv'd her on the King's part, in the *Caſſube*, on this ſide *Dantzig*; and at the ſame time *Bregy*, *who was there as Embaſſador, pretended to have the Rank of him*. It was a Pretenſion extravagant enough: For admitting that *Charles* had not been born Prince of *Sweden*, as he was, (ſince *Caſimir* renounc'd his Right but by the Treaty of *Oliva*, in the Year 1660) he was alſo Embaſſador on this Occaſion; and was allotted a Function, in which no body could precede him, let his Quality be what it would. The Mareſchalleſs *de Guebriant*, Embaſſadrix in the conducting of the Queen of *Poland*, whom I juſt mention'd, form'd a Pretenſion which was not leſs ridiculous. She was for having *the ſame Rank, and the ſame Honours that had been done to the Arch-Dutcheſs, when ſhe brought the Queen her Daughter into* Poland.

The Cardinals are in Poſſeſſion of a Right to take at home the Place of Honour of Embaſſadors. It is what the Queen of *Sweden* was not ſo well inform'd of, as ſhe is at preſent; when ſending in the Year 1646, the Count *de la Garde*, Embaſſador Extraordinary, into *France*, ſhe flatter'd her ſelf with the Hopes that Cardinal *Mazarin* would yield to him this Advantage. But as ſoon as ſhe ſpoke thereof to *Chanut*, he told her that his Maſter had ſo particular a Conſideration for her, that ſhe might aſſure her ſelf that whatever ſhe could lawfully deſire, would be granted to her Perſon, and to the Dignity of the Crown of *Sweden*: But he let her know at the ſame time, that no Conſideration could oblige the Cardinal to injure his Purple, for which he would be reſponſible to the whole College. The Queen reply'd, That Chancellor *Oxenſtiern* had no Character in reference to *France*, when he paſs'd through it to return to *Sweden*; and that nevertheleſs, Cardinal *Richelieu* contriv'd ſo well the ſharing of the Honours in the Viſits they made each to the other, that it was hard to determin which of the two had the Advantage. *Chanut* maintain'd that it had been entirely on the Cardinal's ſide; and he ſaid right.

The Count *de Tremes-potier*, and the Marquiſs *Deffiat*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from *France* at *London*, made Difficulty to aſſiſt at the Funeral of King *James*, becauſe they were not allow'd to march in the ſame Rank with the King. It was repreſented to him, that that was not practis'd neither in *France* nor *England*, nor elſewhere: And at laſt they were prevail'd upon to let their Pretenſions drop. They march'd immediately after the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. The Vanity of theſe Pretenſions ſufficiently declares that of the Embaſſador, who does not leſs prejudice his Maſter, in pretending to Honours that are not his due, than he would do in neglecting thoſe which could not be refus'd him with Juſtice.

The Embaſſadors that are on the part of *France* and *Spain*, at *Rome*, do not at home yield the Place of Honour, but to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and to that of *Venice*, and to none elſe; not even to the Embaſſador of *Savoy*. *D'Avaux*, who knew very well the Practice of *Rome*, in receiving at *Munſter* the Viſit of *Aloyſio Contarini*, who was one of the Mediators, *deſcended but five Steps to meet him, and when he reconducted him, he accompany'd him but to the bottom of the Stairs*. *Contarini* ſaid that *d'Avaux* did not do him the Honour which was his due: That he had receiv'd the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and of the King of *Spain*, at the bottom of the Staircaſe: That he had accompany'd them to their Coach, and that he ought to have done the ſame Civilities to him. *D'Avaux* ſignify'd to him, That as *Contarini* had been Embaſſador at *Rome*, he might be ſuppos'd to know how the Matter of Civilities was regulated between the Embaſſadors of *France* and *Venice* in that Court; that the *Venetian* was only receiv'd at, and reconducted to, the top of the Staircaſe. This was truth, as it is alſo true that the Embaſſador of *Venice* does not there ſhew greater Civilities to the Embaſſador of *France*. However, as this Diſtinction of Treatments was very remarkable in the firſt Court of *Europe*, the Miniſters of the Republick had endeavour'd to aboliſh that Cuſtom, which was practis'd only at *Rome*; the Honours that were done every where elſe, to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and thoſe of *Venice*, being equal; for which Reaſon *Contarini* rejoyn'd to *d'Avaux*, that the Embaſſadors of the Republick were in Poſſeſſion of an abſolute Equality with thoſe of *France*; ſince the one's did not make a ſingle Step more than the other's: That it ought to be conſider'd, that there was the ſame Equality between two Embaſſadors, who conducted each the other but to the top of the Stairs, as was between thoſe who accompany'd one the other to the Coach: That Meſſieurs *de Chaſteaunenf* and *de Baſſompierre*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from *France* in *England*, had both accompany'd him to the Coach: That it was none of *M. d'Avaux*'s Buſineſs to make a Diſtinction betwixt him and the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and of *Spain*; and that what was particularly practis'd at *Rome*, could be no Precedent for *Munſter*. *D'Avaux* made Anſwer, That he could make no Alteration without expreſs Orders from Court, and that it did not depend on him; but that he wonder'd *Contarini* ſhould pretend to reap an Advantage from what had paſs'd at *London*, rather than ſtick to what was practis'd at *Rome*; and much more that he ſhould deſire to alter a thing, wherein the Embaſſador of *France* had not the leaſt Advantage over him of *Venice*. *Contarini* not being ſatisfy'd with theſe Reaſons, *d'Avaux* was oblig'd to write to Court, where he repreſented on one ſide the ill Effects that might attend the Diſpleaſure of a Mediator, and on the other the Conſequences that might be drawn therefrom for the Pretenſions of the United Provinces, of the Electors, and ſeveral other Princes, to whom the ſame Honours could not be refus'd. Before the Reſolution of the Court arriv'd, *Contarini* receiv'd *d'Avaux* after the ſame manner that he receiv'd the other Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and accompany'd him to the Coach. The Orders of the Court of *France* were conformable to the Deſire and Intention of *Contarini*, who was more ſatisfy'd therewith than if he had made a great Conqueſt for the Republick.

D'Avaux and *Servien*, going to the Aſſembly of *Munſter*, had Orders to paſs by the *Hague*, and there to adjuſt ſeveral things that the Council of *France* judg'd neceſſary to make the Treaty ſucceed to the common Advantage of the Allies, or at leaſt according to the Intention of Cardinal *Mazarin*. Among other Debates they had with the Deputies of the States, there were very warm ones concerning the Treatment ſhould be dealt to the Miniſters of the United Provinces when they ſhould come to *Munſter*. They pretended to be treated like thoſe of *Venice*, and did not diſſemble that in caſe they had not the ſame Honours done them, they would not go to the Congreſs; but would procure to themſelves another Town, where they might appear in ſuch manner as not to prejudice the Grandeur of their State; and hinted that they would agree with the *Spaniards* on a particular Aſſembly, which might be held at *Boiſleduke*. They ſaid that King *Henry* IV. had ordain'd, that the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces ſhould immediately follow thoſe of *Venice*, and that the ſame Honours ſhould be done them: That it was what had been practis'd till then, and that the preſent Deſign was to diſpoſſeſs them of an Advantage which they had enjoy'd without Conteſtation, and particularly in *France*. *D'Avaux* and *la Tuillerie*, the laſt of whom was Embaſſador in Ordinary at the *Hague*, ſaid it was a new Pretenſion: That while they themſelves were Embaſſadors at *Venice*, they had made a Diſtinction between the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads and thoſe of the United Provinces, *to whom they had never given the Title of* Excellency, tho' they had never refus'd them the Place of Honour at the Viſits they receiv'd from them: That the States, who were oblig'd to *France* for the Civilities which were done every where to their Embaſſadors, ought not to make an Abuſe thereof to the Prejudice of *France* it ſelf, by extorting Advantages from it, which it could not grant without injuring it ſelf: That the Electors who diſpute the Precedency with the States, and who exact it in the Empire, (whoſe Miniſters notwithſtanding are not cover'd when they ſpeak to the King) would be for having them have the Title of *Excellency*, and would oblige *France* thereto, unleſs ſhe would render her ſelf incapable of negotiating with them: That the Diverſity of the Places where Aſſemblies are held, cauſes alſo ſome, in the Treatment of Miniſters, and in the Ceremonies: That at *Rome* the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads do not yield the Hand at home to him of *Savoy*; and that even the Cardinals Nephews made ſome Diſtinction between the Embaſſadors that are at *Rome* and thoſe that reſide or negotiate in other Courts: That the States had formerly ask'd *France* to give them place before the Arch-Duke, and before the Duke of *Savoy*; but that King *Henry* IV. would not meddle therein, and had contented himſelf with treating them upon the Level with thoſe Princes. They concluded that the Queen could make

no

no Innovations during the King's Minority, to whom ſhe was oblig'd to reſign all his Rights, as intire and unimpair'd, as ſhe had receiv'd them at the beginning of her Regency. *D'Avaux* and *Servien* left the Affair in this State, when they ſet out from the *Hague*, and it remain'd in the ſame till the beginning of the Year 1645. Then *d'Eſtrades*, who did the Buſineſs of *France* in *Holland* without Character, declar'd to the States, that the Queen Regent granted them what they had deſir'd in reference to the Rank and Titles. I lately mention'd the Diſpute *d'Avaux* had at *Munſter* with *Contarini*, Embaſſador of *Venice*, wherein he did not remember what he here ſays, that the Diverſity of Places, where the Ceremonies are perform'd, cauſes likewiſe a Difference in the Treatment of Embaſſadors.

I ſhall finiſh this Chapter with a word or two concerning the Honours that are done to Embaſſadrixes, in Conſideration of the Embaſſadors, their Husbands. Embaſſies being formerly all Extraordinary, and ending with the Buſineſs the Embaſſadors had to negotiate, they did not take their Wives with them, for which Reaſon no mention was made of Embaſſadrixes. Neither is it very long that they receive thoſe Civilities, which rank them with thoſe Ladies, who immediately follow Princeſſes. At leaſt it is what is practis'd in *France*, where they are more conſider'd than elſewhere. However it is but a little more than fifty Years, that the Queen allows them the Stool. The Marchioneſs of *Mirabel*, whoſe Husband was Embaſſador from *Spain*, was the firſt to whom the Queen, who was a *Spaniard*, granted this Honour in the Year 1621. The King conſented thereto, provided the ſame Honour was done to the Embaſſadrix of *France* at *Madrid*, where they are very reſerv'd in reference to thoſe Kinds of Civilities; but eſpecially if a Novelty is to be introduc'd. *Baſſompierre*, who was at that time Embaſſador Extraordinary in *Spain*, offer'd to *du Fargis* to ſpeak to the Court about it, and to obtain it for the Embaſſadrix, his Wife: But *du Fargis* thank'd him, and told him he ſhould find an Opportunity, and the Means to procure himſelf that Satisfaction; as accordingly he did ſome time after.

In the Year 1634, the Count *de Schauembourg*, who went in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1643, on the part of the Emperor, Embaſſador to *Spain*; as he paſs'd through *France*, deſir'd that his Lady might pay her Reſpects to the Queen. He had *Letters* for the King, who conſider'd him as an Embaſſador Extraordinary. *The Queen ſent her Coach to the Embaſſadrix*, who when ſhe came to *Chantilly* was receiv'd at the bottom of the Stair-caſe by the Marchioneſs of *Senecy*, Lady of Honour to the Queen, who uſher'd her into a Chamber, where they din'd together; after which ſhe conducted her to the Queen, who order'd her the Stool. The King came thither, and ſaluted her, having firſt caus'd her to be conſulted, whether ſhe approv'd of it, becauſe it was not the Cuſtom of *Germany*. In the Month of *October*, 1635, the Queen receiv'd with the ſame Civilities the Viſcounteſs *Scudamore*, and did her the ſame Honours: and on the 29th of *April*, 1647, the Wife of *Corfits Ulefelt*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Denmark*, receiv'd the ſame Civilities, and ſaw the Queen ſeveral times. Nay ſhe was preſent at a Ball, where ſhe had a Rank amongſt the Dutcheſſes.

Madam *de Ghent*, who had accompany'd her Husband, who was Chief of that ſolemn Embaſſy which the States of the United Provinces ſent into *France* in the Year 1660, having ſignify'd the Paſſion ſhe had to pay her Reſpects to the Queen, one of the Introductors of Embaſſadors, accompany'd by *Giraut*, Aſſiſtant or Lieutenant of the Introductors, (whom I have repreſented to be the Man in the World, that beſt underſtood the Point of Civilities) went to receive her at the Houſe of the Embaſſadors, with the Queen's Coaches, and conducted her into the Antichamber, where ſhe was receiv'd by the Lady of Honour, by the Attiring Lady, and the Maids of Honour. She had the Stool given her; but the Queen did not ſalute her, becauſe it is an Honour that is reſerv'd to the Princeſſes of the Blood. Her Husband and her ſelf were two very handſome Perſonages; and as they were both come of illuſtrious Families, their Carriage, that had ſomething diſtinguiſhing in it, made them much conſider'd at Court: and Madam *de Ghent* went away much eſteem'd by both Queens. It was a long time ſince an an Embaſſadrix from *Holland* had been ſeen at Court. Since the Death of Madam *de Languerac*, they had appear'd there but only at *Shrovetide*; and then they help'd to divert the Company, as much as the Players. Madam *de Groot*, whoſe Husband was Embaſſador in Ordinary from the United Provinces, was receiv'd there with the ſame Civilities Madam *de Ghent* had been; except that as the Court was at St. *Germains*, ſhe was conducted thither in the Queen's Coaches, was regal'd with a magnificent Dinner, and ſerv'd by the Queen's Officers.

Embaſſadrixes do not receive the ſame Civilities in *England*. The *French* think they do themſelves Honour in ſhewing Civility to others, and particularly to Strangers: But this is what very few Nations imitate them in. While the Mareſchal *de Cadenet* or *de Chaunes* was in *England*, on the part of *Lewis* XIII, he, and the Count *de Tillieres*, were invited to a Ball, and a great Feaſt, to which the Counteſs of *Buckingham*, Mother of the Favorite, had invited all the Beauties of the Court. She gave the firſt Place to the Marchioneſs of *Buckingham*, her Daughter-in-law; the ſecond to the Counteſs of *Tillieres*, and ſhe took the third her ſelf, to the great Scandal of the other *Engliſh* Counteſſes, who would have taken Place of the *French* Embaſſadrix. Some Days after the Lord Viſcount *Doncaſter* gave a Ball, and made an Entertainment alſo for the Embaſſadors. The King, who would be preſent thereat, had his particular Table, where ſate the Prince of *Wales* on the King's right Hand, the Embaſſador Extraordinary on his left, and the Embaſſador in Ordinary at the end of the Table. There was another for the Lords and Ladies, at which the Marchioneſs of *Buckingham* had the firſt Place on the right ſide, a *French* Nobleman had the ſecond, and the Counteſs of *Tillieres* the third. The Counteſs of *Warwick* had the firſt Place on the left ſide, a *French* Nobleman the ſecond, and the Lady *Doncaſter* the third, *&c.* The Counteſs of *Dorſet*

plac'd her ſelf at the lower End of the Table, below ſeveral Ladies, who would have made no Difficulty to have yielded the upper Hand to her: whether ſhe did it out of Gallantry, or becauſe ſhe would not immediately follow the *French* Embaſſadrix, is uncertain. At the Feaſt, which was made in the Year 1612, for the Marriage of the Elector *Palatine* and the Princeſs of *England*, the High Chamberlain gave Orders, that the *French* Embaſſadrix ſhould be plac'd after the laſt Counteſs, and before the firſt Baronneſs; but the Viſcounteſs of *Effingham* would not give place to the Embaſſadrix, and choſe rather to withdraw. The Honours that are done to Strangers are no Precedent, nor can have no Conſequence; eſpecially when they are rather done to the Quality, than the Perſon. In the Year 1614, the Wife of *M. de Marais*, Embaſſador from *France*, having deſir'd to pay her Reſpects to the Queen, one of the Subſtitutes of the Maſter of the Ceremonies, who alſo diſcharges the Function of Introductor, receiv'd her at the Gate of *Denmark* Houſe, where the Embaſſadrix alighted out of her Coach; and he led her into a Chamber up one pair of Stairs, where ſhe reſted herſelf a little. As ſoon as the Queen was inform'd thereof, ſhe ſent thither the Counteſs of *Arundel*, and the Ladies *Sidney* and *Southwell*, Ladies of the Bed-Chamber, with one of the Maids of Honour to entertain the Embaſſadrix, and to conduct her to Audience. One of the Gentlemen in waiting, coming to give notice, that her Majeſty was in the Preſence Chamber, and there expected the Embaſſadrix, the Ladies conducted her thither: the High-Chamberlain receiv'd her at the Chamber Door, and the Queen ſhew'd her great Civilities; but ſhe did not make her ſit down. At her going away the High-Chamberlain accompany'd her as far as the Guard Room, the Ladies conducted her to the Gallery of the firſt Court, and the Introductor led her to her Coach. In Civilities, it is, as in a great many other things, where if one has not all, one has nothing: tho' to ſpeak the truth, they are but mere Civilities.

Embaſſadrixes have no ſhare in the Character, and nothing is their due, but what cannot be refus'd to their Sex. It is true, the King of *France* requires a particular Reſpect to be paid to the Wives of his Embaſſadors, and that they be conſider'd as Embaſſadrixes; that is to ſay, that extraordinary Honours be done them: But as they are not regulated, I ſhall delay ſpeaking to them, till there is a new Ceremonial made for that purpoſe. In the mean time I ſhall take notice, that at *Munſter*, and at *Oſnaburg*, the Wives of the Embaſſadors, and of the Miniſters of the ſecond Order, obſerv'd in their Viſits, the ſame Rank, and the ſame Rules, that the Husbands took and obſerv'd among themſelves. For which Reaſon, when the Counteſs of *Sannazzare*, (whoſe Husband had ſucceeded to Count *Nerli*, in the Quality of Plenipotentiary of *Mantua*) would have viſited Madam *Servien*, after having viſited Madam *le Brun*, ſhe was not admitted.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Firſt Viſit.

MOnſieur *de Foix*, Archbiſhop of *Thouloufe*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, writing to King *Henry* III, his Maſter, on the 15th of *May*, 1581, ſays, that as ſoon as he was inform'd that Count *d'Olivarés*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, was arriv'd, *he had done him Civility by a Secretary*, and had ſignify'd to him, that he would wait on him himſelf, as ſoon as the Count had receiv'd his firſt Audience of the Pope; *as Cuſtom requires*, ſays he, *betwixt Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads*; to wit, *that the laſt Comer is viſited by the firſt*. It is a general Rule that admits of no Exception, but only at *Rome*, where the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, of *France*, and of *Spain*, pay this Devoir but only to thoſe of crown'd Heads; which is the Reaſon why *M. de Foix* ſays, that it is *the Cuſtom among the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads*. He ſays, he had ſent to complement the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador by a Secretary. This is a Civility that ought to be previous to that of the Viſit, becauſe it is as Eſſential. It ſerves to anſwer the Complement which the laſt Comer has made, to thank the Embaſſadors, who have ſent their Coaches to meet him, or elſe to acquaint them with his Arrival. The new Comer returns it the very next Day, in the ſame Manner, and in the ſame Order he had receiv'd it. Count *d'Avaux* being arriv'd at *Munſter*, ſent the very next Day to complement the Count of *Naſſaw*, *Saavedra*, and *Zapata*, Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, by Gentlemen; and *le Brun*, and the Embaſſador of *Venice*, by one of his Secretaries. He thought he ought to make this Diſtinction, as well becauſe *le Brun* was only the third Plenipotentiary, as becauſe he was not of the Quality of the two others: and as for the *Venetian*, he was willing to do ſomething leſs for the Republick than for crown'd Heads.

De Freſne Canaye, Embaſſador from *France* at *Venice*, had been employ'd in Embaſſies to *Germany* and *England*, where he ought to have learn'd the Ceremonial; and yet he was for taking advantage of the Cuſtom of *Rome*, and refuſing the firſt Viſit to the Abbot of *Provane*, Embaſſador from *Savoy*. He wrote to *M. de Villeroy* on the 12th of *July*, 1605, *that the Abbot, inſtead of being before-hand in the Point of Viſits, as his Predeceſſor had done, expected the firſt, and inſiſted on having the Cuſtom comply'd with: That the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador had done it, but that he*, de Freſne, *would not follow that Example, till he had receiv'd Orders ſo to do; becauſe he knew what was practis'd at* Rome. *If it were*

left to him, he would make the first Visit without any great Train, or much Noise: That he should be glad to be instructed, because he knew the Duke of Savoy *was particularly inform'd of all that was done in these kind of Ceremonies.* The same *de Fresne*, who made the Difficulty with the Embassador of the Duke of *Savoy*, had been but too easy in the Dispute he had on the like Occasion with the Nuncio.

Anthony Mary Gratian, Bishop of *Amelia*, who has written the Life of Cardinal *Commendon*, being Nuncio at *Venice* in the Pontificate of *Clement* VIII; *de Maisse-Hurault*, who had been there Embassador from *France*, took a Journey to Court, and return'd to *Venice* after the Absolution of *Henry* IV; and, as the last Comer, he pretended that the Nuncio should make him the first Visit. The Nuncio said that it was the same Person, and the same Embassy. At that time the Nuncio, who had been in several Embassies, in the Retinue of *Commendon*, and who knew the Practice of all the other Courts, did not dispute the Right: But he did not agree about the Matter of Fact, and said that *de Maisse* was not the last Comer. And indeed, by *Dossat*'s Letter of the last of *February*, 1596, we must believe that the Court was of that Opinion, and that *de Maisse* had Orders to pay the first Visit to the Bishop of *Amelia*, as to the last Comer; tho' they would have persuaded the Pope that it had been done out of Complaisance. But the Bishop of *Malfetta*, Nuncio at *Venice*, refus'd in the Year 1601. to make the first Visit to the *Spanish* Embassador, who on his side would not see the Nuncio. Upon the Complaints the *Spaniards* made thereof at *Rome*, Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, the Pope's Nephew, was for being inform'd of the Matter by the Nuncio, who wrote him Word, That it was true, that formerly the Nuncio's did like the other Embassadors, and made the first Visit to the last Comer; but that within some time *they were in Possession at* Venice *of a Right to receive the first Visit by the last Comer:* That *Don Diego de Mendossa*, who was arriv'd there since the Bishop of *Amelia*, had done it; the Duke of *Sessa*, who was Embassador from *Spain* at *Rome*, having written to him, That he ought to make no Difficulty to pay that Honour to the Nuncio, because there was no Danger of doing too much, to him who represented the common Father of all Roman Catholicks. The Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, to justify the Nuncio's Proceeding, said he had, upon a diligent Examination, found that the Nuncio at *Madrid* behav'd himself after the same manner: That he did not know what the Practice was elsewhere; and that he was willing to think, that even those of *Vienna* and *Paris* follow'd the Example of other Embassadors, but since he of *Venice* was in Possession, he was of Opinion he should maintain it. In *France* they were of a different Sentiment. When the President *de Villiers*, who succeeded *M. de Maisse*, came to *Venice*, there was no Nuncio there; so that the President made no Difficulty to visit first him that was arriv'd after him. *De Fresne Canaye* succeeded *Villiers*; and King *Henry* IV, foreseeing that his Embassador might have a Dispute with the Nuncio, gave him positive Commands not to visit the Nuncio, whom he should find at *Venice*, till he had receiv'd the first Visit from him. The Orders the Nuncio had were not less precise; and the two Ministers had a mind to see one another: Whereupon several Propositions were made for that Purpose, and at last *de Fresne* agreed to that the Nuncio made, to visit the Embassadrix. *De Fresne* said that his Appartment was so near his Wife's, that he could not visit her without visiting him also. This was executed in the following manner: The Nuncio went to see the Embassadrix; and the Embassador, who was at home, did the Honours of the House, in receiving and conducting the Nuncio; giving out, in the mean time, that the Nuncio had made him the first Visit. The Nuncio said, on the contrary, that he had visited the Embassadrix; and for proof thereof, alledg'd that he went thither in his usual Habit; whereas if he had made a first Visit to the Embassador, he would have gone in the Habit suitable to his Quality, with the *Rochet* and *Camail*. This did not hinder the Embassador from going to see the Nuncio. He says, he went in his Cloke, and with a small Retinue; but as at the Nuncio's, he could not pretend to visit any body but the Nuncio, the Nuncio took it for a formal Visit, as in reality it was; and afterwards return'd a Visit to the Embassador with the usual Formalities, having on his *Rochet* and *Camail*. They who printed *M. de Fresne*'s Letters, have not left us the Idea of a great Genius. And most certainly on this Occasion he committed an unpardonable Fault. He ought not to have seen the Nuncio till this had made him a publick and solemn Visit, that all *Venice* might have beheld the Honour he did to the Embassador of the King of *France*, even tho' the Nuncio had not spread the Rumour that he had only visited the Embassadrix, and that if his Intention had been to visit the Embassador, he would have done it with the usual Formalities. The Nuncio made the same Proposition to the *Spanish* Embassador; but this signify'd to him, that it was absolutely necessary to pass through his Appartment, to go to that of his Ladies. I cannot tell on what account the Nuncio's can pretend to the first Visit from the last Comers, since they are in effect but Embassadors of the first Prince of *Christendom*, who in reference to Temporals has no Advantage over other Sovereigns; and if the Ministers of these yield the first Place to the Nuncio, it is because the Pope is their ghostly Father; but they do not pretend to grant him any Prerogative that carries a Mark of the least Superiority, or that can in the least prejudice their Sovereignty. Formerly the Nuncio's were call'd Embassadors. It is but a little above a hundred Years that the Term of *Nuncio* is in use, if we will believe *Henry Stephen*, *M. de Brantbome*, and the aforesaid Bishop of *Amelia*; tho' I remember to have found the same Quality in some of the Letters the Constable of *Montmorancy* wrote, in the Reign of *Francis* I, in the Year 1538 or 1539.

Destrades arriv'd at the *Hague* towards the end of the Year 1662, with the Quality of Embassador Extraordinary, having but a little before discharg'd the same Function in *England*. *Don Estevan de Gamarra*, Embassador of *Spain*, was gone at that time to *Brussels*, and being return'd at the end of two or three Months,

he pretended that *Deſtrades* ought to make him the firſt Viſit, as to the laſt Comer. A common Friend to both, at *Deſtrades*'s Requeſt, repreſented to *Don Eſtevan*, That he ought to conſider that he had reſided at the *Hague* for ſeveral Years: That he went every Year to *Bruſſels*, either on account of his Affairs, or for his Diverſion: That it could not properly be ſaid he had been abſent, ſince part of his Family remain'd at the *Hague*, and that his Houſe had been kept open, and was reſpected as if he had been preſent: That at his going away he had not taken his *Audience of Leave*, and that at his Return he had not brought with him freſh *Credentials*. *Don Eſtevan*, who was a very good Man indeed, and that was all; very capable of making good Chear to his Friends, but being otherwiſe but a middling kind of Miniſter, remain'd obſtinate for all this, and ſaid that if *Deſtrades* expected the firſt Viſit, he ſhould not have it till the Day of Judgment. *Deſtrades* gave an account thereof to the King his Maſter, who forthwith order'd his Embaſſador at *Madrid* to declare to that Court, that if *Don Eſtevan* did not do thoſe things which had been regulated and agreed upon, his Majeſty ſhould be oblig'd to reſent it. Hereupon the King of *Spain* commanded his Embaſſador not to be refractary, in the Performance of a Ceremony which had been ſettled between Embaſſadors. So that *Don Eſtevan* ſeeing it was impoſſible for him to make any farther Refuſal, (yet diſſembling his having receiv'd any Orders to follow the Cuſtom) had a mind to make a piece of Gallantry of it; and ſo ſent to *Deſtrades*, that, if he approv'd of it, he would come and dine with him. *Deſtrades*, who knew his Buſineſs as well as any Man in the World, made anſwer, That he was of Opinion there would appear ſomething very irregular, if after ſo great a Coolneſs (which *Don Eſtevan* had thought fit to make publick) they ſhould jump on the ſudden into ſo great a Familiarity: That *Don Eſtevan* might do as he thought fit, after he had paid him the firſt Viſit with the uſual Formalities. *Don Eſtevan*, who had ſeem'd to be ſo fierce, as even to offend thoſe who had counſell'd him to make this Step with a good Grace, was neceſſitated to do it *per* Force, and give *Deſtrades* a much greater Advantage than that *Vateville* pretended to have over him at *London*. *Don Eſtevan* thought to improve the Fault *Deſtrades*'s Predeceſſor had committed, who had paid him the firſt Viſit after the *Pyrenean* Peace, though *Don Eſtevan* had been there above two Years before him. He had alſo then been at *Bruſſels*, and at his Return he had extorted this Civility from the *French* Embaſſador. *Deſtrades* underſtood it otherwiſe, and had Reaſon of his ſide. When the Embaſſy is compoſed of a Plurality of Embaſſadors, they muſt be all viſited without Interruption, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the XXVIth Chapter.

This Rule admitting no Exception from Embaſſador to Embaſſador, except at *Rome*, as I juſt took notice; we muſt believe, either that it was not very well eſtabliſh'd ſix or ſeven ſcore Years ago, or that the Lord *de Grignan*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, under the Reign of *Francis* I, did not underſtand his Buſineſs. He came into that Employment only through the Intereſt of Cardinal *de Tournon*, whoſe Niece he had marry'd; and the few Letters we have of his, ſufficiently make known, that Negotiation was not his Excellency. In writing to the Conſtable *Montmorancy*, firſt Miniſter of *France*, on the 9th of *November*, 1538, he ſays, *That his Intention was to have made the firſt Viſit to the Emperor's Embaſſador, as ſoon as he had had his firſt Audience of the Pope, but that he had been prevented:* That this Embaſſador had ſent to know his Hour for the Viſit, the very next Day after his firſt Audience: That he, *Grignan*, had declin'd it, and in order to hinder the Emperor's Miniſter from being before-hand with him, he had ſignify'd to him, that Affairs of Importance obliging him to go out immediately, he deſir'd he would pardon him if he could not wait his coming: That he, at the ſame time, order'd his Coach to be got ready; but before he could get out of the Court, he ſaw that of the Emperor's Embaſſador enter. He adds, *that all* Rome *was aſtoniſh'd at this Civility, and ſpoke of it, as of a thing that had never been done before.* For my part, I cannot but admire *M. de Grignan*, who, being Embaſſador at *Rome*, could believe that the Miniſter of *Charles* V. would pay to that of *Francis* I. a Civility of this Nature, if he had not been oblig'd thereto by an indiſpenſible Law. I dare not ſay with *de Freſne Canaye*, that it makes a part of the *Law of Nations*; but I believe that this Cuſtom is ſo ancient, that *Grignan* ought not to have been ignorant of it, no more than of the Advantage he acquir'd to the King his Maſter, if the Emperor's Embaſſador paid him a Civility which was not his due.

I juſt now ſaid, that the Rule concerning the laſt Comer is always to be minded by Embaſſadors, and amongſt them I compriſe alſo the Nuncio's, who ought to obſerve it as well as the reſt. The Duke of *Crequy*, Father to him who had the great Diſpute with the *Ghiſi*, being gone to *Venice* in the Year 1633, after he had diſcharg'd his Embaſſy at *Rome*, the Nuncio viſited him firſt, on the ſame Day he had had his Audience in the Senate: The Nuncio at *Madrid* did the ſame to the Duke of *Mayenne*, in the Year 1612, and it is certain that at *Paris*, and elſewhere, the Nuncio's follow the Example of other Embaſſadors. But the Rule has its Exceptions in reference to ſome other Perſons. The *Cardinals ſtand upon having the firſt Viſit*; and ſome of the Pope's Nephews, who have pretended to this Honour, have obtain'd it, although they were not Cardinals. The Duke of *Crequy*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France* at *Rome*, would not comply herein; and that Refuſal was one of the Cauſes (and perhaps the moſt powerful) of the Difference he had with the *Ghiſi*. The Embaſſadors of Obedience carry it very high, and *M. de Crequy*, who was one of the haughtieſt Lords of the Kingdom, judg'd that there ought to be a Diſtinction made of thoſe whom the Purple diſtinguiſh'd. That Embaſſador of *France*, who when he gave the Hand to one of the Nephews of Pope *Paul* III, in Conſideration of the Marriage he was in hopes of contracting with one of the King's natural Daughters, made it very plain, that it was for that only Reaſon, he did not take the ſame Advantage over the one,

which he actually took of the other. Nevertheleſs *M. de Foix*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, ſays in one of his Letters, that immediately after his firſt Audience, he went to ſee Cardinal *Guaſtavilain*, and the Lord *Giacomo Boncompagno*, natural Son of *Gregory* XIII, tho' this laſt was no Clergyman. One would think it might be ſaid, that an Embaſſador does not owe the firſt Viſit to him, to whom he is not oblig'd to yield Precedency in a third Place; as the Duke of *Crequy* did not owe it to *Don Sigiſmond Ghiſy*, no more than to the other Relations of *Alexander* VIII. The Reaſon is ſtill ſtronger why they ſhould not owe it to thoſe, of whom they take both the Hand and Step, where-ever they meet them. It was for this that *Fontenay Marüel* did not pay the firſt Viſit to the Duke of *Guiſe* at *Rome*, nor *Deſtrades* to the Prince of *Tarento* at the *Hague*. The King, writing in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1662, to Queen *Chriſtina*, on account of the Action of the *Corſicans*, ſays, that the Duke of *Crequy* had delay'd for ſome time viſiting the ſecular Relations of the Pope, becauſe they who had preceded him, had behav'd themſelves differently; but at laſt, he had paid them the firſt Viſit, in purſuance of the Order he had ſent him.

Deſtrades made difficulty to give the firſt Viſit to the Lords of the Houſe of *Naſſaw*, who within ſome time had been declar'd Princes by the Emperor, and he did not do it till he had expreſs Orders for that purpoſe. Formerly no great Difficulty was made on this account. Preſident *Jeannin*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France* in *Holland*, writing to the King on the 19th of *June*, 1607, ſays, that *Count* William *of* Naſſaw, *Governor of* Friſe, *being arriv'd at the* Hague, *came to ſee him, before he could have leiſure to prevent him.* This ſhews the Intention *Jeannin* and his Collegues had, to pay the firſt Viſit to the Count. Thoſe who could believe that *Jeannin* in that offended againſt the Rules, might be ſaid not to have a due Knowledge of that Miniſter, and might undeceive themſelves by the following Example. He writes in one of his Letters, that there was advice, that the Arch-Duke was going to ſend to the *Hague* the great Auditor *Verreiken*, who was one of the chief Miniſters of his Court, and had already been Embaſſador at *Vervins* and in *England*; but that the King's Embaſſadors would not ſee him, if he did not pay them the firſt Viſit: That they were ſenſible *they ow'd it him, as being the laſt Comer*, and the Embaſſador of a Prince in amity with their Maſter: but that he came from a Prince, who was an Enemy to the State where they negotiated: That they were of Opinion, they ought not to give any Umbrage to the States: and withal, that there was *ſuch a Diſproportion betwixt the Dignity of the King, and that of the Arch-Duke*, that they thought they might wave that Civility. They did not ſee *Verreiken*, but it was only becauſe he had not the Character of Embaſſador. The other Reaſons might excuſe in ſome meaſure, but they could not juſtifie the Incivility of the Embaſſadors of *France*. And indeed they ſince alter'd their Minds, and *Ruſſy-la-place*, Embaſſador in Ordinary, went to ſee *Verreiken*, as ſoon as this laſt had taken his Audience. The two Extraordinaries did not ſee him, becauſe they apprehended leſt he ſhould not return their Civility, after he had given out that he would not viſit any body. *Verreiken* however gave *Ruſſy* to underſtand, that he had alſo expected to be viſited by the Preſident.

The Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads never have any Conteſt on this Subject, with the Princes of Orange, and have not made any Difficulty to make them the firſt Viſit. Preſident *Jeannin* ſays, in his Letter of the 29th of *May* of the ſame Year, 1607, that *Prince* Maurice *came and met them at the Diſtance of half a League from the* Hague. But no Conſequence can be drawn therefrom; as well becauſe that at that time Prince *Maurice*, being only the younger Brother of Prince *Philip*, who was Sovereign of the Principality of *Orange*, he could not come in competition with the Embaſſador of *France*, ſince he even went to meet him on the part of the States; as becauſe that within ſome Years, and chiefly ſince the King's Pleaſure has been, that his Embaſſadors ſhould give the Title of *Highneſs* to the Prince, they can no longer refuſe him that Honour. I do not ſpeak of the Princes of the Blood, who inſiſt upon having the firſt Viſit paid them; but of the Chancellor of *France*, and of the Archbiſhop of *Toledo* in *Spain*, who receive the ſame Honours altho' they are not more conſiderable at home, than the Prince of *Orange* is in the United Provinces, where he is the firſt, and moſt authoriz'd Perſon of the State. Nay there are ſome Courts, where there are firſt Miniſters, to whom the Embaſſador is oblig'd to pay the firſt Viſit; and who, notwithſtanding, never ſee the Embaſſador at his own Houſe; unleſs they have ſome particular Conſideration for his Perſon, or are invited thither on ſome extraordinary Occaſion. The Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and the Chancellor of *France*, who do not viſit Embaſſadors, went however to ſee thoſe, who in the Year 1612, were ſent on account of the double Marriage into *France* and *Spain*. For theſe fifty Years and more, that there has been no Conſtable in *France*, the Chancellor is there the firſt Officer of the Crown, as well as in *England*.

De Freſne Canaye made a Scruple in reference to the Embaſſador of *Savoy*, but only becauſe he did not look upon him to be well affected to *France*: and he explain'd himſelf ſufficiently, when he made no *Difficulty in the Year* 1606, *to do that Honour to the Marquiſs* Guicchardin, *Embaſſador of the Great Duke of* Tuſcany. The Court was not pleas'd with it, by reaſon he had refus'd it to that of *Savoy*: and all he could alledge to excuſe himſelf was, that he did it on account of the Great Duke's being the Queen's Unkle; as if Kings and Queens had any Relations. The Embaſſador of *Spain*, who was then at *Venice*, ſaid hereupon to *Freſne*, that he was ready to make the firſt Viſit to the Embaſſador of *Tuſcany*, if *Freſne* would promiſe to do the ſame Honour to the firſt Embaſſador that ſhould come from the Duke of *Savoy*. The *French* Embaſſador made anſwer, that he ſhould be very ſorry that he, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, ſhould uſe violence to his Inclination, to do Honour to the Embaſſador of the Duke of *Tuſcany*: and as for himſelf, that he would honour him of *Savoy*, according as he ſhould know him to be well or ill affected to *France*.

When

When *Alexander*, Abbot *della Scalgia*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Savoy*, arriv'd at *London*, in the Year 1627, of all the Embaſſadors, there was none but that of the United Provinces, would make him the firſt Viſit. The two Embaſſadors of *Denmark*, *Brake* and *Thomaſſon*, who were there at that time, excus'd themſelves: at firſt they ſaid, the Indiſpoſition of the one, hinder'd the other from acquitting himſelf of that Civility: and afterwards they ſaid, that having taken their Audience of Leave, they could not engage themſelves in the Ceremony of Viſits, which would be attended with other Inconveniencies that would be troubleſome to them. Which was a very lawful Excuſe; becauſe that after the Audience of Leave, the Embaſſador ought not to appear; but only to make his laſt Viſits, and not to begin new ones.

The Duke of *Savoy* was Father to the Brother-in-law of the King of *England*, and the Abbot went thither to carry on Negotiations againſt *France*; for which Reaſon the Court would have been glad to have had him receive Honours there, and caus'd the Embaſſadors of *Denmark* to be ſpoke to with ſome Warmth about it; but at laſt they flatly ſaid, they would not comply therein, becauſe it was a thing without Precedent, that the Embaſſador of a King, ſhould pay the firſt Viſit to that of a Duke. I am apt to believe indeed, that in thoſe Days there had been no Examples of any ſuch Proceeding at *Copenhaguen*; but for all that, there had been Inſtances thereof in other Places, as may be ſeen in this Chapter. The Earl of *Carliſle* ſaid on this Occaſion, that when he was Embaſſador at *Paris*, in the Year 1624, he had there paid the firſt Viſit to the Embaſſador of *Savoy*; and that by the Example of the Nuncio, and the other Embaſſadors.

It was repreſented to the Embaſſadors of *Denmark*, that in the beginning of this Century, there had been an Aſſembly of ſeveral Princes at *Duſſeldorp*, for the Affairs of the Succeſſion of *Juliers*, where the Embaſſador of *France* being arriv'd firſt, refus'd to make the firſt Viſit to the Deputies of the States of the United Provinces, who were come there after him: till perceiving that theſe obſtinately abſented from the Aſſembly, where nothing could be done without them, he at laſt did them the Honour of a Viſit.

But it was impoſſible to prevail with the *Daniſh* Embaſſadors, who did very well in their Refuſal; but the Reaſon they alledg'd was worth nothing. The Embaſſador of *Venice* did the like, by the Example of *M. de Blainville*, who had behav'd himſelf after the ſame manner, to the Embaſſadors of *Savoy* and *Mantua*, who came to *London* while he was Embaſſador there. At this Day, that great Difficulties ariſe concerning many other things, none at all are made in reference to the Princes of *Italy*, whoſe Embaſſadors are viſited the firſt, in all the Courts where they arrive laſt; except in that of *Rome* and of *Vienna*.

I except alſo from the general Rule the Miniſters of the Cantons. They have none that have the Character, in the Courts of other Princes; and when they ſend thither Extraordinaries, they are not treated as Embaſſadors, with reference to this Civility, no more than in reference to the others. Embaſſadors are very cautious not to pay the firſt Viſit to theſe pretended Embaſſadors, whom all Miniſters treat as their Inferiors, and who in reality are not Embaſſadors; ſince they have not the Privilege of being cover'd. They perceive it very well themſelves, and do not aſpire to Honours they are not acquainted with The Embaſſadors whom the *Griſons* ſent to *Venice* in the Year 1603, were treated throughout the State; but on the ſame Day they had their firſt Audience, they went and paid their Devoirs to the Embaſſador of *France:* and that no Doubt might be made thereof, they went thither with the Tabour and Pipe. The Plenipotentiaries of the Elector of *Saxony* have voluntarily excepted themſelves from the general Rule. Inſtead of expecting the Viſit of all the other Miniſters at their Arrival at *Oſnabourg*, they *prevented the Count of* Trautmanſtorf, *the Emperor's firſt Plenipotentiary*, to whom they paid the firſt Viſit; from whence thoſe of *Sweden* took occaſion to inſiſt upon having the ſame Honours done them. The ſame Miniſters of *Saxony* being arriv'd ſince at *Munſter*, were for changing their Conduct, and for having the firſt Viſit from the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads. *Pegnaranda* comply'd, but the Miniſters of *France* did not ſee them, and pretended that they had at leaſt a Right to the ſame Uſage that had been dealt to the Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden*.

The Embaſſador who pretends to this Honour, ought to give notice to the Miniſters who owe it him, that he is arriv'd, or is near arriving, that they may ſend a Gentleman to complement him. The Embaſſador that ſends to pay Civility to the laſt Comer, before he has receiv'd any on his part, errs againſt Form and Method. In the Year 1653, there was a ſecond Aſſembly at *Lubeck*, concerning the Intereſts of *Poland* and *Sweden*. As ſoon as *Chanut*, who was to diſcharge the Office of Mediator on the part of *France*, was arriv'd, *Shering Roſenhan*, firſt Plenipotentiary of *Sweden*, ſent to know when he would be at leiſure to receive the Viſit he deſign'd to make him; his Intention being to prevent the *Poles*. *Chanut*, who penetrated into his Meaning, ſignify'd to him that he receiv'd his Complement as a particular Civility; but that neither he, nor his Houſe, were yet in a Condition to receive Viſits of Ceremony: as alſo, *that he did not expect any from him, till he had notify'd his Arrival to him; becauſe that was a Devoir which ought to be diſcharg'd firſt.* This was what was very well known to the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces, who were to be concern'd in the ſame Negotiation, as Mediators with *Chanut*; but that did not hinder them from committing two very groſs Faults. The firſt was, that they gave notice of their Arrival to none but the Embaſſadors of *France*, and to the Chief of the Embaſſies of *Poland* and of *Sweden*; and the other was, that they accompany'd their ill digeſted Civility with a very ill favour'd Complement. They repair'd the firſt, after *Chanut* had taken the liberty to remonſtrate to 'em, that they ought alſo to have given notice to the other Embaſſadors; but they did not rectifie the other. When they gave notice to the Embaſſadors of their

Arival,

Arrival, they added thereto, that they ſhould not be in a Condition to receive Viſits of three or four Days. It look'd as if they had a mind to refreſh the Memory of thoſe Gentlemen with their Duty, or to teach them their Buſineſs, by letting them know what they ought to do. Suppoſing they ſpoke to Perſons who knew their Buſineſs, they ought to have ſignify'd to them, that as ſoon as they were a little compos'd, and had recover'd themſelves from the Fatigues of their Journey they would not fail to viſit them. Their Complement had a ſmack of the Territory. We ought never to do Civilities by halves, nor corrupt it with Ruſticities and Groſſineſſes, unworthy a Man who knows the World. The laſt Comer, in the notice he gives to the other Embaſſadors, ought to obſerve the Order in which he expects to be viſited: for which Reaſon he ought to be nicely punctual; becauſe as he is oblig'd to return the Viſits in the ſame Order he has receiv'd them, he may in that, favour the ones more than the others.

The Biſhop of Gure, *firſt Plenipotentiary of the Emperor at the Congreſs of* Nimmeguen, having remain'd there ſome time *incognito*, began to appear in the beginning of the Month of *September*, 1677, and notify'd his Arrival to the other Miniſters. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors were the firſt: but at the ſame time he put into the Hands of the Nuncio a Writing, wherein he ſignify'd, that he conſider'd them on this Occaſion as Miniſters of the ſame Houſe with the Emperor his Maſter; and that it ſhould be of no Conſequence in reference to the others. Thoſe of *Spain* viſited him the firſt Day. The next Day he gave Advice thereof *to the Nuncio*, *to the Mediators*, *to the Embaſſadors of the crown'd Heads*, *of the United Provinces*, *and of the Elector of* Brandenbourg, who all viſited him the ſame Day; and the Day following he began to return the Viſits.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Elector of Triers being arriv'd near *Munſter*, thoſe of *France* ſent to deſire them not to receive the Viſit of the Embaſſadors of *Spain*, before theirs. Thoſe of *Triers* made anſwer, that they could not ſend away any body; for which reaſon *d'Avaux* and *Servien* viſited them, as ſoon as they knew the Nuncio, and the Emperor's Embaſſadors had been there. The ſame Plenipotentiaries of *Triers*, in receiving the Nuncio's Viſit, ask'd him how they ought to govern themſelves in this kind of Ceremony. The Nuncio told them, *that when they made the firſt Viſit, they were oblig'd to have regard to the Rank of thoſe they viſited; but in returning the Viſit to thoſe who had made it to them, they ought to obſerve the ſame Order, in which they had receiv'd them.* Which is ſo true, that that is the chief Cauſe there is ſuch a Strife who ſhall make the firſt Viſit to the laſt Comer. The Embaſſadors of *Bavaria*, after having receiv'd the Viſit of all the other Miniſters, viſited the Nuncio; after him the Count of *Naſſaw*, and then the Plenipotentiaries of *France*: firſt, both together at *M. d'Avaux*'s Houſe, and then *M. Servien* at his own Houſe ſeparately; at which the *Spaniards* were very much mortify'd. I ſhould think, that after what has been here ſaid, it is eaſie to comprehend, that the Rule of the laſt Comer, ought not to be apply'd to the laſt arriv'd of two or three Embaſſadors, that come almoſt at the ſame time; ſo that the laſt of theſe two or three ought to be viſited before thoſe who came a Day or two before him have been viſited. On the contrary, when the Mediators made the firſt Viſit to *Pegneranda*, who was arriv'd ſome time after the Duke of *Longueville*, they ſent word to the Duke, that they could no longer delay viſiting the Count, *altho' they were ſenſible they ow'd him the firſt Viſit, as being come firſt*, and that it had not ſtuck at them, but that the Duke would not admit the Perſon they ſent, becauſe they did not give him the Title of *Highneſs*.

At the Entry of the Count *de Witgueſtein*, Plenipotentiary of *Brandenburg*, there happen'd a ſmall Difference between the Miniſters of *Sweden*, and thoſe of the Elector of *Mayence*, which was the Cauſe that thoſe of *Sweden* viſited the Count before they went to ſee the other. Count *Cratz*, Plenipotentiary of *Mayence*, made great Complaints thereof, as if the Count, in receiving the *Swedes* Viſit, had done the utmoſt Prejudice to the Elector of *Mayence*, who he ſaid was Dean of a College, where the Elector of *Brandenburg* had but the ſeventh Place. The Count ſaid, that he would have wav'd it; but had been at laſt oblig'd to receive the Viſit, becauſe the *Swedes*, after having ſent to him three times, had declar'd, that if he did not receive their Viſit, they would not admit of his. *Cratz* however made a vexatious Affair of it to the Count of *Witgueſtein*, which the Miniſters of the other Electors had much ado to regulate. *Cratz* ought to have complain'd of the *Swedes*, who were they that diſturb'd the Order of the Viſits, and ſhould not have quarrell'd with the Count of *Witgueſtein*, who could not ſend away thoſe who deſir'd to ſee him; and who was not oblig'd to enquire, whether the Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* had ſeen that of *Mayence* or not. As ſoon as *d'Avaux* was in a Condition to receive Viſits at *Munſter*, the Count of *Naſſaw Hademar* came to him; and after him the three Plenipotentiaries of *Spain* made their Viſit together, and receiv'd it in the ſame manner, meeting altogether at *Saavedra*'s Lodgings for that purpoſe.

This Diſtinction is not always obſerv'd between the two laſt Comers: on the contrary, an Embaſſador of *France*, who ſhould arrive at a Court two or three Days after an Embaſſador of *Spain*, would for all that pretend to the firſt Viſit; by the ſame Reaſon, as at *Rome* he ſtands upon having the firſt Viſit from a new Cardinal; even tho' this had receiv'd the firſt Viſit from the Embaſſador of *Spain*. The Rule takes place only between the Miniſter who is already at a Court, and him who comes afterwards. It is cuſtomary for the Cardinals, and the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads to viſit the new Cardinals immediately after their Promotion. The new Cardinals do not return the Viſits in the ſame Order they have receiv'd them; but after they have viſited the Dean of the College, they ſee the other Cardinals without Order, and according as their Palaces lie in their way. As for the Embaſſadors, the Cardinals owe the firſt Viſit to the Emperor's, and the ſecond to that of *France*; even tho' the Embaſſador of *Spain* had prevented both the one and the other. Cardinal *Se-*

velli, Archbiſhop of *Salerna*, had receiv'd the Hat, in the ſame Promotion with the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, Brother to Cardinal *Mazarine*, on the 7th of *October*, 1647. The Count *d'Ognate*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, endeavouring to win him over to the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to which that of *Savelli* was very much inclin'd, did not fail to be one of the firſt to viſit him: and the Cardinal return'd his Viſit, as ſoon as he had viſited the Cardinals. *Fontenay Mareüil*, Embaſſador of *France*, being inform'd thereof, reſented it after a manner that may be call'd cruel. As ſoon as he ſaw the Cardinal's Coaches ſtop in his Court, to ſet their Maſter down, he ſent him word by the Groom of his Chamber, that the Embaſſador would not ſee him. The Cardinal, extremely ſurpriz'd at ſo ſtrange an Occurrence, deſir'd to know for what reaſon ſo groſs an Affront was offer'd him. The Groom of the Chamber told him, that it was becauſe, contrary to Cuſtom, and againſt the Dignity of the Crown of *France*, he had made the firſt Viſit to the Embaſſador of *Spain*. The Cardinal reply'd, that he ought to have been adviſ'd hereof, and not ſuffer'd to advance ſo far, to become the laughing Stock of the People: but he was anſwer'd, that he could blame no body but himſelf; becauſe being a *Roman*, he ought to know the Cuſtom of *Rome*, and what is due to the Embaſſador of *France*. The Embaſſador ſpoke to the Pope about it at his next Audience, who told him, that being inform'd of the Difference the Embaſſador had with Cardinal *Savelli*, he had had a mind to have the Opinion of ſix of the ancienteſt Cardinals thereupon; and that they had all with one Voice declar'd, that the new Cardinals obſerv'd no Order in their Viſits, except in reference to the Dean. *M. de Fontenay* rejoyn'd, that he was ſenſible it was ſo, with reſpect to the Cardinals; but as for the Embaſſadors it was otherwiſe, *the* French *Embaſſador being in poſſeſſion of a Right to be preferr'd to the Embaſſador of* Spain: That in the Year 1641, Cardinal *Montalto* had viſited him, before he ſaw the Embaſſador of the Catholick King, and that otherwiſe he would not have admitted him: That what had been always practis'd at *Rome*, ought not to be either chang'd or alter'd; at leaſt that he would not ſuffer it to be done in his time: That he himſelf, endeavouring to prevail with Cardinal *Bichi*, (who had obtain'd the Hat at the Nomination of the King his Maſter, and who was as Protector of *France*,) not to conſider the Miniſters of *Ferdinand* III. as Miniſters of the Emperor, but only as Miniſters of the King of *Hungary*, becauſe he was acknowledg'd in *France* but only in this laſt Quality: the Cardinal had told him, that he was at *Rome*; and that ſince the Pope acknowledg'd *Ferdinand* for Emperor, he, as Cardinal, could not avoid acknowledging his Miniſters.

Cardinal *Savelli* employ'd thoſe that were Friends to both, to let *M. de Fontenay* underſtand, that he was extremely concern'd at their Miſintelligence; and proteſted it was not his Intention to offend *France*, nor the Embaſſador; but that he had follow'd the Advice of ſome Prelates, who had told him he ought to return the Viſits in the ſame Order he had receiv'd them: That the Groom of the Chamber to *M. de Fontenay*, might very well have done, as he that belong'd to Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée* had formerly done, who had ſignify'd to the Duke of *Savelli*, his Father, Embaſſador from the Emperor, that if he ſaw the Duke of *Alburquerque*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, before he paid him that Civility, he could not admit him: That he had a great Eſteem for the Perſon of *M. de Fontenay*, and had a Veneration for his Character; and that on all accounts he coveted to have a good Underſtanding with him. The Cardinals, who think they may one Day ſtand fair for the Popedom, do not care to be at variance with thoſe crown'd Heads, who may be Inſtrumental to their being excluded. Cardinal *Savelli*, who knew how the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée* had us'd the Duke his Father, ought not to have been ignorant of the Conduct he ought to have held with *M. de Fontenay*.

The Count *de Guldenleeu*, who was Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Denmark* at *London*, in the Year 1669, being inform'd that *Jacob Boreel* was arriv'd there on the part of the States of the United Provinces, as Embaſſador in Ordinary; ſent his Secretary to complement him, and at the ſame time to know, when his Conveniency would permit him to receive his Viſit; and *Boreel* appointed him the Hour of Three in the Afternoon the Day following. On the ſame Day *M. Colbert*, Embaſſador from *France*, did the ſame Civility to *Boreel*, who ſent him word, that he could only appoint him the Hour of Four, having prefix'd that of Three to the Embaſſador of *Denmark*. *Colbert* reſolving to take his Advantage of this Anſwer, in order to have the firſt Viſit from *Boreel*, if he prevented the Embaſſador of *Denmark*, took his Meaſures ſo well, that he had ended his Viſit, before this laſt had begun his. But *de Guldenleeu* being inform'd that *Colbert* had been there before him; and there being no room to doubt, that it was on purpoſe to exact the firſt Viſit, by way of preference, he gave *Boreel* to underſtand; *That as he had been the firſt to do him Civility, and had been punctual as to the Hour he had ſet him, he accordingly expected the Preference; and hop'd he would do him Juſtice, and pay him the firſt Viſit, to the Excluſion of all others: That he knew* Boreel *was ſo prudent, as not to pretend to regulate the Rank between crown'd Heads; but in caſe he ſhould fail to obſerve the Order, he would not on his part fail to ſhew his Reſentment; not only as an Embaſſador, but alſo as a Cavalier.* *Boreel* made anſwer, That it was not his Fault: That he had appointed *M. Colbert*'s Viſit, after the Hour he had prefix'd to *Guldenleeu*, and the other having anticipated the Hour, he could not ſend him away without ſeeing him. However he found himſelf ſo perplex'd herein, that not knowing what Reſolution to take, he did not dare to viſit either the one or the other; till the King taking into Conſideration, that this ſmall Difference might be vexatious to all the three Embaſſadors, bethought himſelf of a Means to accommodate it, in ſuch manner, that it might have no ill Conſequence. He therefore ſent to deſire the *Daniſh* Embaſſador to take ſome Days Diverſion with him at *Windſor*; of which *Boreel* had notice, who contriv'd to be at *Guldenleeu*'s Gate, at the very Hour he was juſt ready to get on

Horſeback,

Horſeback, in order to go to the King. The Embaſſador of *Denmark*, ſurpris'd at this Occurrence, or being willing to ſeem ſo, excus'd himſelf on the Neceſſity he was under to go and attend the King, who expected him; and ſignify'd to *Boreel*, that he was ſatisfy'd as to the Viſit, as if he had effectually receiv'd it; and that at his Return he would not fail to thank him for it. I cannot tell whether *Jeannin* and *Doſſat* would have acted like *Colbert* and *Guldenleen*. Thoſe prudent Men would have been fearful in engaging their Maſter in vexatious Affairs for Trifles, and would have rather choſe to decline the Diſpute, than to get out of it ſo cavalierly as theſe did. *Boreel*, in returning the Viſits in the Order he had receiv'd them, would not have injur'd the Embaſſador nor the King of *France*; and *Colbert* gain'd no Advantage in dealing that foul Play to the Embaſſador of *Denmark*. The Plenipotentiaries of *France* did indeed ſignify to thoſe of the Emperor, that if they viſited the Count *de Pegneranda* before they diſcharg'd that Devoir to the Duke of *Longueville*, there ſhould be no more any Intercourſe of Viſits between them: But this did not hinder the others from following the Example of the Mediators, and to viſit the Count. They ſent the Miniſters of *France* word, that they could not fall off, after they had deſir'd Audience, and that it ſhould be without prejudice to the Embaſſadors of *France*.

The Count of *Swartzenbourg*, the Emperor's Embaſſador in *England*, being arriv'd at *London* in the Year 1622, the Embaſſador of *France* paid him the uſual Civilities, and three Days after he viſited him, not doubting but the Count would return him the firſt Viſit, in Preference to the other Embaſſadors. But the Count did that Honour to the Embaſſador of *Spain*; as well becauſe this had been before-hand with the Embaſſador of *France*, as becauſe, according to the Order that is obſerv'd at *Vienna*, the Embaſſador of *Spain* is preferr'd to all the other Embaſſadors. Nevertheleſs the *French* Embaſſador was ſo offended thereat, that when the Count ſent to know whether he might ſee him after Dinner, he return'd for Anſwer, That the Weather having been very bad for ſome Days, and being now fair, he would take the Benefit of the fine Day, and go and take the Air in the Countrey. He was in the wrong, becauſe the Viſits are to be return'd in the Order they are receiv'd, and the Embaſſador of *Spain* had viſited the Count before the Embaſſador of *France*. It is a Civility that is due, and the Dignity of the Maſter is not concern'd therein.

The Embaſſador is oblig'd to conform to the Rules that have been agreed on for that purpoſe, and cannot fail therein without diſconcerting that Harmony, without which there can be no Converſation between publick Miniſters. But inaſmuch as the Dignity of the Maſter is not always concern'd in theſe Civilities, more eſpecially when there is no Competition, the Embaſſador may ſometimes diſpenſe himſelf from theſe Punctualities; and he ought to do ſo, if they are too incommodious, or if by the Diſpenſation he can acquire any Advantage to his Prince. The Count *de Lamberg*, Plenipotentiary of the Emperor, being arriv'd at *Munſter*, *Oxenſtiern* offer'd to make him the firſt Viſit, as to the laſt Comer; but before he actually made it, *Salvius* arriv'd alſo at *Munſter*; and, as the laſt Comer; he pretended to the firſt Viſit from the Count. This not knowing how to clear himſelf of this Intricacy, that he might offend neither the one nor the other, prevented them, and went to ſee them all before *Oxenſtiern* had viſited him. The Count *de Lamberg* did herein the part of a gallant Man, but he was for finding Difficulty where there was none at all. He had nothing to do but to expect *Oxenſtiern*, and to return his Viſit, without any Conſideration for *Salvius*, who had no reaſon to complain of the Preference that was given to his Colleague, becauſe it was an Obligation wherein the Count was engag'd by receiving *Oxenſtiern*'s Viſit; and he ſatisfy'd *Salvius*, in viſiting him before he receiv'd his Viſit. The Rule of the laſt Comer does not fix the time in which the Viſit is to be made, and only has room betwixt two Embaſſadors, the one of whom is upon the Place before the other arrives.

Chanut was very punctual, and the Miniſters of *Sweden* have ever been very difficult, and very ſenſible in the Matter of Civilities; nevertheleſs they had an Occurrence which was nice enough, at the Aſſembly that was held at *Lubeck* in the Year 1651. *Chanut* found there four Embaſſadors from *Poland*, and *Salvius* was there alone for the Crown of *Sweden*. The firſt having a mind to make their Viſit with great Ceremonies, were ſo long in their Preparations, that *Salvius* got the ſtart of them, *and paid his Viſit to* Chanut *before the others were ready*. He pretended, after that, that *Chanut* ought to return him the firſt Viſit by way of Preference; but the other would not conſent thereto, becauſe the *Poles* had ſent to him the firſt.

Embaſſadors owe alſo the firſt Viſit to thoſe Princes who come after them, provided the Princes are not Subjects of the Embaſſadors Maſter. I have touch'd upon this Matter above, and ſhall only add, that the three Embaſſadors of *France*, the Duke of *Engoulſme*, the Count of *Bethune*, and the Abbot *Preaux*, of whom the firſt was a Prince, and the two others had been employ'd in ſeveral Embaſſies, ſo that they might be ſuppos'd to know the Ceremonial; Theſe three Embaſſadors, I ſay, being at *Ulm*, and being inform'd that the Marquiſs of *Anſpach* and the Duke of *Wirtemberg* were come thither, ſent immediately to complement them, and to know the Hour of their Conveniency, *to make them a Viſit as to the laſt Comers*. The Princes declin'd it, and prevented 'em, by viſiting them. Here they did themſelves great Wrong, and to all the other Princes of *Germany*, who at preſent do Penance for the Sins of their Anceſtors. The Refuſal they meet with, to be conſider'd as the Princes would deſire, is not very juſt; but it would ſtill be leſs ſo, if there were not amongſt them ſome, to whom too great Indignities cannot be offer'd, becauſe they cannot be guilty of more ſcandalous Meanneſſes.

All the Embaſſadors, who were at *Venice*, went to ſee the Duke of *Mantua*, when he arriv'd there in the Year 1602. *De Freſne* ſays, *That the Duke caus'd him to be receiv'd at his landing*

landing from his Gondola, *by* Alexander *Prince of* Miranda, *and by other Domeſticks, and that he receiv'd him himſelf at the top of the Staircaſe: That he yielded him the Hand: That he led him into his Cloſet, made him ſit down, and reconducted him to the Place where he had receiv'd him: That when the Duke came to ſee him, he receiv'd him in the Entry, at ſome Paces from the Stairs, altho' his Predeceſſors had only receiv'd him at the bottom of the Stairs.* I queſtion what he ſays of the Hand, but not what he adds, that the Duke was not very well ſatisfy'd with the Reception the Embaſſador made him.

The *Engliſh* Embaſſador, that was at *Paris* in the Year 1640, did not refuſe to make the firſt Viſit to the Duke of *Lorrain*, but he requir'd that the Duke ſhould, in reconducting him, accompany him to his Coach, becauſe he had done that Honour to the Nuncio. The Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes, who conſider the Pope but as a temporal Prince only, will not pay any Deference to the Nuncio: And altho' the Embaſſadors of the Catholick Crowns give place to him, as to their Firſt, they pretend nevertheleſs that the ſame Honour is due to them; wherefore thoſe who were at *Paris* would not ſee the Duke of *Lorrain* for the ſame Reaſon.

The Viſits, of which I have now ſpoken, are of Neceſſity, and make a part of the Ceremonies, which are inſeparable from the Employment of Embaſſador. Thoſe that are of mere Civility have their particular Rules, which are learn'd amongſt the Great Ones, and not in Negotiations. The Embaſſador that takes a Journey, out of the Place of his Reſidence, for his own private Affairs, or for thoſe of his Maſter, ought not to be conſider'd at his Return as the laſt Comer, and the firſt Viſit is not due to him but out of a mere Civility, as is alſo practis'd among private Perſons on the like Occaſions. If the Embaſſador receives new *Credentials*, by Reaſon of ſome Change in the State, by the Death of the Prince, or otherwiſe: On theſe Occaſions Civilities are done him, not on account of his *new Credentials*, but of the Cauſe for which they were ſent him.

The Viſits that are made to Embaſſadors, who only paſs by a Court, are of the ſame nature. The other Embaſſadors viſit them moſt commonly, but it is without any Obligation. *Salagnac* going Embaſſador to *Conſtantinople* on the part of *France*, paſs'd through *Venice*, where all the other Embaſſadors viſited him. There was none but the Nuncio that did not viſit him, neither did he viſit the Nuncio. *De Freſne*, Embaſſador of *France*, told him that what the other Embaſſadors had done, had been out of Civility, and not out of Devoir. So that as he could exact nothing from the Nuncio, he could neither prejudice himſelf nor the King, in doing him that Civility. There are ſome who would not have been of *M. de Freſne*'s Sentiment. It was none of *Salagnac*'s Buſineſs to make a Diſtinction, by doing an Honour to the Nuncio, that he did not do to the other Embaſſadors: And *de Freſne* was in the wrong to counſel *Salagnac* to do what he would not have dar'd to do himſelf, after the King's expreſs Orders not to make the firſt Viſit to the Nuncio.

This Civility of the firſt Viſit, which is paid to the laſt Comer, is only practis'd between Embaſſador and Embaſſador, and does not regard the Miniſter of the ſecond Order. However, it is certain that *Doſſat* (who was only Biſhop of *Evreux*, when he was at *Venice*, to communicate to the Senate the Concluſion of the Peace of *Vervins*) had not the repreſenting Character, ſince his *Letters of Credence* did not mention it; but that did not hinder the Embaſſadors of *Spain* and of *Savoy* from making him the firſt Viſit, as being the laſt Comer. This was not according to the Order; and at this time an Embaſſador would be cautious how he did it. All that can be ſaid on this Head is, that *Doſſat* was not a Miniſter of the ſecond Order: His Quality of Biſhop would not allow it; and it is reaſonable to think, that the Republick conſider'd him quite otherwiſe, ſince it caus'd him to be conducted to Audience by thirty Senators, and that its Intention was to give him both Reception and Entry. He was lodg'd and defray'd, and had thoſe Honours done him, which are never done to Miniſters of the ſecond Order. One may here add, that in thoſe times *France* was not over-punctual in expreſſing in the *Credentials* the Quality of the Embaſſador; of which we have ſo particular an Example in thoſe of *Alincourt*, who was conſider'd as an Embaſſador by the Pope, notwithſtanding his Letters did not give him that Character.

CHAP. XXII.

Of ſome other Civilities which are done to Embaſſadors, or that Embaſſadors uſe towards one another.

HAving ſpoken in ſome of the foregoing Chapters, of the Civilities that are of Obligation, and that are in ſome meaſure regulated, at leaſt as much as things of this nature are capable of being ſo, I ſhall in this ſpeak of ſome that are ſo but in part, or not at all. The Embaſſador, whoſe Prince has been ſolemnly invited to the Ceremony of a Chriſtening, of a Marriage, or of a Funeral, ought to keep his Rank there; but if the Embaſſador that is upon the Place is only invited out of Civility, or if he aſſiſts there but only as the Miniſter of a Prince, or State, in Amity with that where he reſides, or as a Spectator, there is no Obligation to give him the Rank, and it is ſufficient to place him honourably and commo-

commodiously. Moreover, even when the Princes have been expresly invited, their Ministers cannot pretend the Rank before the Officers, whose Functions are necessary at the same Ceremony; which I have taken notice of to have been observ'd at the Coronation of *Henry* IV, and of *Lewis* XIII, where the Peers were plac'd before the Embassadors. Formerly they were more expensive at Christenings and at Marriages than they are at this Time; unless it be in *Germany* and in the *North*, where still they invite a great many Strangers to these Kinds of Ceremonies, with so profuse a Charge, that there is no Prince who can, without Inconveniencing himself, solemnize a Christening, a Marriage, and a Funeral, in the same Year. It is also in those Parts that the Custom obtains of having several Godfathers assist at a Christening, and of inviting to it a great Number of Persons, without Distinction of Religion; in what, however, the Roman Catholicks are more reserv'd than most of the Protestants, who ought to be more difficult in this Point than the others. *James*, King of *England*, would not have caus'd one of his Children to be presented to Baptism by a Roman Catholick Prince, since he would not accept of the Civility King *Henry* IV. did him, in desiring him to send some Person on his Part, to the Christening he made in the Year 1606, of the Dauphin, and some of the Princesses his Children. *De Fresne Canaye* says, *That the King of* England's *Refusal is contrary to what those of the reform'd Religion have always practis'd, and that it denotes a great Aversion for the Pope.* This Minister had formerly turn'd to the reform'd Religion, and had made Profession thereof thirty Years, but he did not for all that know very well the Discipline of their Churches; as on the other side, Cardinal *Dossat* did not at all approve of the Resolution *Henry* IV. would have taken some Years before, to invite Queen *Elizabeth* to be Godmother to the Princess, the eldest Daughter of *France*, whom he would have had Christen'd with the *Dauphin*. The Discipline of the Reform'd Churches of *France* obliges the Godfathers and Godmothers to breed up the Children they present to Baptism in the same Religion; for which Reason it does not admit of Heterodoxes.

The Custom of making great Assemblies at Marriages, and to invite thither a great Number of Strangers, is abolish'd in most Courts a great while ago; and since they have left off making great Feasts on those Occasions, the Embassadors, whose Masters have no Interest in the Marriage, have not neither any Part at the Feast. At that of the late King and Queen of *England* there were present with the Duke of *Chevreuse*, who represented the Bridegroom, only the Earls of *Carliste* and *Holland*, who had negotiated the Affair, and sign'd the Contract. They were present at the Celebration of the Marriage; but both they and the Duke retir'd during the Mass, because the King their Master was of a different Religion. They were likewise invited to the Feast, and seated at the King's Table. At the Marriage of *Charles* IX, and of *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, there was only the Elector of *Triers* had a Place at the King's Table; the three other Embassadors, the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, the Marquis of *Baden*, and the Count of *Zolern*, were seated at another Table. This had not been always the Practice; for which Reason it might be doubted, whether the four Embassadors of the United Provinces, who, in the Year 1641, had negotiated the Marriage of Prince *William* of *Orange*, were in the right to refuse dining at Court, because they knew they should not sit at the King's Table. At the Marriage of the Elector *Palatin* and the Princess of *England* the Embassadors of *France* and *Venice* were invited to the Feast, and they had the Honour to eat at the Table of the newly marry'd; but the King was not there, altho' it was at a time that he us'd frequently to invite Embassadors to dine with him.

I even now said, that there were only the Embassadors of *England*, who were present at the Celebration of the Marriage. I know very well that the Nuncio, and the Embassadors of *Spain*, of *Venice*, and of *Savoy*, were also there, but then they had no Rank. There was none but the Baron of *Languerac*, Embassador of the United Provinces, who, having a mind to make a Figure, desir'd he might march immediately after the Embassador of *Venice*, conformably to the Intention and Regulation of the late King. But forasmuch as it was fear'd that the Embassador of *Savoy* would oppose it, and because the Embassador of *Holland* could not be present at Mass, it was thought proper that he should go along with the Duke *de Chevreuse*, and the two Embassadors of *England*: So that he went with them in the King's Coach, and march'd with them immediately before his Majesty.

As for Funerals, it is only in those Places where they are accompany'd with great Feasts, that foreign Princes are invited; who otherwise would receive but a doleful and indifferent Diversion. When the Embassadors upon the Place are invited to Ceremonies, they are for the most part plac'd after the Cardinals, and immediately after the Officers, who by their Functions are oblig'd to assist thereat. This is observ'd at the Coronation of Kings and Queens, at the Oath that is taken for the Observation of a Treaty, or for the Renovation of an Alliance, at a *Te Deum* or Thanksgiving, at the Creation of Knights, at the opening of an Assembly of the States, and at all other Ceremonies of this Nature, as at the opening of the Parliament of *England*, *&c.* The Ministers of Protestant Princes are hardly ever invited, because for the most part they are perform'd in those Places where they do not like to be, by reason of some Devotions which they do not approve of. The Catholicks are not so scrupulous. *Trémes* and *Deffiat*, Embassadors of *France*, after they had accompany'd the Corpse into the Church of *Westminster*, at the Funeral of King *James*, would not assist at the Sermon, or Funeral Oration. *D'Avaux*, who was a devout Catholick, conducted the Bride at the Marriage of the Prince of *Denmark*, and was present at the Ceremony. *Blainville* said, *He was willing to give his Conscience a scratch, to be present at the Coronation of the King of* England. The Queen of *Sweden*, when she sent to desire *Chanut*, Embassador of *France*, to assist at her Coronation, signify'd to him that there would be a Sermon, but that, that would not oblige him to any Religious Worship. *Chanut*

made anſwer, that he conſider'd that Action but as a meer politick Ceremony, and that he ſhould make no Difficulty to be preſent thereat; as he accordingly was, with the Embaſſadors of *Portugal* and *Brandenbourg*.

The Oath that Princes take for the Execution and Obſervation of Treaties, is ſo politick, that it is not neceſſary it ſhould be taken in a Church, notwithſtanding Superſtition ſuggeſts, that God (to whom the Oath is properly made) is there in a more particular manner than elſewhere: That which the *Griſons* took at *Venice* in the Year 1604, for the Execution of the Alliance they had made with the Republick, was executed in the Senate Hall, and the Pope approv'd of it. So likewiſe, when the King of *Spain* took the Oath for the Obſervation of the Treaty, the Conſtable of *Caſtile* had concluded in the Year 1604, at *London*, the Ceremonies thereof were perform'd at *Valladolid* in a Hall, between the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, in the Preſence of *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Nottingham*, Admiral of *England*. Some of the Deputies of the *Griſons* were Proteſtants, for which Reaſon this Conſideration was had for them at *Venice*: and on the ſame Account the ſame Regard was had to the Admiral of *England* in *Spain*.

In the Year 1610, the Oath for the Confirmation of the Alliance between *France* and *England*, was taken in the Church of the *Feuillants* at *Paris*; and that for the Execution of the Peace in the Year 1629, in the Church of the Borough of St. *Germans*. This Ceremony was formerly perform'd with great Solemnity; and extraordinary Honours were done to the Embaſſadors who were ſent on purpoſe to aſſiſt thereat. When *Edmond*, Embaſſador from *England*, enter'd into the Church of the Borough, the Guards were rang'd on both Sides of the Way, their Drums beating, and Colours diſplay'd; which he was given to underſtand was an Honour, that is done only to Sovereigns. At preſent this is out of Date. Since Princes obſerve their Word as religiouſly as their Oaths, their Ratification is thought ſufficient: and if it be ſtill practis'd ſometimes, it is only with the *Switzers*, who are ſtill of Opinion, that there is more Security in an Oath, than in Parchment and Wax.

Thoſe Princes that are truly Friends, or that maintain ſome Appearance of Friendſhip among themſelves, make uſe of the Intermediation of their Embaſſadors, to do one another Civilities on the good or evil Accidents that befall them; as thoſe of the Birth, Marriage, or Death of a Prince, *&c.* And on theſe Occaſions what I have ſaid before concerning the firſt Viſit, ought to be obſerv'd; to wit, that they who expect to have Civilities done them, muſt be before-hand with thoſe from whom they expect them, and notifie to them their good or bad Fortune. It is not to ſay but there are Occaſions, where they ought to get the Start of Advice, and where even the Embaſſador ought to diſcharge that Civility, without waiting for his Maſter's Orders; but he muſt be ſure always to take care, that the Dignity of his Prince be not prejudic'd thereby. After the Treaſon of the Mareſchal *de Biron* was diſcover'd, prov'd, and puniſh'd in *France*, all the Miniſters of the foreign Princes flock'd to the *Louvre*, to felicitate King *Henry* IV. thereupon, becauſe they knew, that thoſe who were true Friends would really rejoyce at it; and that the clandeſtine Enemies who had been concern'd therein, lay under the greater Obligation to expreſs their Gladneſs, thereby to conceal their fruſtrated evil Intentions. In ſo extraordinary an Occurrence, of which the King would not give Advice to thoſe Princes who were his Friends, for fear of ſpeaking of thoſe who had a Hand in ſo flagitious a Deſign, their Embaſſadors ought not to wait for the Orders of their Principals. But in common Occurrences Cuſtom muſt be follow'd. The Queen of *Sweden* took it very ill, that *Uladiſlas*, King of *Poland*, had not notify'd to her the Death of the Prince, of which the Queen his Conſort had been deliver'd ſome Days before; and took this Silence as a certain Mark of the Averſion the King had for her. On the other ſide, the ſame Queen thank'd the King of *Denmark*, who had given her Advice of his Affliction, after the Death of the Prince his eldeſt Son: and ſhe went into Mourning for him, tho' ſhe did not love the King of *Denmark* better than him of *Poland*.

In the Year 1672, the States General gave to the Prince of *Orange* the Poſt of Captain General; that is to ſay, the Command in Chief of the Armies of the Union, when they were out of the Territories of the United Provinces. The States of *Holland* conferr'd upon him at the ſame time, the important Offices of Governor, Lieutenant, and Captain General of their Province, and of its Forces both by Sea and Land. The States General communicated their Reſolution to the Miniſters of the foreign Princes; but the States of *Holland*, and the Prince himſelf did not acquaint them with it. There were ſome Miniſters who went and complemented his Highneſs thereupon; but there were ſome again, who did not think themſelves oblig'd to be over haſty, upon the bare Complement they had receiv'd by a Clark of the Notary of the States General. They therefore ſent Advice thereof to their Maſters, and receiv'd Orders to expect the firſt Civility from the Prince. Thoſe Miniſters who know their Buſineſs, do nothing that can prejudice the Dignity of their Maſter, as they would do, if they mingl'd in an Antichamber with a Crowd of Officers, and other People of leſs Conſideration; and if they are not aſſur'd of the Civilities that are to be done to their Maſter, in their Perſon.

There is a great Deal to be obſerv'd even with reſpect to private Viſits. I ſpeak elſewhere of the Conteſt *Contarini* had with *d'Avaux* at *Munſter*, concerning the Civilities of a private Viſit: and it is what the Miniſters of *Venice* are very punctual, or rather ſuperſtitious in. In the Month of *October*, 1668, the Embaſſador of *Spain* going to ſee that of *Venice* at *London*, being alighted out of his Coach, he went into a Hall, in expectation of the others coming to receive him; but the *Venetian* Embaſſador ſent him word, that he waited for him above. Hereupon the *Spaniard* ask'd if he was ſick; and being told he was not, he ſignify'd to him that he expected him below. The *Venetian* did not go down, and the other got into his Coach and went away home. Some Days after

after the Embaſſador of *Venice*, going to viſit the Embaſſador of *Spain*, this laſt ſent him word, that he could not admit him without the King his Maſter's Order, to whom he had ſent Advice of what had paſs'd between them. The Embaſſadors of *France* and the United Provinces were forc'd to reconcile them. The *Venetian* Embaſſador did this Incivility to that of *Spain*, becauſe this had treated him after the ſame manner; and as the Miniſters of *France* and *Venice* do the ſame Honours to one another, the Embaſſador of the Republick pretended the ſame from him of *Spain*, and with Juſtice.

As for the Civilities Miniſters owe one to another at publick Ceremonies, they cannot be too difficult therein. Formerly there was great talk of the Encounter the Marquiſs *de Trénel* had at *Rome* with the Embaſſador of *Spain*, in the Year 1625. The Marquiſs having made an Agreement to go and divert himſelf in the Countrey with ſome *French* Gentlemen, bethought himſelf before he took Coach, that it was a Holiday; and ask'd the Company whether it would not be proper to hear Maſs. It was the Feaſt of St. *James*, and the Church of the *Spaniards*, where it was chiefly obſerv'd, being in the Neighbourhood, they reſolv'd to go there, and even to take advantage of the Embaſſador of *Spain*, who was to do the Honours there. The Embaſſador of *France* having got together what *Frenchmen* he could, went ſtrait to St. *James*'s Church, having ſent his Cuſhion thither by his eldeſt Footman. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador ſeeing the Footman enter, ask'd him, whether the *French* Embaſſador intended to honour the Feaſt of the Patron of their Nation with his Preſence: and went to meet the Marquiſs *de Trenel*, and did him the Honours, as being the Maſter of the Place and of the Feaſt. He would have got Reputation by it, if ſome Days after he had not gone himſelf to the Feaſt of the *French* at the Church of St. *Lewis*. If we will believe *M. de Foix*, who underſtood wonderfully well the Matter of Ceremonies and Civilities, they both committed the Fault of a Novice. He writes in one of his Letters to King *Henry* III, *that* Madrucci, *the Emperor's Embaſſador, had yielded the Place of Honour to the Embaſſador of* France, *in a publick Ceremony, and that he ſaid it was a Civility, which he thought himſelf oblig'd to do in a Church where he did the Honours; as he would have been oblig'd to do them in his own Houſe, if the Embaſſador of* France *had come to viſit him. But for as much as it was a publick Ceremony*, ſays *M. de Foix, and a ſolemn Feaſt, where* Madrucci *was at the Head of all the Nation, in the Preſence of ſeveral Cardinals, and of a great Number of other Perſons of Quality, he ought to have maintain'd his Rank, and every body judg'd that his Proceeding herein was irregular.* For my part I have good Opinion enough of the Embaſſador of *Spain*, and of all the Nation, to believe that he would not have had ſo much Complaiſance for the Marquiſs *de Trenel*, if he had thought he could have avoided it, and declin'd the Scandal. We may judge of it by the following Example.

At the Canonization, which was perform'd at *Rome* in the Year 1588, *Don Diego d'Alcala*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador pretended to have the Precedency of the *French* Embaſſador, as in an Action which was done in Honour, and at the Expence of the *Spaniſh* Nation. But the Marquiſs *de Piſani*, Embaſſador from *France*, ſent him word, that he would not ſuffer him to remain in the Chapel after he had diſcharg'd his Function, if he did not come and place himſelf by him and below him. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador ſent to deſire him to permit him to take the firſt Place only for that one time, and that it ſhould be no Precedent. The Marquiſs made anſwer, that he was willing to gratifie him; but it ſhould be upon Condition, that the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador ſhould declare, that it ſhould be without Prejudice to the Right of the Embaſſador of *France*; and that he ſhould promiſe, that the next time the Pope ſhould come to Chapel, he ſhould come and place himſelf below him. This was what the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador was far from doing; ſo that he choſe rather to go out of the Chapel, after he had diſcharg'd his Function.

It will not be from the purpoſe, may be, to add here to what I have ſaid, what the ſame *M. de Foix* obſerves in another Letter, That the Embaſſadors who are of the Church, have their Place in the Pope's Chapel near his Holineſs, before the Patriarchs, immediately after the Governor of *Rome*: That formerly the ſecular Embaſſadors had their Place there alſo; but that they were ſtanding and uncover'd: That Pope *Pius* IV, reſolving to keep theſe laſt Places for thoſe Princes, to whom the Title of *Moſt Serene* is not given, and who are not of Quality enough to be admitted amongſt the Cardinals, had in the Year 1575, order'd by a new Regulation, that the Lay Embaſſadors ſhould be ſeated and cover'd, in a Place more remote: but that not one Embaſſador would conſent to it; and that from that time not one Embaſſador would do Honour to the Pope in the Chapel: That this new Regulation gave a very great Advantage to the Embaſſador of *Spain* in this, that the ſame Pope, maintaining the *French* Embaſſador in poſſeſſion of the Precedency, that of *Spain* was no longer ſingular; ſo that his Abſence could be no longer taken notice of as an Advantage which he yielded to *France*. *M. de Grignan*, who relates ſo extraordinary a thing on account of the firſt Viſit, tells one no leſs ſurpriſing, in reference to the Pope's Chapel.

The Letter he writes to the Conſtable *de Montmorancy* of the 22d of *April*, 1639, imports, *That the Embaſſy of* Rome *was much more proper for a Biſhop, than for a Man of his Profeſſion; That Prelates have where-with-all to ſupport the Expence of the Embaſſy, and that they do not grudge it; as well becauſe they have it out of Lands, of which they they have only the mean Profits, as becauſe it is a Mean to get other Benefices, and indeed to attain to the Cardinalſhip.* He moreover adds, *That if the King thinks fit to employ there a Man of the Sword rather than a Prelate, that it ought to be a dignify'd Perſon, and that he have at leaſt the Quality of Marquiſs or of Count. For I aſſure you, my Lord*, ſays he, *that it is grating to me, (conſidering the Grandeur of our Maſter) to ſee the Emperor's Embaſſador near the Pope, while I am at the bottom of the Chapel, with the Embaſſadors of* Venice *and of* Florence; *a thing I had great Debates about at firſt; but I found that the ſaid Embaſſador was*

ther.

there as Marquiſs, and not as Embaſſador. The Count de Cifuentes *had alſo obtain'd that Rank, as Count. When you ſhall ſend a Biſhop thither, he will be in the Rank of Biſhops, and ſo will not appear in the Rank of other Embaſſadors.* There can be nothing ſaid more directly oppoſite to what is practis'd at this Day, and even to Reaſon it ſelf. According to the Principles of the Lord *de Grignan*, Embaſſadors do not take the Rank of the Maſters they repreſent, but that which their own proper Quality gives them. This is an unheard-of thing, unknown even to thoſe Ages that preceded that of *M. de Grignan.*

In the time of the ſame Pope *Pius*, the Embaſſador of *Spain*, had a Conteſt with the Senator of *Rome*, about the Precedency. This Senator is an Officer of Juſtice, who has under him Civil Judges, which are call'd Collateſals, and a Judge in Criminal Caſes, who take the firſt Cognizance of all the Civil and Criminal Cauſes of the Inhabitants of *Rome:* and an Appeal lies from their Sentences to the Captain of Appeals, who ſits in the Capitol, as does alſo the Senator, with his Collaterals. The Senator ought to be a Stranger, and not a *Roman:* and on Days of Ceremony he appears in publick with a Veſt of Gold Brocade, which almoſt trails on the Ground, is lin'd with a Crimſon Silk, and his Ducal Sleeves; wearing about his Neck a Gold Chain after the manner of the Ancients. This Senator, who is only a ſubaltern Judge, as I have before taken notice, did not dare to enter into Competition with the Embaſſador of *Spain*, but for all that he got the better of him; the Pope determining, by the Advice of the Maſter of the Ceremonies, that none but the Emperor's Embaſſador, could take place of the Senator in the Chapel.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of the Civilities the Cardinals do to Embaſſadors, and I touch'd a little on the Difference the Embaſſadors had with the Duke of *Lorrain*, concerning thoſe they expected from him. It is what the ones and the others are very difficult in.

The Duke of *Parma* being in the Year 1641, gone to take a Turn in his Dutchy of *Caſtro*, he was told from the Pope, that his Holineſs would take it well if he would make him a Viſit at *Rome*, while he was in the Neighbourhood: and that it would, on the contrary, be taken ill, if he return'd into *Lombardy* without paying him that Devoir. The Duke conſented to it, upon Condition that *Thadeus Barberin*, Prefect of *Rome*, ſhould not be in the Town, during the Stay the Duke ſhould make there; that ſo they might avoid the Competition they might otherwiſe have for the Rank. It was promiſs'd him; and notwithſtanding he receiv'd Advice upon the Road, that the Pope did not keep his Word with him, and that the Prefect did not ſtir from *Rome*, yet he purſu'd his Journey. *Don Thadeus* did indeed offer to pay to the Duke all the Civilities he could expect from him; but then he requir'd that the Duke ſhould return them, which the Duke would not do; nay he refus'd even to viſit the Prefect's Lady, unleſs her Husband came and receiv'd him at his Coach, and did him all the other Honours of his Houſe, ſince he was at home. This Conteſtation was ſucceeded by another much more violent, between the Duke, and the two Cardinals *Barberins*, concerning the ſame Civilities. The Cardinal *Anthony*, in reconducting the Duke, retir'd before this laſt was got into his Coach. The Duke return'd it, but after a much more offenſive manner: for after the Cardinal had ended his Viſit, and was got into his Coach, he ſtill kept his Hat in his Hand, and intreated the Duke to retire, and not to incommode himſelf, altho' the Duke had been gone a good while, and had left him in the Entry. It was but a ſmall beginning, but it was however the true Cauſe of the War between the *Barberins* and the Confederates; which in another Conjuncture would have drawn the Arms of the greateſt Potentates of *Europe* into *Italy*.

The Embaſſadors, that reſide in the ſame Court, on the part of two Princes at Enmity, do not viſit one another, while there is open War; and even avoid the Occaſions that might make them meet in a third Place. However, when it happens that they do meet by accident, they ought to be civil one to the other; becauſe that as the greateſt Acts of Generoſity are done during the greateſt Fervour of the War, ſo the Embaſſador ought always to follow the Intention and Inclination of Princes, whoſe Animoſities are never brutiſh. He ought to diſtinguiſh betwixt the Perſons and the Intereſts, and keep up to the Dignity of his Employment, after he has acquitted himſelf of what he owes to that of his Maſter. In the Year 1647, a *Jacobin* Monk, who concealed his true Name under that of *Francis Taquet*, had Orders to diſburſe to the Sum of Five hundred thouſand Crowns, if he found the Means to ſet at liberty *Don Duarte*, Brother to the King of *Portugal*; but ſeeing that the Senate was not very well diſpos'd to liſten to the Propoſitions which he made on that ſcore, he ſettl'd a Correſpondence in the Cittadel of *Milan*, (where *Don Duarte* was kept Priſoner) tho' without Succeſs, becauſe the Marquiſs *de Fuentes*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, obſerv'd the Actions of the Monk ſo narrowly, that he no ſooner began an Intrigue, but it was immediately diſcover'd. This made the Monk reſolve to rid him himſelf of the Embaſſador, by the Means of ſome Braves which he had at his Command. He communicated his Deſign to the Preſident *de Gremonville*, Embaſſador from *France*, believing he might do it with Safety, by Reaſon of the good Wiſhes the Moſt Chriſtian King had for the Intereſt of *Portugal*. But the Preſident, who was a Man of too much Honour, to have any Concern in ſo mean and foul an Action, gave Advice thereof to the Marquiſs *de Fuentes*; and thereby did him the ſame good Office, that he could have done him, if their Maſters had been ever ſo good Friends. The Quality of Embaſſador is not inconſiſtent with that of a Man of Honour: on the contrary, it ſeems to be inſeparable from it.

Cardinal *d'Eſte*, Son of *Renée* of *France*, who was Daughter to *Lewis* XII, was Protector of *France*, and *Chriſtopher*, Cardinal *Madrucci*, was ſo for *Spain*; ſo that they were Penſioners, declar'd Partiſans, and Miniſters of Princes who had quite different and oppoſite Intereſts: yet nevertheleſs they lov'd one another ſo well, that their Friendſhip may be com-

compar'd with that of thoſe Perſonages, of whom ſo many Hiſtorians and Poets have fill'd their Books; there paſs'd no Day that they had not three Hours Converſation together: and even when at a Diſtance, they expreſs'd ſo ſtrong a Paſſion each for the other, that Cardinal *d'Eſte* being fallen ſick at *Paris*, *Madrucci*, who was at *Rome*, diſpatch'd every Day ſix Courriers to him, within three Hours one of another, that he might as often receive an Account of his Friend's Health. Cardinal *d'Eſte* being return'd to *Rome*, had the Satisfaction to ſee this perfect Friend expire in his Arms. It may be ſaid that theſe two Prelates were Miniſters; and they were without doubt confided in by the Kings their Maſters, who were well aſſur'd of their Affection and Fidelity: but except in the Secret of the Conclave, and of the ordinary Affairs of the Conſiſtory, the Protector is no Embaſſador, nor repreſenting Miniſter, neither is he reſponſible for the Succeſs of the Negotiation; ſo that he cannot prejudice the Intention of the Prince, unleſs it be in contributing to the Election of a Pope, who was not acceptable to his Maſter; as did Cardinal *Anthony Barberin*, in conſenting to the Exaltation of *Innocent* X, contrary to the Orders he had receiv'd from Court, and contrary to his Word and Promiſe. And indeed he loſt the Protection of *France* on that Account.

The Embaſſador cannot go ſo far. The Viſits he ſhould pay to the Embaſſador of a Prince at Enmity with his Maſter, would not be innocent: and if they were not altogether criminal, they would always be extremely ſuſpected; but when he accidentally meets him in a third Place, he ought not to refuſe him the Civilities that are done to indifferent Perſons. The Officers and Soldiers of contrary Parties lay aſide their Hoſtilities in a neutral Place; wherefore one would think, that an Embaſſador, who certainly has ſomething more noble in him, and that raiſes him above the Soldier, ought not to behave himſelf leſs civilly.

In the Year 1615, the Count *de Gondemar*, Embaſſador from *Spain* at *London*, being invited to a Ball that was to be at Court, was very much ſurpriz'd, when he was told that *Noel Caron*, Embaſſador of the United Provinces, had been alſo invited to it; that he was juſt a coming, and that he was to ſup with the King. He told the Maſter of the Ceremonies, *That if he met* M. Caron *in a particular Place, he would pay him Civility; but he could not ſuffer that the Miniſter of the King his Maſter's Subjects, who had revolted from him, ſhould be treated on the Level with him, in a publick Aſſembly, in the Preſence of the King and Queen, where every Body would be Witneſs of the Equality of Honours, that were done to the one and to the other: That if he were not actually upon the Place, he ſhould not have come; but ſince he was there, and that his Diſpleaſure might diſturb the Feaſt, he was willing to retire, provided* Caron *were oblig'd to do the ſame.* It was repreſented to him, *That it would look ill in the King, to ſend away a publick Miniſter, whom he had ſolemnly invited: That* Don Alfonſo de Velaſco, *the Count's Predeceſſor, had ſuffer'd the Embaſſador of the States to eat with him at the King's Table, being ſatisfy'd with having the firſt Place on the right Hand, while the other had the ſecond on the left.* But it was impoſſible to overcome the Obſtinacy of Count *Gondemar*, who retir'd with his Secretary, and one Footman, ſuffering his other Domeſticks to remain at the Feaſt. He was in the wrong to ſay that the States of the United Provinces were the Subjects of the King his Maſter; becauſe the Catholick King had reſign'd them, with thoſe of *Flanders*, to the Arch Dukes, and theſe had treated with them, as well in their own Name, as by Virtue of the Power they had from the King of *Spain*, as with States and free People, over whom they had no Pretenſions. Perhaps in another Court than in that of King *James*, theſe two Embaſſadors would not have been invited to the ſame Feaſt: The Count ſaid, he would do Civility to *Caron*, if he met him in a third Place. One Day *M. Piques*, Reſident of *France* in *Sweden*, going to ſee Mr. *Whitlock*, Embaſſador of *England*, *D. Anthony Pimentel*, Miniſter of *Spain*, came to viſit the ſame Embaſſador, without giving him Notice thereof. *Piques* kept his Place, and *Pimentel*, who knew the World very well, made him ſo obliging a Complement, that the Miniſter of *France*, who would not be indebted to the *Spaniſh* Civility, could not forbear returning it.

The Miniſters of Princes at Enmity, and of contrary Parties, ſee one another without Scruple, at Aſſemblies where Peace is negotiating. One of the firſt things that *Contarini* did, after he came to *Munſter*, was to diſpoſe the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and of *Spain*, who came thither firſt, to viſit the Embaſſadors of *France* as ſoon as they ſhould arrive; and to receive the Viſits of theſe, in the ſame Manner as the Miniſters of the two Crowns were us'd to before the Rupture: He repreſented to them, that they who met on ſo good an Account, ought to entertain among themſelves at leaſt ſome Reſemblance of a Peace. Thoſe who have written pertinent Memoirs, of what paſs'd in the Negotiation of *Munſter*, take Notice, that on thoſe Occaſions, where the Civilities were not of mere Obligation, and where the Miniſters, of what Party ſoever they were, viſited one another, upon any good or bad Occurrence, they ſtrove to be before-hand each with the other. The Mediators, and the Plenipotentiaries of crown'd Heads, as well as thoſe of the Electors, went to ſee the Count of *Naſſaw* upon the Death of the Empreſs; and the ſame Count, and the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and of *Spain*, viſited the Duke of *Longueville*, upon the Death of the Prince of *Conde*, his Father-in-law. *D'Avaux* and *Saavedra*, ſaw one another as Friends, in a third Place, without having any Diſpute for the Rank, and without Ceremonies.

The one did not paſs by the others Door, but he ſent to inquire after the Health of the Maſter of the Houſe; but *d'Avaux* and *le Brun* could never agree, neither of the Place nor of the Civilities for an Interview in a third Place, becauſe *d'Avaux* pretended to have an Advantage over the other. They do not act otherwiſe at *Nimmeguen*.

The Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes do not ſee thoſe of the Pope; becauſe on the one Side they conſider him but as a ſecular Prince, and on the other, the Pope will have no Communication with thoſe he calls Hereticks. The Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries of the United

Provinces, at their Arrival at *Munſter*, ſent a Gentleman to the Nuncio, *Fabio Ghigy*, to let him know that they were come. The Gentleman was told that the Nuncio was not at Home; and when they ſent him again, the Nuncio ſent him Word, that being undreſs'd, he was not in a Condition to ſpeak to him. The Nuncio had before declar'd, that he would have no Communication with Hereticks; and that he pretended to be Mediator only for the Roman Catholick Princes: ſo that the Embaſſador of a State, that has no Commerce at all with the Court of *Rome*, might very well have avoided doing him this Civility. Some Perſons had endeavour'd to diſpoſe him to do ſome to the Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes: and to that purpoſe had alledg'd the Examples of the Cardinals *de la Valette*, *de Richelieu* and *Mazarin*, of *Ditrigſtein*, and of ſome others. But he ſaid, that the Poſt he was in oblig'd him to do as he did; and that if he had been ſent to a Diet of the Empire, or to the Court of *Vienna*, or of *Paris*, where the meeting of Proteſtants is not to be avoided, perhaps he ſhould not be ſo ſcrupulous as he was at *Munſter*. The Nuncio who reſides at the Court of *France*, has no Communication with the Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes; but that does not hinder him from paying them Civilities when he accidentally meets them at the Louvre, or elſewhere. The Nuncio *Bagny* took occaſion from hence to tell the Miniſter of one of the firſt Princes of *Germany*, that he grudg'd very much the Time that the Miniſters, who for particular Reaſons do not viſit one another, ſpent at *Mademoiſelle de Senneterre*'s two or three times a Week, where they entertain'd each the other, with great Freedom, on the Affairs of the World: That the Difference in point of Religion, ought not to hinder that Commerce; ſince the Catholicks and Proteſtants being both Chriſtians, and hoping to be ſav'd but *by the Death and Paſſion of Jeſus Chriſt*, they ought not to ſhun one another like Turks and Pagans; and thereby deſtroy the main Principle of Chriſtianity, which is Charity. It muſt be look'd upon as a ſtrange Whim in *Fabio Ghigy*, and thoſe that employ'd him; or elſe we muſt inquire into the Cauſe of what we ſee to Day, in the Pleaſure Nature takes, to make her ſelf admir'd, in her frequent and almoſt continual Oddneſſes. *Bevilacqua*, who is Nuncio at the Congreſs of *Nimmeguen*, not only does not abhor the Converſation of the Miniſters of Proteſtant Princes and States, but has offer'd to be before-hand with them in the Point of Civilities, if they would but promiſe to return them.

The Embaſſadors of *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*, made no Difficulty to do it: but they would have thoſe of the United Provinces, who had granted a Paſſport to the Nuncio, ſhew them the Example. Theſe have not been willing to do it hitherto; not out of Scruple of Conſcience, but becauſe they were apprehenſive, leſt the Allies ſhould inſenſibly engage them, to admit of the Mediation of the Pope, and the Offices of his Nuncio; which would render that of the *Engliſh* leſs Conſiderable, and might offend them. So far is it from ſticking at the Nuncio, that this ſtrong Averſion ſhould be laid aſide, which is ſo uncharitable, ſo inhuman, and ſo contrary to civil Society. One would think that in *Holland*, where there is at leaſt as many Bigots and Atheiſts, as good Chriſtians, it ought not to be oppos'd out of Policy, ſince it is not done out of Conſcience. Religion and Faction are ſynonymous, ſince the Prieſts are become Temporal Lords, and that the preaching Miniſters are Flatterers and Mutineers.

Princes ſtill keep up the Civility of inviting Embaſſadors, as alſo the Miniſters of the ſecond Order, to take part of the extraordinary Diverſions of the Court. I lately mention'd the Ball, where King *James* invited the Embaſſadors of *Spain*, and of the United Provinces. In the Year 1635, King *Lewis* XIII, having prepar'd a very Magnificent one againſt *Eaſter*, the Embaſſadors deſir'd to ſee it; and the King having order'd a Liſt to be given him of all the Miniſters that were at *Paris*, ſaid they ſhould all be there, and be invited to it as from himſelf. It was repreſented to him that ſome Diſorder might ariſe therefrom, becauſe there would not fail to be Diſputes between ſome of them for the Rank; ſo that the King ſaid none of them ſhould be invited, but gave Orders to ſignify to them, that if they would be preſent there as private Perſons, and not as Embaſſadors, they ſhould be admitted without Ceremony. The Queen of *Sweden* did the ſame at a Ball where ſhe danc'd, and told *Chanut*, Embaſſador of *France*, that he might come there if he pleas'd; that he ſhould have a commodious Place; but that it was not her Intention to ſettle the Rank between the Miniſters, who ſhould have none at this Aſſembly, of which ſhe made only a Diverſion and not a Ceremony. When Embaſſadors are invited, it muſt be done in ſuch manner, that the Diverſion be not interrupted by their Conteſtations: and alſo that in obliging the ones, the others be not offended.

King *James*, who had a great Opinion of Count *de Gondemar*, and who had created himſelf an Affair with him, as I before took notice, made an ample Reparation to the *Spaniards*, in the Year 1620. *D'Aarſtens*, *Bas*, and *Staveniſſe*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from the States, with *Caron* their Embaſſador in Ordinary, were invited from the King, to aſſiſt at the Feaſt of St. *George*, to ſee the Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter: and they were told, they ſhould be plac'd in a Pew on the Queen's ſide, as *Don Carlos Coloma*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, ſhould be on the King's. The Maſter of the Ceremonies had no ſooner made a Report of the Meſſage, than the High-Chamberlain ſaid, that the *Dutch* Embaſſadors could not be plac'd ſo near that of *Spain*; that there was but only the Partition of a thin Board between, with a Window which open'd on both ſides, and that that might afford Matter of Scandal. Hereupon the Maſter of the Ceremonies went and told the Embaſſadors, that there was a Miſunderſtanding in the firſt Meſſage they had receiv'd; becauſe it was thought that neither the Embaſſador of *Spain*, nor even themſelves, would like to be ſo near the one to the other: that they were therefore deſir'd to approve of being preſent in the Morning at the Proceſſion, in the uſual Place, and at Night at the Evening Prayers, at which there would

be

be the ſame Ceremonies as at the Morning Service. *M. d'Aarſtens*, who was the chief of the Embaſſy, anſwer'd in the Name of all, That as they ſhould take it as an Honour, and receive it as a Favour, whenever the King ſhould be pleas'd to invite them to any Diverſion or Ceremony, ſo they ſhould ſubmit without any Uneaſineſs to his Majeſty's Will, whenever he ſhould give them to underſtand that their Preſence was not acceptable to him, as he now ſignify'd it to them by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, after having invited them ſolemnly: That ſince the King judg'd his Favours would be better beſtow'd elſewhere, and that he did not approve of their aſſiſting at the Service of the Morning, they would abſent themſelves likewiſe from the Proceſſion of the Evening, from which they deſir'd to be excus'd.

At *Shrovetide*, in the Year following, the ſame Embaſſadors receiv'd another Affront, and in a manner at the leaſt as groſs, and as ſhocking. There was to be a Maſquerade at Court, and it was not greatly deſir'd that the *Dutch* Embaſſadors ſhould partake of the Diverſion; but as there was a ſort of Obligation to invite them, they were indeed deſir'd to be there; but, at the ſame time, ſo many Difficulties were rais'd, that they choſe rather not to be there, than to be depriv'd of any Honour that was due to their State. They were told at firſt that they ſhould have a Box where they ſhould be alone; but they ſaid, that having till then had the Honour to be near the King's Perſon, with the Embaſſador of *France*, and the other Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, even him of *Spain*, they could not accept of what was offer'd them. The *Engliſh* reply'd, That the *Dutch* having lately ſent Succours to the *Rochellers*, the Embaſſador of *France* would not be well pleas'd to ſee their Miniſters ſo near him. To this they made anſwer, That that Embaſſador had made a Declaration of the contrary, and that he had no Orders to decline meeting the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces. Upon this the *Engliſh* bethought themſelves of another Defeaſance, and ſaid there was a Neceſſity to give them a Box for themſelves, becauſe, as they were four, there would not be room for them all in the King's. The Embaſſadors reply'd, That that Difficulty ſhould be eaſily remov'd; becauſe, if the King thought fit to invite them, only one ſhould go for them all, that they might not incommode his Majeſty. The *Engliſh* having no more bad Reaſons to offer after this, ſhew'd very plainly that they were not much concern'd to give Satisfaction to the Embaſſadors, ſince they were not invited at all. The King, who had ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, made it ſufficiently known that he did not love the State of the United Provinces, was not afraid of doing a thouſand Indignities to its Miniſters; more eſpecially ſince the Match with *Spain* had ingroſs'd all his Thoughts.

I do not think my ſelf oblig'd to ſpeak here of the extraordinary Civilities, which not being due cannot make a Rule, nor ſerve my Intention. I have taken notice of ſome of them already, and I ſhall here add the Honour that *Don Lewis de Haro* did to *Hugues de Lionne*, who went to complement him from Cardinal *Mazarin* at St. *Sebaſtian*. He had no Quality, nor *Letters of Credence*; ſo that he could be conſider'd but as one belonging to the Plenipotentiary of *France*, altho' he was alſo Miniſter of State. *Don Lewis* ſent to meet him at two Leagues Diſtance from the Town and lodg'd him in a Houſe he had fitted up for that Purpoſe; he gave him the Title of *Excellency*, and caus'd it to be given him by all the Grandees, who do not willingly give it to Embaſſadors. *Don Lewis* himſelf receiv'd him in the middle of his Guards Room, and gave him the firſt Place at his Table. He did theſe Civilities to a Miniſter, who not only behav'd himſelf after the moſt ſubmiſſive manner in the Cardinal's Preſence, but who alſo under the Title of *Secretary of State*, diſcharg'd likewiſe the Function of Secretary to his Eminency.

After that *M. d'Avaux* had made his Entry at *Munſter*, he ſent two Gentlemen to the Count of *Naſſau Hademar*, the Emperor's Embaſſador, to thank him for the Honour he had done him, in ſending his Coach to meet him, and cauſing him to be complemented by two Gentlemen. The Count in reconducting Mr. *d'Avaux*'s Gentlemen, accompany'd them as far as the Street-Door. The exceſſive Civilities which an Embaſſador does on theſe Occaſions, where he is oblig'd to act the Embaſſador, are not very regular, and diſcover plainly that he does not very well know what he is, nor what he does.

There was no Competition between Cardinal *Bichi* and the Commiſſioners who were at *Orange* on the part of the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, Guardian to the Prince, in the Year 1652. The Cardinal, who was not very well with the Pope, had retir'd to his Biſhoprick of *Carpentras*, where his eminent Qualities gave him as much Luſtre as he receiv'd from the Purple, and where he was full as much reſpected as he would have been at *Rome*. The Count *de Dona*, who had acquir'd the Friendſhip and Eſteem of this Prelate, whoſe Counſels were a great Aſſiſtance to him, was for having the Commiſſioners of *Brandenburg* go and viſit him in his Biſhoprick: The Cardinal receiv'd them with the ſame Civilities they could have hop'd for from one of his domeſtick Prelates. He plac'd them at the upper end of the *Ruelle* of his Bed, gave them arm'd Chairs, and ſate himſelf at the Entrance thereof on a Stool. At Dinner they had arm'd Chairs, and in reconducting them he accompany'd them to their Coach, where he caus'd them to be ſerv'd with Wine at the Coach Door.

Some time after, one of the Commiſſioners being return'd into *Holland*, the Cardinal went to ſee the other at the Caſtle of *Orange*. He din'd there, but he would not ſit down till arm'd Chairs were brought for the Governor and the Commiſſioner, who had order'd folding Stools for themſelves. Being inform'd that this Commiſſioner was gone to *Avignon*, *incognito*, to ſee the Ceremonies of a Proceſſion of Penitents, he paid him the firſt Viſit, being attended by above fourſcore Gentlemen; and when he receiv'd it he order'd him an arm'd Chair, cauſing the Archbiſhop of *Avignon*, who came thither during the Viſit, to ſit upon a Form againſt the Wall. Cardinal *Bichi*, in treating after this manner Perſons who were infinitely inferior to him, and who had no pub-

lick Quality in reference to him, and out of the Principality of *Orange*, did himself no Prejudice; because every body knew that he did them an Honour and a Favour which could not be made use of as a Precedent.

Those Princes who have gain'd the Knowledge of Men, know how to distinguish between the Merit of those Ministers who negotiate with them, by the Confidence they have in the one, and the Indifferency they have for the others. *Schach Abas*, King of *Persia*, was one of the ablest Princes of his time, and he was willing also to be thought a gallant Man. He did not design to gratify *Garcia de Silva Figueroa*, who was with him on the Part of the King of *Spain* in the Year 1619; for which Reason he did him a thousand Civilities and Courtesies, altho' the Conduct of that Minister was not very judicious, nor his Conversation very agreeable. One Day the *Scach*, having with him only two or three Persons, went to see the Embassador at his Lodgings; and to give him to understand that he intended to be very familiar with him, he saluted him after the *French* way, taking off his Turban. When he spoke to him he call'd him Father, or Grandfather; and *Figueroa* taking one Day the Liberty to tell him, That in their Conversation he receiv'd those Terms of Respect as an Honour the *Scach* thought fit to do his Master; hereupon *Scach Abas* signify'd to him, not by his Interpreter, but by a religious Man who was a *Spaniard*, and there present, that it was not the Consideration he had for the King of *Spain* that made him pay him these Civilities, but that he did them to him as to his Guest, and as to a Person whose Merit he esteem'd. In our *Europe* Kings do not make use of those Terms to express the Consideration they have for publick Ministers, and there is great likelihood that they would not be very well receiv'd neither.

Ferdinand de Velasque, Constable of *Castile*, whom *Philip* III. sent in the beginning of this Century to King *James*, to complement him on his Accession to the Crown of *England*, had Wit, but he had not less Vanity; for which Reason the *English* perceiving that great Appearances pleas'd him, gave him thereof beyond Imagination, and what he could pretend to. The King being inform'd that the Constable kept his Bed, on Account of some slight Hurt he had got in his Foot, went himself to visit him; which put him into such an Extasie of Joy, that seeing the King come into his Room, he cry'd out, *Lord, I am not worthy thou shouldst enter under my Roof.* As he went by *Paris*, at his Return from his Embassy in *England*, King *Henry* IV. commanded *Zebastien Zamet* to give a Supper to the Constable, and as they were going to sit down the King came in unexpectedly, and would make one amongst them: The Constable kneel'd down to present the Napkin to the King, but the King would not suffer it, and told him that he was brought to *Zamet*'s to receive Honours, and not to do them. The Constable was so tickled with these obliging Words, that he protested that all the Honours that had been done him in *England*, and all the rich Presents he had there receiv'd, were nothing to him, in Comparison of the Bounty with which he was treated by the greatest King of *Christendom*.

The Civilities that are done to Embassadors extend themselves sometimes to the Dead. *Don Francisco de Vera*, Embassador from *Spain* at *Venice*, dying there in the Year 1603, the Senate made him a Funeral, with the same Ceremonies that are usually done to the Doge, expending therein three thousand Crowns. In the Year 1607, *M. de Buzanval*, one of the three Embassadors of *France*, dying at the *Hague*, the States were at the Expence of his Funeral. That Ceremony being over, a great Dinner was prepar'd at the Palace of the Princess of *Orange*, where the Deceas'd had lodg'd. Since President *Jeannin* thinks fit to give the King an Account of the Order that was observ'd there, I think my self oblig'd to say here a Word or two about it; because what he says of it deserves a little Reflection, that what has been practis'd since may be compar'd therewith. He says in his Letter of the 24th of *September*, *That the Embassadors of* France *had the first and most honourable Place: In the second were the Deputies (they were Embassadors) of* England, *who did not express the least Thought of disputing the Precedency, tho' the Deputies of the States, who were sent to* England, *had told us at their Return from thence, that some of the King of* England's *Council had assur'd them they would: Prince* Maurice *and Count* William *were next to them, and then Count* Henry *and Monsieur* de Chastillon, *and two other Lords of the same House of* Nassaw: *After these were the States in a Body, the Council of State, and then the other Corporations, one after the other, all two and two, and every one in deep Mourning: The same Order was observ'd at their Return, and at their sitting down to Dinner.* There is no Prince that follows the Example of these two Republicks. I know very well that, within some Years, the Queen Regent of *Spain* was at the Expence of the Funeral of an Embassador that dy'd at *Madrid*; but then it was for particular Reasons, which will find a Place in the History of those Times, but must not make Part of this Work. I shall only make one Remark on what President *Jeannin* says in his Letter, *Concerning the Precedency the* English *Ministers pretended to*, That they had no Thoughts of entring into any Contestation on that Point, at this Time, where the Embassadors of *France* represented the nearest Relations of the Deceas'd, and where the States intended an Honour to the most Christian King.

Before I put an end to this Chapter, I must add a Line or two concerning what I said, That the Difference in Religion is an Obstacle sometimes to the Communication between Embassadors; but it is only between the least capable. *Pietro della Valla* says, in his Relations, *That a Resident of* England *being in the Year* 1618. *arriv'd at* Ispahan, (*which is the chief City of* Persia) *the* European *Catholicks, who are pretty numerous there, put it into debate how they should carry themselves towards him. The Religious of* Portugal, *who knew that the* English *came thither to incommode the Commerce of those of their Nation, were of Opinion that no Conversation at all should be had with the Resident: But the others again reply'd, That if the* Portuguese *had Reasons that hinder'd them from seeing him, they had none: That they ought not to give so much Scandal to a King that was an Infidel, as*

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to ſhew ſo bad an Underſtanding, ſo inconſiſtent with Chriſtian Charity, in a Court where they were likely to ſee one another every Day: That all the Chriſtians liv'd in ſo perfect an Union at Conſtantinople, *that the* Engliſh *and* Dutch (*who were otherwiſe the moſt inveterated Enemies of of the Jeſuits*) *had ſtickled to ſerve them with more Fervour than the moſt zealous Catholicks: That the Religious, whom the Pope ſends into the remoteſt Parts of* Aſia, *ought to have for Object the Converſion, not only of the Infidels, but alſo of the Heterodoxes; and that it was not the means to convert them, to decline their Company.* Whereupon it was reſolv'd, *That they ſhould viſit the Reſident of* England *with the ſame Indifferency with which they ſaw the other Chriſtians.*

Sovereigns have ſometimes particular Reaſons that oblige them to order their Miniſters not to viſit thoſe of another Prince, and then it is ſomething perſonal. In the Year 1620. the King of *France* forbid his three Embaſſadors, the Duke *d'Engouleſme*, the Count of *Bethune*, and the Abbot *Des Preaux*, to receive the Viſits of *M. d'Aarſens*, who went on the Part of the States of the United Provinces to negotiate with ſome of the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, concerning the ſame Affairs of *Bohemia*, which were the Subject of the Embaſſy of *France*. The Order that was ſent them, expreſs'd that it was not on the States Account, with whom the King would continue to keep a good Underſtanding, but on *M.* d'Aarſens's *Account in particular, for having behav'd himſelf ill, in Reference to the Service and Dignity of his Majeſty.* They that have any Knowledge of the Affairs of thoſe Times, cannot be ignorant that it was becauſe that *d'Aarſens* had put himſelf at the Head of thoſe who oppos'd, in the Year 1619, the Affair the King was negotiating with great Earneſtneſs at the *Hague*, by *Boſſile* and *du Maurier*, his Embaſſadors.

On the 29th of *March*, 1647, *Adrian Pau, Sr. de Heemſtede*, one of the Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces at *Munſter*, having ſent the Secretary of the Embaſſy to the Duke of *Longueville*, to know the Hour of his Conveniency to receive the Viſit he intended to make him: The Duke told the Secretary, *That the King his Maſter had forbid him having any Commerce with the Sieur* de Heemſtede; becauſe it was he that had oblig'd the other Plenipotentiaries, his Collegues, to ſign the ſeventy Articles which had been concerted with the Miniſters of *Spain:* That he every where gave Proofs of his ill Will to *France*, and particularly in a Writing he had ſent to the States General, where he had endeavour'd to miſrepreſent, *by his Lies*, the Juſtice of the Complaints of the Miniſters of *France*, and to put a bad Conſtruction on their Intentions: That it was he alſo that had ſent to the *Hague* a Writing of the *Spaniards*, which was a kind of *Manifeſto* againſt *France:* And that all his Letters were fill'd with Gall againſt the Government, and againſt the Nation. The *French* publiſh'd at that time very bitter things againſt the *Sr. de Heemſted*, and their Books ſpeak of him after ſuch a manner, that they might injure his Memory if they did not mingle therein ſo much Paſſion.

One of the things that moſt hinders Embaſſadors from paying one another Civilities, is the Conteſt they have concerning the Honours and the Rank; not only on Account of the Competition of their Maſters, but ſometimes alſo by Reaſon of ſome Pretenſions they have amongſt themſelves. The Embaſſadors of the United Provinces, and of *Savoy*, would make no Difficulty to pay one another the ſame Civilities; but they do not viſit, becauſe they could not ſee one another in a third Place, without diſputing the Rank, concerning which their Maſters are not agreed among themſelves. The Embaſſador of *Savoy* and *M. Van Omeren* ſaw one another in a third Place in *Switzerland*; becauſe this laſt not having the repreſenting Character, he ow'd the Place of Honour to the other. It is very likely he would not have ſeen him at all, if he had not been oblig'd thereto on the Score of the Intereſt of the Inhabitants of the Valleys of *Piedmont*. The Elector of *Bavaria*'s Plenipotentiary offer'd to make a Viſit to the Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* at *Oſnaburg*, but *Oxenſtiern* would not admit him, nor acknowledge his Maſter for Elector. It was not till three Years after that he receiv'd the Viſit of the Miniſter of *Bavaria*, and that, at the Inſtance of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who were Protectors of the Intereſts of *Bavaria*, as the Elector was the Solicitor of thoſe of *France*.

This is not to ſay, but there are ſome Meaſures to be obſerv'd in the Civilities they do to one another, or to the Miniſters of the Place where they reſide. Sir *William Temple* coming to the *Hague* in the Year 1668, in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary, had Orders from the King of *England* to give the Hand to the Prince of *Orange* every where, even at his Highneſs's Houſe, and at his Table: Which was by ſo much the more reaſonable, that as the Prince was the King's Nephew, the Embaſſador ought to reſpect him as a Prince of the Blood of *England*, and as ſuch could not do him too much Honour. In the Year 1674. he had procur'd another Order, which was not ſo reaſonable, nor ſo eaſy to be executed. He was commanded to yield at Home the Place of Honour to the Counſellor Penſionary of *Holland*. Sir *William Temple* had already at that time publiſh'd his *Remarks on the State of the United Provinces:* So that it is to be wonder'd at, that he would ſuffer his Inſtructions to be clogg'd with an Article which might have been the Cauſe of infinite Diſorders.

The Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads do not at Home give Place to the Miniſters of the ſecond Order, nor to the Deputies of the States General, nor of the States of *Holland*, unleſs they are particularly deputed from their reſpective Bodies. The Counſellor Penſionary has two Qualities; the one of Miniſter of the States of *Holland*, and the other of Deputy of the ſame Province to the States General. In the firſt he is the laſt of all the Aſſembly, and in the other he takes Place but after all the Deputies of *Gueldre* and of *Holland*; and he has only the Step before all the Deputies of the five other Provinces: So that the Embaſſador cannot do him any Honour that the Deputies of *Gelderland* and *Holland* may not claim by the Way of Preference, and thoſe of the other Provinces by Equality.

The Counſellor Penſionary of *Zeeland*, and all the Miniſters, who under other Qualities

diſcharge the ſame Functions in the other Provinces, have the ſame Pretenſions and the ſame Rights: ſo that the Embaſſador not being able to refuſe to the one, what he grants to the other, he ought to be very cautious in Reference to theſe Civilities: more eſpecially ſince the Miniſter of the ſecond Order, who does not give place to the Counſellor Penſionary, may require them with more Juſtice than he.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Apparel and Expences of the Embaſſador.

IF the Apparel and Expence of the Embaſſador do not make a Part, they are at leaſt a Conſequence of the Civilities, which have been ſpoken to in the foregoing Chapters; nay there are ſome that would be defective, if the Apparel were wanting. We have ſeen in one of the firſt Courts of *Europe*, an Embaſſador, who coming from his Kitchin Fire, was not aſham'd to ſhew himſelf without a Band, and in his Slippers, to Officers who came to him from the King. No body can deny, but it was a very great Incivility. Theſe Men diſgrace their Character as well as their Sovereign, who ought never to give theſe eminent Employments to ill-bred Perſons, who do not ſo much as know the very Rules of true Civility. The Embaſſador ought not to appear, nor ſhew himſelf to thoſe who have any thing to negotiate with him, till he is in a ſuitable Condition, and dreſs'd. The late *M. d'Avaux*, who knew ſo well how to act the Embaſſador, was ſo punctual in this, that except thoſe that ſerv'd him in his Chamber, not one of his Domeſticks ſaw him, till he was in the Condition, in which he receiv'd his moſt ſolemn Viſits. He never went out of his Chamber till he had his Cloke on, and he did not quit it till he return'd thither to go to Bed.

As I am of Opinion that it is not neceſſary the Embaſſador ſhould make himſelf known by his Clothes; becauſe his Character diſtinguiſhes him ſufficiently, and that if he has a Mind to make an Appearance he may do it in his Retinue, and in the Expence of his Table; ſo neither would I altogether condemn the Sentiment of thoſe, who are for having all Perſons of Quality to make known the Difference thereof by the Diverſity of their Clothes. It is what is almoſt every where ſeen; there being no Countrey hardly, where the Habit does not diſtinguiſh the Officers of Juſtice and Polity. For although in *France* the Gown of Serge, and the ſquare Cap, does not diſtinguiſh the Preſident from the Uſher, yet they notify that they are both Officers of Juſtice. It muſt be acknowledg'd, that a grave Habit becomes a Magiſtrate who is to regulate our Manners, and as it is his Buſineſs to prevent and ſuppreſs Luxury, with which the State might be infected; ſo ought he to be an Example of Modeſty to others; and not make himſelf ridiculous by light Perrukes, by Points of *Venice*, or of *Spain*; nor adorn himſelf with Robes of a ſtrip'd, figur'd Work, and ſo gay as not to be tolerable in Women, unleſs they are Young, or Coquets. It is ſtill more unſeemly to ſee, in an Aſſembly met together on important Affairs of State, ſome Deputies, who inſtead of appearing in a grave Habit, go thither without a Cloke, their Hats cock'd, with a Cane or Wand in their Hand; and in ſuch a Condition as would be ſhameful to the Clerks of a ſubaltern Court.

As for Embaſſadors, I ſhall firſt obſerve that for the moſt part they dreſs themſelves after the Manner of the Countrey where they are employ'd; which muſt be underſtood particularly of Embaſſadors Reſidents, or in Ordinary. There are only thoſe of *Spain*, who eſteeming their Faſhion to be better than all others; have ſome Difficulty to accuſtom themſelves to that of other Nations: and it is not thought ſtrange at *Rome*, *Venice*, *Turin*, nor at *Vienna*. The *Muſcovites*, the *Poles*, and the other People who dreſs after the *Aſiatick* Manner, have no Miniſters in Ordinary at the Court of the other Princes of Chriſtendom.

All the others dreſs after the *French* Manner, or in a Mode that comes very near it. *Julius Mazarin*, while he was ſtill but a Negotiator, had Clothes of all Faſhions; and as he ſuited himſelf with an admirable Dexterity to the Humour of all ſorts of Perſons, he was alſo for ſhewing himſelf Complaiſant to all the Courts where he was employ'd, by imitating them in their Dreſs; that he might appear a *Frenchman* with the *French*, a *Spaniard* with the *Spaniards*, &c. *Philip de Commines* ſays, that *Galeas de St. Severin*, whom *Lewis Sforza* ſent to *Charles* VIII, King of *France*, at his Arrival at Court, dreſs'd himſelf after the *French* Manner, and ſtruck into all the Gallantries of the Times. The Embaſſador who ſhould appear at the Court of *France* in a ſtrange Habit, would be ſure to be gaz'd at by the *French*, and eſpecially by the Ladies; but he would not thereby procure to himſelf the Eſteem of neither the one, nor the other. He that is willing to paſs for a Stanger in the Countrey where he *negotiates*, is willing alſo to be thought to have ſomething ſingular in his Mind, as well as in his Clothes. *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, was not of a very complaiſant Humour, and he had never been ſeen to dreſs after the *Portugueſe* Faſhion, notwithſtanding his Mother was; yet nevertheleſs when he went to *Lisbon*, after the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Portugal*, he would not appear there like the King of *Caſtile*; but that he might render himſelf leſs diſagreeable to the *Portugueſe*, he dreſs'd himſelf after the Manner of the Countrey.

As for the Colour and Trimming of their Clothes, Embaſſadors act therein according to their Inclination; obſerving always that De-

cency that ſuits their Age, their Profeſſion, and their Character; and dreſſing agreeably to the Occaſions they are to be preſent at. There are Embaſſadors, that make one part of the Embaſſy to conſiſt in a fooliſh Oſtentation of the Grandeur of their Maſter, which they pretend to repreſent in their Apparel and Retinue; either to flatter the Humour of the Prince, or to gratify their own Vanity. It is not thereby that the Strength of a State is known, nor the true Magnificence of a Monarch. It is well known that they are all equally Sovereigns; but it is as well known that they are not all equally Powerful. We have ſeen them that were leaſt ſo, affect the greateſt Expences; even in thoſe Courts, where it was well known, that the Miniſter did it, out of the Subſidies his Prince receiv'd from them. *Spain* is very Powerful; but it cannot be deny'd, that the Humour of the Nation is for making it appear ſtill more Powerful than it really is. Its Embaſſies are Magnificent; and if I may be allow'd to ſay ſo, rather *vainly Sumptuous:* They that have been for imitating them, have not come near them. *Rome* has ſeen an Embaſſador of *Spain*, who, to accompany the Pope, (who was going to divert himſelf in the Countrey) had in his Equipage ſix Litters, as many Coaches with ſix Horſes, two hundred Footmen, and threeſcore Waggons of Baggage. It was the Opinion of *France*, that the Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* would not come to *Munſter*, leſt the Splendor of the *French* Embaſſy, ſhould outſhine all the Expence *Sweden* could propoſe to be at: but the *French* were undeceiv'd, when at their Arrival at *Oſnaburg*, they ſaw the *Swedes* appear with ſo much Pomp and Magnificence, that nothing was to be ſeen like it at *Munſter*. The Embaſſadors of *Sweden* made no Viſit of Ceremony, but in the Queen's Coach; twelve Guards clad in Liveries, and arm'd with Halbards, went on both ſides of the Coach, and before it march'd ſeveral Gentlemen, with a great Number of Pages and Footmen; having with them four Trumpetters and a Kettle-drum, which made themſelves be heard, both going and coming.

The Duke of *Chevreuſe*, who after the Marriage of the Queen of *England*, had Orders to conduct her, provided himſelf with the moſt glorious Equipage that had been ever ſeen in *France*. All the Men in Livery were clad in Crimſon Velvet, with Sattin Waiſtcoats, except the Pages, whoſe Waiſtcoats were of Gold Brocade, as well as the Lining of their Clokes, which were cover'd with ſeveral Rowes of Gold and Silver Embroidery; ſo rich, and ſo clogg'd with theſe two Metals, that they were not able to ſerve, but only at a Ceremony of two or three Hours. The Footmen's Great Coats, and the Clokes of the Coachmen and Poſtillions were not leſs rich; and the Mules hardly wanted any other Burthen, ſo heavy was the Embroidery of their Cappariſons. His Buffet of Vermillion gilt and carv'd, was compos'd of Baſons, Barrels, Fountains, ſmall Vats, and other Veſſels of an extraordinary Weight: ſo that as they could not be of uſe even to a Sovereign, but on Occaſions that very rarely or never happen, Cardinal *Mazarin* prevail'd with the King to buy what was left of it, for a Preſent, with ſome other fine Furniture; to the deceaſed King of *Sweden*. The *Chevalier de Terlon*, one of the Gentlemen of the Cardinal's Retinue, was the Perſon that was ſent with it: and it was in this Employment, that he made himſelf ſo well known to that King, that he procur'd him the Quality of Embaſſador. The Cardinal never ſpoke of the Violence that had been done him, in obliging him to give the Repreſenting Character to *Terlon*, but with the utmoſt Indignation. The Count *de la Garde*, the preſent Chancellor of *Sweden*, was in the Year 1646, ſent into *France*, to thank the King and the Queen Regent for their Mediation, which had procur'd a Peace between the two *Northern* Crowns. The Subject of his Embaſſy was only a Complement, and yet never any Embaſſador of *Sweden* appear'd with ſo magnificent a Retinue, nor ever made ſo fine an Expence.

Prelates, and Men of the Gown, when employ'd in Embaſſies, ought to be cloth'd in ſuch manner, that their Profeſſion may be known by their Garb. So likewiſe a Prince, a Grandee, or any other Perſon that wears the Sword, will always do himſelf Honour, by joyning to the Marks of his Embaſſy, thoſe of his Profeſſion. It is what they ought not to fail in, in Ceremonies and ſolemn Viſits. When the Nuncio makes his firſt Viſit to a Prince, or an Embaſſador, he ought to do it with his Rochet and Camail. Wherefore the Nuncio at *Venice*, who had been at *M. de Freſne*'s in his ordinary Dreſs, was in the right to ſay, that he had viſited the Embaſſadrix, and not the Embaſſador. *Julius Mazarin*, being Nuncio Extraordinary in *France*, in the Year 1654, had a Diſpute with the Prince of *Conde*, who being arriv'd at *Paris* after *Mazarin*, made ſome Difficulty to viſit him firſt. They at laſt agreed, that this ſhould go and ſee the Princeſs, which accordingly he did, but in his uſual Habit. The Prince was there, and afterwards viſited the Nuncio, who then return'd his Viſit in his Rochet and Camail. He wore them alſo when he viſited *Mademoiſelle*: but in viſiting the other Princeſſes, he had only his Cloke and Caſſock. Cardinal *Richelieu* being inform'd that Cardinal *Bichi*, who was coming to take his Leave of him, and to preſent to him the Nuncio *Bolognetti*, his Succeſſor, was in his Ceremonial Dreſs, he alſo put put on his Pontifical Habit; and it was in this Garb that he receiv'd, and viſited the Elector *Palatin* in the Year 1640. *Fabio Ghigy*, who was Nuncio at *Munſter*, receiv'd the Viſits of the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads, and of the firſt Plenipotentiaries of the Electors, in his Rochet and *Camail*, with his ſquare Cap. In his other Viſits he wore only the Camail, reſerving the Rochet for Eccleſiaſtical Functions. When he made a Viſit to the Chief of Embaſſies, he put on the Camail, the ſhort Cloke, and Hat. He did not viſit the other Plenipotentiaries till he had receiv'd theirs, and he receiv'd them but in his ordinary Habit, with his Night-Gown and ſquare Cap. It is what the Clergy ought to be very exact in, as Cardinal *Doſſat* obſerves very particularly, in the Viſits he receiv'd and return'd at *Venice*, when he was ſent thither in the Year 1598, being yet but a Prelate. He ſays, that being at *Venice*, when he receiv'd the Nuncio, and

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the Embaſſador of *Spain*, he receiv'd them with the Rochet and the little Cloke: And that Cardinal *Priüly*, Patriarch of *Venice*, making a Viſit to *Doſſat*, had the ſame Habit that the Cardinals are us'd to wear when they go to the Pope. Here I ſhall take notice, that in *France* the Biſhops do not uſe the *Mantelet* or little Cloke, as they do in *Italy*, but only the *Camail*. It is what all other Embaſſadors ought alſo to obſerve in all ſolemn Viſits, as well active as paſſive; thoſe of the Gown not to be without their Caſſocks, and long Cloke, or at leaſt to be in a neat and decent Habit; and the military Men to have their Swords by their Side. The Duke of *Longueville*, intending to make the firſt Viſit to the Emperor's Embaſſadors, pretended to take his Guards with him; but the Count *de Naſſaw*, who had none, ſignify'd to him by the Mediators, That if the Duke brought his Guards with him, he ſhould not be admitted. The having Guards is the Mark of a Superiority, which Embaſſadors do not acknowledge amongſt themſelves. Cardinal *de Richelieu* had his Guards; but when the King went to ſee him, the Captain of the King's Guards diſarm'd thoſe of the Cardinal, and lock'd up their Arms, and did not reſtore the Key thereof till the King was gone.

There are ſome Occaſions where it is neceſſary that the Embaſſador ſhould make an extraordinary Appearance in his Garb, as well as in his Retinue. In Embaſſies of Obedience, and in all others where the Embaſſador is oblig'd to aſſiſt at Aſſemblies, and ſolemn Ceremonies, he is alſo oblig'd to do Honour there, as well to the Prince he ſerves as to him to whom he is ſent. The Embaſſador of *Venice*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere, being ſenſible that he ſhould be invited to the Wedding of the Elector *Palatin*, and of the Princeſs of *England*, put his Servants into very fine new Liveries, to do Honour to his Republick as well as to the new marry'd Couple. The Earl of *Carliſle* and the Lord *Kenſington*, who had negotiated the Marriage of the late King and Queen of *England*, appear'd there in Suits of Cloth of beaten Silver, their Hats and Clokes being adorn'd with precious Stones. The Baron *de Langnerac*, Embaſſador of the United Provinces in *France*, was invited to aſſiſt at this Ceremony; but he was given to underſtand that he muſt lay aſide his Mourning, and appear in ſuch Clothes as would do Honour to the marry'd Couple.

Thus, on the Occaſion of a Mourning, the Embaſſador cannot avoid conforming, whether the Court where he reſides gives it him, or that his Maſter is at the Expence thereof. But this is what requires a great deal of Caution. For beſides the Diſtinction that ought to be made between the Perſons for whom the Mourning is put on, the Embaſſador ought not to give it to thoſe of his Domeſticks that wear Liveries, except it be for the Death of the Prince that employs him. On other Occaſions it ought not to go beyond his Perſon, and thoſe of his Retinue that are allow'd to accompany him into the Antichamber. The greateſt Mournings of a Court are not of long Duration; and as Princes conſole themſelves eaſily, the Embaſſador ought not to affect to ſeem more affiicted than thoſe of the Countrey. King *Henry* IV, when he ſent the Marquiſs *de Roſny* to *London*, to complement King *James* on his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*, order'd him to appear in Mourning at his firſt Audience, becauſe he was alſo to make a Complement of Condolence on the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*. In purſuance of this Order, all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Embaſſador's Houſe had put on Mourning the Day he was to receive Audience: But foraſmuch, as ſince the King's Arrival in *England*, not one *Engliſh* Man had appear'd before him in Mourning, the *Engliſh* Nobility (who were apprehenſive that the Marquiſs, by appearing in that Condition, would in ſome meaſure reproach their Ingratitude to the Memory of the Queen, who was the greateſt and beſt Princeſs that had ever wore a Crown) were ſcandaliz'd thereat: They therefore ſignify'd to the Embaſſador, that the King, to whom the ſame Reproach might be made, as well as to all the Court, would take it very ill. So that the Embaſſador chang'd his Cloaths, and after his Example the Lords and Gentlemen of his Retinue chang'd theirs likewiſe.

The Dutcheſs of *Bar*, Siſter to King *Henry* IV, being dead, all the Embaſſadors went into Mourning, and appear'd in that Condition before the King, to complement him on his Affliction. This Princeſs had made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion ever ſince ſhe was born, and would never apoſtatize, notwithſtanding all the Pope's Endeavours to that Purpoſe. This was the Reaſon why the Nuncio would not go into Mourning. The King ſent him word, that he might do as he pleas'd, but then he deſir'd he would forbear ſeeing him till the Mourning was over.

The Embaſſadors of *Venice* do not go into Mourning for the Death of their Doge, becauſe he is not the Sovereign, but only the firſt of their Republick. For which Reaſon the Senate aſſiſts at his Funeral Service in their Scarlet Gowns, and a Succeſſor is choſen in ſo few Days, that there is not Leiſure to make a Reflection on the Loſs the Republick has thereby ſuſtain'd. The Chancellor of *France* never goes into Mourning, becauſe the King does not die in *France*, where *Death gives Seiſin to the Living:* So that there is no Interval between the Deceaſe of the one, and the Succeſſion of the other.

The ſaid Embaſſadors of *Venice* are commonly cloath'd in black, and they are always ſo when they receive Audience. And that they may appear with the greater Gravity, and like Senators, they quit the Cloke to take the Veſt, which is a ſort of Gown ſomething like thoſe of the Counſellors of State in *France*, which thoſe of the Court of Judicature in *Holland* imitate in ſome manner; except that theſe are ſomewhat ſhorter, and within ſome Years of Tabby, which is a Wear too airy and gay for the Counſellors of the Preſidial. The Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads may wear a Sword at Audiences: And this is what has been done by thoſe who are not of the Profeſſion.

As the Religious that is diſguis'd loſes the Privilege and Exemption from ſecular Juriſdiction, ſo the Embaſſador diſguis'd derogates from his Character, and cannot enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. I do not here

here ſpeak of the Embaſſador, who was found in his Court ready arm'd; becauſe the Officers of Juſtice could not be ignorant of his Quality: but of the Embaſſador, that is found out of the Place of his Function and Reſidence, in a Dreſs very unſuitable to his Employment. *M. de Lanſac de St. Gelais*, who had been Embaſſador at *Trent*, and who was ſo at *Rome* on the Part of *France*, receiv'd the King's Orders to go to *Siena*; and to take upon him the Direction of Affairs, in the Abſence of *Strozzi* and *Monluc*, of whom the one was wounded, and the other was ſick. *Coſmus*, Duke of *Florence*, had ſo well poſſeſs'd himſelf of all the Avenues of the Town, that *Lanſac*, who was at *Mont-Alcino*, ſeeing there was no likelihood of getting in, diſguis'd himſelf like a Soldier, and ſet forwards with Guides, who betray'd him into the Hands of the Enemy. *Don Franciſco* of *Toledo*, and *Don John Manriques*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* Troops, ſent him to *St. Miniato*, and were for interrogating him formally, upon the Intelligence the Prince of *Salerna* held in the Kingdom of *Naples*. In oppoſition to this, he did not alledge his Quality of Embaſſador, but inſiſted on his being a Priſoner of War. The King his Maſter reclaim'd him, and pretended to have him conſider'd, as if he ſtill manag'd the Affairs of *France* at *Rome*, becauſe he had not been recall'd, nor had not taken his Audience of Leave of the Pope. But for all this, he was not treated as an Embaſſador, and was ſet at Liberty, not by Virtue of the *Law of Nations*, but by the Way of Exchange for *Aſcagne de la Corgne*. The *Spaniards*, to excuſe the Violence they offer'd, after the Battel of *Pavia*, to *Alexander* the Pope's Nuncio, alledg'd, that he was not in a becoming Habit, and that they did not know him. They did not ſpeak truth: but however *Lanſac* could by no Means reclaim the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, which the Pope could not ſecure to a diſguis'd Miniſter, who had been made a Priſoner out of the Eccleſiaſtical State: and he could not hope for it from the King, while he was in the Hands of his Enemies, who might treat him as a Priſoner of War, even tho' he had not been diſguis'd. The Example of *Philip* of *Dreux*, Biſhop of *Beauvais*, ſufficiently ſhews, that there is no Right nor Privilege, that protects or favours diſguis'd Perſons.

After the Deceaſe of *Philip* of *Auſtria*, King of *Caſtile*, the Grandees of that Kingdom made a thouſand Cabals and Intrigues againſt *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who pretended to, and obtain'd at laſt the Government of that Kingdom, during the Indiſpoſition of the Queen his Daughter, and the Minority of *Charles* his Grandſon. Several of thoſe Grandees held Intelligence with the Emperor *Maximilian* I, who as Father to *Philip*, and Grandfather to *Charles*, pretended to the Guardianſhip of his Perſon, and to the Adminſtration of his Kingdom, during his Minority. He kept for that Purpoſe a Correſpondence in *Caſtile*; whither he ſent in the Year 1508, *Don Pedro de Guevarra*, who having diſguis'd himſelf like a Footman, and put himſelf in the Retinue of another Nobleman, was diſcover'd, and taken at the Entrance into the Kingdom, by the Guards of the Frontiers. *Ferdinand* having caus'd him to be brought to the Caſtle of *Simancas*, had him put upon the Rack, and thereby extorted from him the Secret of all the Emperor's Intelligence with the Grandees of *Caſtile*, and eſpecially with the Great Captain, *Don Gonſales Ferdinandes* of *Corduba*. *Maximilian* was ſo incens'd at the ill Treatment of his Miniſter, that he was for taking up all the *Spaniards* that were in *Antwerp*, and the other Towns of *Flanders*; and was near coming to a Rupture. But *Ferdinand* ſaid, that he could not be found fault with, for having proceeded in that Manner againſt a Man, who had been taken in a Habit, that gave reaſon to ſuſpect, he came rather to diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom, than to labour a good Correſpondence between the two Kings. Beſides, that he had no *Credentials*, nor any other Mark of a publick Miniſter.

In the ſecond Chapter Notice is taken of that Embaſſador who play'd ſo extravagant a Part in the Commotions of the City of *Naples*. They are one of the moſt remarkable Parts of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, which particularly obſerves, that the Marquiſs *de Fontenay*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, gave the ſame Quality to *Lewis del Ferro*, impowering him to diſcharge the Function thereof with the pretended Republick of *Naples*, and gave him the Title of Excellency. This ſham Miniſter, being inform'd that the Duke of *Guiſe* (who was arriv'd at *Naples*) was in Conference with *Gennaro Anneſe*, caus'd the Chamber Door to be open'd to him, as to the Embaſſador of *France*. He had no Hat, but two Pair of Beads about his Neck; one whereof he ſaid was to pray for the King of *France*, and the other for the People of *Naples*; and held his naked Sword in his Hand, and look'd more like one broke out of a Mad-Houſe, than a Miniſter. As ſoon as he perceiv'd the Duke, he flung his Sword away, and proſtrating himſelf on the Ground, he went and kiſs'd his Feet, and ſo eagerly embrac'd his Knees, that the Duke had ſome Difficulty to get rid of him. The Duke had Letters from *M. de Fontenay* for this Embaſſador; but ſeeing a Man who had neither the Apparel, nor the Looks of one; he was dubious whether he ſhould deliver them to him or not. However, taking into Conſideration, that it was this Mad-man who had ſet all the People of *Naples* a madding, and had oblig'd them to have recourſe to the Protection of *France*, and the Aſſiſtance of the Duke himſelf, he reſolv'd to preſent them to him, and to do him Civility. The next Day he accompany'd the Duke to Maſs, carrying his Sword drawn before him, and bare Headed; having on a Perruke of Horſe-Hair, like thoſe the Furies wear in a Comedy. This chimerical Embaſſador, who was employ'd to a revolted Populace, by Virtue of a ridiculous Commiſſion, was in an Equipage ſutable to his Quality, and in a decent Habit.

It is Judgment that muſt regulate the Habit, the Livery, and the Expence of the Embaſſador. Such extraordinary Occaſions as thoſe I above mention'd, may and ought to excite him to do ſomething extraordinary: eſpecially when Princes are employ'd, or Perſons of an eminent Quality; tho' they themſelves are liable to ſtrike into Exceſſes, as well as others. The

Duke of *Paſtrana*, who came into *France* in the Year 1612, on Account of the double Marriage, had forty Pages cloth'd in Gold Brocade. The King himſelf had not ſo many, nor ſo richly clad, on the Day of his Marriage: neither is there any Monarch that will be at ſuch an Expence, unleſs it be for a Carouſel, or ſome other Diverſion of that Nature. The Duke of *Chevreuſe* was ſo inconvenienc'd by the Expence he was at in his Journey to *England*, that he felt it as long as he liv'd. It was neceſſary that his Table ſhould anſwer the Magnificence of the Clothes and Liveries: and it is what all Embaſſadors ought to take care of, who ſhould conſider, that the Honour of the Prince is in a manner proſtituted by ſo injudicious an Expence, and ſo heedleſs a Profuſion, even tho' it coſts his Maſter nothing. The publick Miniſter who obſerves others, is watch'd himſelf in his Turn, and cannot procure an Approbation of the Choice the Prince has made of him, but by a regular and ſteady Conduct. There have been Embaſſadors, who after a childiſh Diſſipation of their Subſtance, have been reduc'd to pawn their Plate, and even the Preſent that has been made them; which caus'd the Embaſſador to look little, and did no great Honour to his Maſter.

The Embaſſador that is irregular and extravagant in his Expences, tho' he bears the Charge himſelf, does ſometimes for all that, prejudice the Service of his Prince. Amongſt the other Advantages the *Turks* obtain'd over the *Poles* by the Peace of *Chocein* in the Year 1623, the King of *Poland* oblig'd himſelf to ſend an Embaſſador Extraordinary, and to entertain one in Ordinary at *Conſtantinople*. *Chriſtopher Zbarausky*, who was nominated to the Embaſſy Extraordinary, appear'd there with a Retinue of Four hundred Perſons: and was at ſo prodigious an Expence, that when *Sigiſmund* ſent thither in the Year 1630, *Alexander Piaſeczinsky*, the *Turks* would not at firſt acknowledge him for an Embaſſador; but conſider'd him only as a Letter-bearer, or at moſt but as a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, becauſe he had not wherewith to be at the ſame Expence *Zbarausky* had been at.

The Trouble this gave to *Piaſeczinsky* at the beginning of his Negotiation, ſufficiently diſcover'd the Prejudice the exorbitant Expences of the other had done to his Maſter's Affairs. For which Reaſon Princes would do well to reflect thereon, and regulate both the Equipage, and Expences of their Embaſſadors, which in effect add nothing to the true Grandeur of the Maſter.

Thoſe Princes who ſuffer Miniſters of the ſecond Order to be more Expenſive, than a well regulated Court would allow an Embaſſador to be, are not well advis'd. It is ſufficicient that they who are not *Repreſentants* in the laſt Degree, have wherewith to ſubſiſt honourably, ſo as to do their Prince Credit: regulate their Equipage and Houſe in ſuch a Manner, as may diſtinguiſh them from private Perſons, and be an Inducement to the Prince to advance them to other Employments, and recompence their Services. It is one of the Things Princes ought to be moſt careful of; ſince if they do not allow them honourable Salaries, and do not take particular Care to have them punctually paid, they cannot do themſelves Honour by them; nor receive thoſe Services from them, which they might otherwiſe reaſonably expect. The Miniſter who is ſtraiten'd in his Allowance, and is thereby oblig'd to employ all his Thoughts on the Means how to ſubſiſt, cannot labour with Application in the Affairs of his Maſter, who neglects him, as *Walſingham* very well repreſents in the Letter he writes to *Cecil*, on the 14th of *March*, 1571. Moreover the Miniſter ſo neglected is ſometimes reduc'd to Deſpair; an Inſtance whereof we have in that Reſident of *Brandenburg*, who having once been made a Priſoner for Debt, was forc'd to deſert, and eſpouſe the Intereſt of his Maſter's Enemies, that he might not incur the ſame Fate another time: or at leaſt he is expos'd to Temptations capable of corrupting his Fidelity.

The Embaſſador ought to be well aſſur'd of the punctual Payment of his Salary before he takes the Employment upon him. But I muſt confeſs, that that was abſolutely impoſſible under the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Mazarin*. Amongſt the Funds that are ſettl'd in *France* at the beginning of the Year, that for the Embaſſadors is one of the Firſt, after the Expence of the King's Houſhold: notwithſtanding which, few Embaſſadors were paid, and not one punctually.

After the two Plenipotentiaries of the Crowns had ſign'd the *Pireneau* Treaty, the Mareſchal *de Grammont* was ſent to *Madrid*, to demand the *Infanta*, whoſe Marriage was the chief Article of the Treaty. He went Poſt thither; but altho' he rode the Journey like a Courrier, that did not hinder him from being at a vaſt Expence at *Madrid*, and having a very magnificent Equipage. Herein he follow'd his own Humour; but that he might do ſomething the more, the Cardinal bid him ſpare nothing, and that he ſhould have wherewithal. That Miniſter was very prodigal of thoſe ſort of Promiſes, when he could find People that would believe him. This puts me in Mind of a Paſſage that happen'd in the Year 1652, betwixt him, and a Gentleman whoſe Namy was *Gentillot*, and was well enough known in *Holland*, where he was Lieutenant Colonel of a Regiment of Foot. He was a very good Officer, and a Man of Honour; but I have not been ſufficiently acquainted with him, to be able to ſay whether he was alſo an able Negotiator. However Cardinal *Mazarin* thought fit to employ him in this Quality to *Cromwell*. During his Reſidence at *London*, he wrote to the Cardinal, that ſome Merchants had offer'd him to get Succours and Ammunition into *Dunkirk*, which was beſieg'd by the *Spaniards*: and that they requir'd for that Purpoſe but only the Sum of twenty thouſand Crowns. The Cardinal thank'd *Gentillot* very civilly for the important Service; and added, that he muſt not ſtick there; but that he ought to endeavour to raiſe that Sum, and ranſack his Pockets, or thoſe of his Friends, and that he would take care he ſhould be reimburs'd very ſpeedily. *Gentillot*, who was of *Guyenne*, and had finiſh'd his Accompliſhments in *Holland*, reply'd, That of Neceſſity his Eminency muſt not have known him very well, when he ſent him into *England*: That he was no Merchant, to be able to furniſh

niſh twenty thouſand Crowns out of his own Pocket, or by his Credit: But even if he had both the one and the other, he muſt be thought a very great Fool, if he was ſuppos'd to be capable of advancing a Penny on his Eminency's Word.

The Salaries the Republick of *Venice* allows its Embaſſadors, are very moderate, but they are ſettl'd; ſo that they know what they have to truſt to, and what they can afford to ſpend. They have what is neceſſary, and ſupply the ſuperfluous Part out of their own, in hopes thereby to advance themſelves to greater Dignities at home, and to more important Employments abroad. The United Provinces allow Eighteen thouſand Livres to the Embaſſadors in Ordinary, which they are paid very punctually. The Extraordinaries know what they can expend a Day, and their Retinue is regulated according to a formal Reſolution of the States for that purpoſe: However, it is not ſo ſtrictly obſerv'd, but that ſometimes it is alter'd for particular Conſiderations. *France* allows Six thouſand Crowns to the Embaſſadors in Ordinary, and Twelve thouſand to the Extraordinaries. When Sir *William Temple* went to the *Hague* in the Year 1674, he had a hundred Pounds Sterling *per* Week, beſides a very rich Buffet of Plate with the King of *Great Brittain*'s Arms upon it: So that there was not any other Embaſſador's Table where ſo much was to be ſeen, nor that was cover'd with ſuch large Diſhes, and ſuch fine Contrivances for Fruit, and for Sweet-meats. When Cardinal *Aldobrandin* went Legate into *France*, in the Year 1600, he had a thouſand Crowns *per Diem* to ſpend, beſides the Revenue of his Benefices. The King of *Spain* alſo allows his Embaſſadors and Miniſters very well, though they are not always very punctually paid. The Viceroy of *Naples* is oblig'd to pay thoſe of *Rome*, *Venice*, and *Turin*.

The Duke and the Cardinal *de Guiſe*, having a mind to remove the Princes of the Blood from Court, after the Death of *Henry* II, procur'd the Prince of *Condé* a Commiſſion to go to *Spain*, in the quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary, to be preſent at the Oath King *Philip* was to take for the Obſervation of the Peace. The Cardinal who had the Direction of the Finances, order'd him a thouſand Crowns to defray his Journey. The Prince was very much ſtraiten'd in his Affairs, and the ſame Sum would have been given to a Courrier, that had been ſent ſo long a Journey; ſo that the Prince could not provide himſelf with an Equipage ſuitable to his Quality and Employment, without ruining himſelf, and without one, he muſt appear contemptible at the Court of *Spain*. The Cardinal, who was not afraid of procuring an Affront to a Prince of the Blood, and who ſo little valu'd the Honour of an Embaſſador of *France*, proſtituted that of the King and Crown.

A Man of Parts, who with his Capacity has alſo a little Courage and Birth, will not willingly take upon him an Embaſſy, nor will not ſerve at his own Expences, unleſs the evil State of his Maſter's Affairs, and his own Zeal, oblige him to ſerve without any Regard to his own Intereſt for the preſent, in expectation of an infallible Reward hereafter. Otherwiſe a Prince who has not wherewith to ſubſiſt his Miniſter, will be neceſſitated to employ the firſt that ſhall offer himſelf, and ſuch Perſons as are willing to purchaſe a falſe Honour at the Expence of the true Reputation of their Maſter. A ſtrange Havock was made of the Revenues of the Crown during the whole Reign of *Henry* III. King of *France*. All the Money he extorted from his Subjects, by an infinite number of Edicts, went into the Purſe of his Favourites, as into an Abyſs: So that there never were any Funds for the neceſſary Expences, and particularly for thoſe of Embaſſadors, which was the Cauſe, that for want of Perſons of Merit and Quality, thoſe Employments were given to ſuch as had neither the one nor the other. Of this Number was *Germigny de Germoles*, to whom the King gave the Embaſſy of *Conſtantinople*, as a Poſt which no Body but himſelf would accept of, without a Salary. And truly he acquitted himſelf very ill thereof, and particularly in an Occaſion where he ought neceſſarily to have appear'd to preſerve the King's Rank. In the Year 1582, *Selim* II. Emperor of the *Turks*, intending to circumciſe his Son *Mahomet*, who was ſixteen Years of Age, invited all the Embaſſadors who were at *Conſtantinople*, to be Spectators of the publick Ceremonies, which were to be previous to thoſe of the Circumciſion; which was perform'd in the Sultan's Chamber, by the Baſhaw *Mahomet*, who had formerly been *Selim*'s Barber. All the Embaſſadors were preſent at the publick Ceremonies, except him of *France*. The Author that has publiſh'd a Relation of thoſe Ceremonies, is miſtaken when he ſays, that the *French* Embaſſador would not be preſent thereat, becauſe he would not give place to the Emperor *Rodulphus*'s Miniſter; which is not true, for the Embaſſador of *France* is the firſt of all Embaſſadors at *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor's being there conſider'd but as the Embaſſador of the King of *Hungary*. *Germigny* ought to have appear'd notwithſtanding the Preſence of the Embaſſador of *Poland*, becauſe his Abſence did not hinder this from being there, and he thereby gave the firſt Place to *Rodolphus*'s Embaſſador. *Henry* III. always took the Quality of King of *Poland*, as well as that of King of *France*, for which Reaſon *Germigny* would not be preſent at a publick Aſſembly with another Embaſſador of *Poland*.

The Embaſſador Extraordinary cannot well avoid keeping an open Table, if he will do Honour to his Maſter. At *Venice* a Senator is not ſuffer'd to have Communication with an Embaſſador; and in the Courts of *Rome*, *France* and *Spain*, the Miniſters never make themſelves ſo familiar with Embaſſadors, as to go and dine with them, unleſs they are invited on ſome extraordinary Occaſion. I ſpeak of thoſe Miniſters that are of the Council, and who are concern'd in the Management of Affairs, and not of the Subalterns, as the Maſters of the Ceremonies, and the Introductors of Embaſſadors; becauſe theſe are oblig'd to viſit the Embaſſadors ſometimes, and to bear them Company at Dinner, as well out of Civility, and to do them Honour, as to try to benefit by their Converſation, from whence they may always gather ſomething. In the Courts of the North, where great Entertainments make part of the Negotiation,

tiation, this Expence is very neceſſary, as well as in *Holland*, where they take great Delight in Reaſoning between two Treſtles. The Fenns of the Country produce a multitude of Frogs. The major Part of Embaſſadors do not ſucceed therein, as well becauſe every Body is not fit for it, as becauſe it is contrary to the Dignity of the Character.

There are alſo but very few Embaſſadors that acquit themſelves worthily of what they owe their Prince in this reſpect. There is none but *M. Deſtrades*, who, during the ſix Years of his Embaſſy Extraordinary in *Holland*, kept a ſplendid Table, magnificently and equally well ſerv'd, without ſuffering the Pretext of his Diſpatches to hinder him from entertaining every Day at it, all the Perſons of Quality who were willing to take part of his Good-chear. There are ſome who affect a falſe Frugality, and others endeavour to lay up out of the Emoluments of the Embaſſy; but moſt of 'em fail therein, becauſe the Officers they bring along with them know nothing of the matter. The The Embaſſador's Houſe is that of his Sovereign, and the Miniſters Table ought to repreſent the Grandeur of his Maſter, by making known the honourable Salary he allows him. I have ſeen the Embaſſador Extraordinary of the moſt powerful Republick of *Europe*, who having been ſeveral times treated, was reſolv'd to give an Entertainment in his Turn. Amongſt other Perſons of great Quality, the Mareſchals *de Chaſtillon* and of *la Meiſleraye*, aſſiſted thereat; but the Treat was ſo wretchedly ſordid and pitiful. that there is not any Burgher in St. *Denis*'s Street, but what treats his Neighbour or particular Friend better: And there is not any Countrey Wedding where they are not better ſerv'd. The Gueſts all ſtar'd one at another, and going from this great Feaſt, the two Mareſchals ask each the other, where they ſhould go and dine. The ſame Embaſſador deſir'd to have the King's Preſent in Bills of Exchange.

In the Year 1651, the Queen of *Sweden* nominated four Embaſſadors for the Aſſembly at *Lubeck:* The Count *de la Garde*, *Wachtmeiſter* Maſter of the Horſe, *Salvius*, and *Roſenhan*; the two laſt of whom had been employ'd at the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*. And foraſmuch as the Treaſury was almoſt exhauſted, and that the Expence would have been prodigious, if they had all kept open Table, the Queen order'd, that there ſhould be but one for the four Embaſſadors, and that they ſhould be ſerv'd by the Officers of her Houſhould, which were ſent accordingly. But the Voyage and Employment of Count *de la Garde* having had no Conſequence, *Salvius* would not confine himſelf to live in common, and ſo ſent back the Queen's Officers.

There is another Expence which is very neceſſary, and which an Embaſſador cannot avoid. He is oblig'd to make Preſents to the Officers who have ſerv'd and treated him in the Name of the Prince to whom he is employ'd: To the Drummers and Trumpeters; to the Coachmen and Footmen; not only on the Days of his Entry and of his Audience, but alſo on New-Year's Day, and at ſolemn Feaſts.

Philip de Commines ſays, that the Preſents he had made to the Officers of the Republick of *Venice*, in his Paſſage through *Breſcia*, *Verona*, *Vincenza*, and *Padua*, had coſt him as much as if he had liv'd at his own Expences. *But on theſe Occaſions the Honour that is done to the Embaſſador muſt be conſider'd, who on his part ought alſo to be honourable, and even magnificently ſo.* However, Exceſs is here to be avoided as in all other Caſes. Amongſt the other Profuſions, a certain Embaſſador was guilty of in *France*, it was obſerv'd that he order'd five hundred Piſtoles to be given to the King's Trumpeters, who would have been very well contented with five. He deſerv'd to have his ill-concerted Liberality trumpeted all over the Court, and throughout all *Europe*.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Competition between France *and* Spain.

I Took Notice in Chapter XXII, that one of the Obſtacles that hinder Embaſſadors from viſiting one another, is the Conteſt they have about the Rank. They who cannot ſee one another without Competition in a third Place, do not take any Pleaſure neither in making one another familiar Viſits.

If there had not been a War for theſe two laſt Ages, almoſt without Interruption, between *France* and *Spain*, which has in a manner caus'd a natural Averſion between the two Nations; and admitting that ſo many important and oppoſite Intereſts did not render theſe two Crowns almoſt irreconcileable, yet the Embaſſadors of the two Kings would never interviſit, unleſs they were oblig'd thereto by indiſpenſable Devoirs. The King of *Spain* has indeed publickly declar'd by the Count *de Fuentes*, that his Embaſſador ſhall never be preſent in thoſe Places where the Rank might be diſputed between the two Miniſters: but he has not for that oblig'd himſelf to yield it, nor to order his Embaſſador to aſſiſt at thoſe Ceremonies where he would be oblig'd to give Place to him of *France*. On the contrary, he preſerves it to himſelf ſtill at *Vienna*, and his Embaſſador is very cautious of going to thoſe Aſſemblies where that of *France* might put himſelf into an indiſputable Poſſeſſion, founded on a voluntary Ceſſion. This is not to ſay that *France* is not ſo already, but that does not hinder the King of *Spain* from pretending that it has been unjuſtly adjudg'd to *France*, and he is inclin'd enough to conteſt it with her, if he were but able to do it.

This

This Matter has been ſo often debated, that nothing can be added to what ſo many Doctors have written in the behalf of each of the Crowns. Neither is it my Intention to enter into the Diſcuſſion of their Pretenſions, but only to give an hiſtorical and diſintereſted Narrative of what has paſs'd on this Subject at *Venice*, at *Trent*, and at *Rome*. It is but ſince the Union of the Crowns of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and of the States and Kingdoms that depend thereon, with thoſe of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy*, that the King of *Spain* thinks his Power ought to put him above the Level of all the other Princes of Chriſtendom: And it is certain, that it was only in the Quality of Emperor, that *Charles* V. had the Precedency of *Francis* I. and *Henry* II. Kings of *France*. *At the Council of* Conſtance, *there was no Conteſt at all about Precedency between the Embaſſadors of* France *and thoſe of the other Crowns*: And on the 6th of *September*, 1434, it was ordain'd at the Council of *Baſil*, *That the Embaſſadors of* Caſtile *ſhould immediately follow thoſe of the moſt ſerene King of* France. Doctor *Medina* and the Protonotary *Bernardin* of *Carvaſal*, being in the Year 1486. Embaſſadors at *Rome* from the Catholick Kings, had a warm Diſpute in the Pope's Chapel, with the Embaſſador of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, about the Precedency. They had Orders (which muſt be well obſerv'd) not to purſue their Pretenſions, if *Maximilian*'s Embaſſador took Place of him of *France*: But in caſe he did not precede him, not to ſuffer the Embaſſador of the King of the *Romans* to take Place of them next to the Embaſſador of *France*; becauſe no Body could come between the Embaſſadors of *France* and *Caſtile*.

After the Emperor *Charles* V. had abdicated, the Miniſters of *France* immediately oppos'd the Pretenſions of *Philip* his Son; and the firſt Diſpute they had, was on the following Occaſion: *Francis de Vargas*, who had been Embaſſador at *Venice* on the Part of *Charles*, had been recall'd by *Philip* as ſoon as *Charles* had reſign'd the Imperial Dignity into the Hands of the Electors. *Philip* in recalling *Vargas*, wrote to the Senate, that his Intention was to ſend him back in a little time; and yet he ſubſtituted *Dom N. Layala* in his room. This new Comer was for maintaining himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of what his Predeceſſor had enjoy'd as Embaſſador from the Emperor; but the Biſhop of *Lodéve*, Embaſſador from *France*, oppos'd him ſo powerfully, that the other never dar'd to appear in any publick Action. When *Vargas* return'd to *Venice* in the Year 1557, he would not ſuffer the Senate to make him an Entry, in order to have it believ'd, that it was only a Continuation of his firſt Embaſſy, whereby he hop'd to maintain the ſame Rank he held while he was Embaſſador from the Emperor. He had taken a formal Leave of the Senate, and had receiv'd the uſual Preſent at his Departure. But admitting he had not taken his Leave, nor receiv'd the Preſent, and which is more, that he had not gone from *Venice*, he could not repreſent an Emperor that was no longer ſo, and who by his Abdication had annull'd the Power and Commiſſion of his Embaſſador; ſo that *Vargas*, who could no longer act for *Charles*, could now be conſider'd but as *Philip*'s Miniſter. The Republick not being willing to offend *Spain*, endeavour'd to eaſe it ſelf of the Deciſion of this Difference on the Pope; and in the mean time ordain'd, that the Embaſſadors ſhould not appear at the publick Ceremonies, till the Difference was determin'd at *Rome*. The Biſhop of *Aes*, of the Houſe of *Noailles*, who had ſucceeded the Biſhop of *Lodéve*, made in the Month of *April*, 1558, freſh Inſtances to the Senate, not to hinder him for the future, from aſſiſting at the Ceremonies, and taking there the Place which was due to the Dignity of the King his Maſter; ſince *Vargas* could now no longer take the Quality of Embaſſador from the Emperor, ſince *Ferdinand* had ſucceeded to the Empire. As ſoon as the two Embaſſadors began to contend on this Subject, the Senate order'd *Jacomo Soranzo*, its Embaſſador in *France*, to repreſent there the State of the Affair, and to endeavour to get that Court to approve of their having deſir'd the *French* Embaſſador to refrain aſſiſting at the Ceremonies, till ſuch time as the Difference was regulated; but the Court would not at all acquieſce thereto. Whereupon the Senate ſignify'd to the Biſhop of *Aes*, That it was very very ſorry to ſee the two Embaſſadors in this Conteſt; as well becauſe their publick Acts were not honour'd by the Preſence of the Miniſters of two ſuch great Monarchs, as becauſe the Diſpute was reviv'd in their State, and that it look'd as if the Deciſion thereof was requir'd of the Senate: That it hop'd the Difference would be made up elſewhere, and that in the mean time, the King would ſuffer Things to remain as they were, at leaſt till the Ceremonial of *Rome* could be conſulted about it, and the Senate be inform'd of the Practice of that Court. The *French* Embaſſador made Anſwer, That he did not matter very much what the Ceremonial of *Rome* could ſay on that Head: That his Intention was to maintain himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of what the King his Maſter had enjoy'd for ſeveral Ages; yet nevertheleſs, he was willing not to trouble their publick Ceremonies, till thoſe of the Aſcenſion, at which he pretended to be preſent. But being inform'd the next Day, that the Embaſſador of *Spain* had declar'd in a private Audience, which he had had that Day, *that he pretended to the Precedency, not as Embaſſador from the Emperor, but as Embaſſador from the King of* Spain: He alſo deſir'd Audience, and after that a Second, wherein he ſaid, *That the Difference had chang'd its Nature, and that what* Vargas *had declar'd at his laſt Audience, being a new Pretenſion, of which no Mention had been made before, there was no longer Room for an Accommodation; but he was willing to let them know, that it was the Buſineſs of the Republick to maintain him in the Prerogative which the King his Maſter had been in Poſſeſſion of Time immemorial; and confirm'd the Promiſe he had made, not to be preſent at the publick Ceremonies till the Aſcenſion.* Some Days before this Feſtival, the Senate ſent to deſire him again to forbear this one Time, aſſiſting at the Ceremonies, and not to force the Senate to decide a Difference which it ought not to take Cognizance of. The Biſhop had had Advice, that the Republick's Embaſſador at *Rome* had no Orders to conſult the Ceremonial; but only to take notice of the Proceedings there concerning the Rank, in refe-

rence to the *French* Embaſſador who was already there, and that of *Spain* who was ſhortly expected. He therefore proteſted he would make uſe of his Prerogative, and that he could no longer have any Deference to the Senates Deſire, to the Prejudice of the King his Maſter's poſitive Commands. The Deputies of the Senate reply'd, That it was not a Requeſt, but an Order of the Senate, which did not deſire the Embaſſador ſhould diſturb the Ceremony by his Preſence. The Embaſſador call'd together all the Domeſticks of Cardinal *Tournon*, who lodg'd with him, to be Witneſſes of the Meſſage the Senate ſent him, and gave an Account thereof to the King by his Letter of the 20th of *May*. Whereupon the King wrote to the Senate on the 11th of *June*, and gave Orders at the ſame Time to the Biſhop of *Acs* to declare to the Republick, that if ſhe continu'd any longer to make Difficulty to give him the Rank, which was his due, he would take his Audience of Leave, and retire. The Senate had already been inform'd thereof by its Embaſſador, to whom the King had explain'd himſelf; ſo that to prevent the Biſhop, in what he might ſay on that Head, it reſolv'd to ſend and deſire him to aſſiſt at the Ceremony, and at the ſolemn Proceſſion, which was to be perform'd on the Day of the Viſitation of the Virgin, where the Doge was to be accompany'd by thoſe Embaſſadors the Senate had invited. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador was not deſir'd to be there; ſo that the Senate, by only inviting the *French* Embaſſador, *gave ſufficiently to be underſtood that the Precedency was adjudg'd to him.*

Lewis de Lanſac de St. Gelais, of whom mention has been made in the foregoing Chapter, arriv'd at *Trent* on the 18th of *May*, 1562, in the Quality of Embaſſador from *France*. His Inſtructions, amongſt other things, contain'd alſo this, *That ſince the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador had diſputed with that of* France *the Rank which the King had always had, immediately after the Emperor, he was commanded not to ſuffer any other Place to be given to him or his Collegues, either at the Council or elſewhere, or any the leaſt Alteration to be made therein, or that the Affair ſhould be ſo much as brought into Diſpute.* It was alſo enjoyn'd him, as alſo to the other Embaſſadors of *France*, *That in caſe ſo juſt a thing was refus'd them, to proteſt the Nullity of the Council, whoſe Decrees* France *would not receive in any manner whatever; to come away forthwith, and bring along with him all the* French *Prelates.* Thus it was that *Lanſac* began his Negotiation, and to give Uneaſineſs to the Legates.

The Marquiſs of *Peſcaire*, who had been at *Trent* as Embaſſador from *Philip*, but had not remain'd there long; had not only declar'd to the Legates that he would not be contented with the Place immediately after the *French* Embaſſadors, but he had likewiſe given them to underſtand that he would not obſtinately inſiſt on having the Precedency, but conſent to have ſome Expedient found out to modify the Matter. The Legates fearing leſt this Conteſt ſhould prove the Cauſe of great Diſorders, were for having the Pope make a Decree, That the Embaſſadors ſhould not aſſiſt at the Congregations, nor at the Seſſions, unleſs they were expreſly invited thither by one of the Meſſengers or Door-keepers of the Council; and that the Embaſſador who ſhould appear there, without being firſt invited thither, ſhould be oblig'd to give place to thoſe who ſhould have been invited. And foraſmuch as it concerned the Reputation of the Council, as well as that of the Embaſſadors, to have them all nam'd in the Acts, as well the Abſent as the Preſent, it was thought adviſeable to name them in the ſame Order that they arriv'd at *Trent*. But the *French* rejected theſe Overtures, as well as all the others that might render their Right problematical, or could ſo much as give the leaſt Ground to a Diſpute. Cardinal *Borromeus*, firſt Miniſter to *Pius* IV, made ſome other Propoſitions; but the Embaſſadors of *France* were unalterable in their Reſolution: And on the other Side, the King of *Spain* would not ſuffer the Count *de Lune*, his Embaſſador, to go to *Trent* till his Rank was regulated, as well in the Congregations as at the Seſſions. The Pope propos'd, as an Expedient to prevent all the Diſputes which were foreſeen to be unavoidable, that the ſame Method which was obſerv'd at *Rome* ſhould be follow'd; where the Embaſſador of *Spain* does not appear at the Ceremonies, when the *French* Embaſſador has a mind to be preſent; or elſe that the ſame Embaſſador ſhould tranſact the Affairs of the Emperor, and of the King of *Spain*. But this Overture not being approv'd by the *Spaniards*, and the Emperor not judging it proper to give a Commiſſion to the Count *de Lune*, becauſe *Germany* and *Spain* had different Intereſts to manage at *Trent*, it was found neceſſary to think of other Means; ſince *Philip* refus'd to ſend thither a Prelate who might have taken place amongſt the other Eccleſiaſtical Embaſſadors. The Pope continually exhorted the Legates to employ themſelves ſedulouſly in this Affair, but forbad them to mention it to *Lanſac* before the approaching Seſſion, for fear it ſhould be diſturb'd thereby, or retarded. For notwithſtanding it was his Intention to do nothing without the Participation of the Miniſters of *France*, or that could do the King their Maſter a Prejudice, either in the petitory or poſſeſſory Reſpect; yet he knew them to be ſo ſenſible in this Part, that they could not ſuffer the leaſt Propoſition of an Accommodation. This is what the Pope wrote to the Legates in general; but in a particular Diſpatch he ſent to the Cardinal of *Mantua*, he took notice, That *Franciſco de Vargas*, *Embaſſador from* Spain, *had intimated to him, as a great Secret, that the King his Maſter wrote him word, that rather than to diſturb or break off this holy Aſſembly, he would command his Embaſſador to give place to the laſt of all the Council*; proteſting however, at the ſame time, *that his Intention was, that this pious Complaiſance ſhould not prejudice his Rights nor Pretenſions. Vargas* had deſir'd the Pope alſo to make a Secret of it to the Legates, that they might not thereby be render'd more remiſs in their Endeavours for an Accommodation which they hop'd to bring the *French* to comply with. But *Pius* had not Diſcretion enough, to make a Secret of what he thought might very much facilitate the Progreſs of the Council, which might be otherwiſe very much retarded by Conteſts of this Nature.

Upon the Receipt of theſe Letters the Legates ſent for the *French* Embaſſadors, and repreſented

preſented to them how much it concern'd all *Chriſtendom*, that the Council ſhould be continu'd and brought to a Concluſion: That the Offices of the Miniſters of the two Crowns were neceſſary for that Purpoſe, to effect which it was alſo requiſite, that thoſe of *France* ſhould do for the King of *Spain* (who was their King's Brother-in-law) all that lay in their Power, provided they did not thereby prejudice the Dignity of the King their Maſter. They propos'd to them at the ſame time two Means, both which preſerv'd them their Rank immediately after the Emperor's Embaſſador. The one was, *That the Embaſſador of* Spain *ſhould have a Seat in the middle of the Hall, right againſt the Legates, in the ſame Place where that of* Portugal *had been ſeated in the Time of* Julius III, *on Account of the Conteſt he had with that Embaſſador of the Emperor* Ferdinand, *who repreſented him as King of* Hungary. The other was, *That the Count* de Lune *ſhould have a Place on the Bench of the Eccleſiaſticks after that Embaſſador of the Emperor, who was an Archbiſhop.* The *French* Embaſſadors made Anſwer, *That they had no Propoſitions to make or receive: That the Diſorder proceeded only from thoſe who were for introducing Novelties, and that the ſureſt way to prevent them was to leave Matters in the ſame State they had been in for many Ages: That this was the King their Maſter's Order, who commanded them to leave the Place, and to take along with them all the* French *Prelates, if the leaſt Innovation was made: That the Blame of all theſe Alterations was not to be laid on King* Philip, *but on certain ambitious Minds, who were reſtleſs, and Enemies to Quiet: That they were ſo well ſatisfy'd of the good Intention of the King of* Spain, *that they knew that Prince was ſo far from deſigning any Prejudice to the King his Brother-in-law, during his Minority, that he would be always ready to aſſiſt him with all his Strength againſt the Rebels: That* France *could not be ſatisfy'd with it ſelf, if it did not anſwer that Friendſhip; but that the Laws of Gratitude did not oblige the King to impair his own Dignity.*

The Cardinal of *Mantua* remonſtrated to them, *That ſince they enjoy'd their Rank, they ought not to oppoſe the Satisfaction of others, at leaſt if their Intentions were good, in Reference to the Council.* The Embaſſadors reply'd, *That they ſhould be very glad to contribute to the Satisfaction of others, provided it did no Injury to the Honour of their Prince: That all theſe Propoſitions came from the* Spaniards, *who had no other Intention than to render doubtful and problematical, what it concern'd the Dignity of the Crown of* France *to lay down as a thing certain,* viz. *That the firſt Place, after the Emperor's, was due to the King: That they could not be accus'd, nor even ſuſpected, of any ill Will towards the Council, becauſe they were for maintaining an ancient Poſſeſſion, and would not conſent to a Novelty.* Then the Cardinal of *Mantua*, who knew the Secret, and would fain have concluded ſomething more advantageous for the King of *Spain* than that of obliging his Embaſſador to take Place after that of *France*, ask'd the Embaſſadors of *France* what they would ſay, if the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador ſhould go and ſeat himſelf below all the other Embaſſadors? and whether, in that Caſe, they would pretend to compell him to take a more honourable Place than that he choſe himſelf? The Embaſſadors of *France*, ſurpriz'd at ſo extraordinary a Queſtion, ſaid they would conſider of it. The Legates deſir'd them to think ſeriouſly thereof; and in the mean time, they endeavour'd to prevail with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to diſpoſe the Embaſſadors to be more eaſy.

The Cardinal ſaid at firſt, *That the Embaſſadors ought to know what Orders they had: That they were oblig'd to obey them, to keep to the ancient Uſage, and that it was to the Court Recourſe ſhould be had, to try to find out ſome Modification.* *Lanſac*, writing on this Subject to the *French* Embaſſador who was at *Rome*, did not ſcruple to ſay that nothing elſe ſhould ſatisfy. And as at that Time there was a Rumour, that *Lewis d'Avila*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, had Orders to preſs the Pope to give the King his Maſter the Title of *Emperor of the* Indies; *Lanſac* added in his Letter, *That the* Spaniards *muſt not imagine that that new Title would acquire a new Right to King* Philip, *who would not thereby oblige the Emperor of the* Gauls *to give Place to him.*

The Pope being inform'd of what had paſs'd in the firſt Conference, wrote to the Legates, *That he was not ſurpriz'd at the Anſwer of the* French, *and that he was pretty well ſatisfy'd that the Means he had propos'd would not ſucceed; but however, he had thought himſelf oblig'd to do all that depended on him:* That he had nothing more to ſay, *than that in Caſe the* Spaniards *had a mind to proteſt, the Legates ſhould receive their Proteſtation.* This happen'd about the end of the Year 1562, and it was almoſt at the ſame Time that *Philip* wrote to the Pope, *That, in the preſent Conjuncture, he would not have too great a Regard to Precedency, becauſe in the Poſt God had eſtabliſh'd him, thoſe vain Thoughts did not diſquiet him, he being wholly intent on the Good of the Service of God, and of the Church.* An Extract of this Letter having been communicated to the Legates, they immediately diſpatch'd *Lancelot*, Advocate of the Council, to the Count *de Lune*, who was with the Emperor at the Diet of *Augsburg*, to invite him to come to *Trent*. The Count ſaid that he could not ſet out, till he was aſſur'd the Rank he was to have would be ſuitable to his Honour; without which Security he would not ſet forward, unleſs the King his Maſter ſent him more expreſs Orders for that Purpoſe than thoſe he had already. *Lancelot* then ask'd him what he meant by the Rank ſuitable to his Honour? The Count made Anſwer, That he thereby meant the firſt Place after the Emperor's Embaſſador, or elſe that immediately after the firſt Eccleſiaſtical Embaſſador; becauſe the ſecond repreſented *Ferdinand* as King of *Hungary*. The Legates, who knew very well the *French* would reject entirely the firſt Propoſition, were for obliging the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to prevail with them to condeſcend to the ſecond. But the Cardinal rejected that alſo, and told them that the Place of the Eccleſiaſticks being more honourable than that of the Laity, it would only to ſerve to enhanſe the Honours which were intended to the *Spaniards*. There was ſtill another Difficulty in the Matter, which was that *John de Morvilliers*, Biſhop of *Orleans*, who in the Abſence of *Lanſac* diſcharg'd the Function of firſt Embaſſador, being a Clergy-

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man, the Miniſters of *France* had the upper Hand on both Benches; ſo that he of *Spain*, could not be ſeated without yielding the Precedency to the others. The Legates therefore reſum'd their firſt Propoſition, *viz.* to give to the *Spaniards* the Place, which had formerly been given to the *Portugueſe*, right againſt the Legates; and the Cardinal *de Lorrain* was of Opinion, through a criminous Prevarication, that the *French* Embaſſadors, to whom was preſerv'd the Place they had always had, immediately after the Emperor's Embaſſador, ought not to oppoſe the ſame. But the Embaſſadors were of a quite different Sentiment. They ſaid, *That their Intention, as well as their Duty, was to preſerve to the King their Maſter, the firſt Dignity after that of the Emperor, in ſuch manner as it might be conſpicuous to all the World: and that no body might diſpute it with them, as it might happen, if any other Place was allotted to the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador, than what was uſual; which was that immediately next to the Embaſſador of* France: *That they had no Orders to accept of any other Medium; and if they had not Satisfaction on that Subject, they would be gone, and order all the* French *Prelates to retire, on pain of Diſobedience, and Seizure of their Temporal Eſtates.* The Legates imagining that a vigorous Oppoſition would at laſt get the better of the Reſolution of the *French*, told them, *That their inflexible Hardneſs and Obſtinacy not being reaſonable, they would have no Regard thereto, and would give to the Embaſſador of* Spain *the Place they had allotted him.* The *French* Embaſſadors were ſo much the more concern'd hereat, becauſe they were apprehenſive the Intention of the Legates was, to give that of *Spain* an extraordinary Place; not only in the Seſſions, but alſo in the Congregations; where the Seats were to be diſpos'd in ſuch manner, that the Embaſſador of *Spain* would have the moſt honourable Place: They concluded that the Legates acted thus out of a Deſign to offend *France* ſo grievouſly, that ſhe would be oblig'd to recall her Embaſſadors and Prelates, and thereby be the Cauſe of the Diſſipation of the Council. Wherefore that the Diſſolution of the Council might not draw after it a Rupture between the two Crowns, at a time when *France* did not care to provoke *Spain*, the Embaſſadors were for reducing the Legates to a Neceſſity of breaking with them firſt: and reſolv'd to ſend an Expreſs to Court. As ſoon as the Legates were acquainted therewith by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, they undeceiv'd the Embaſſadors, and ſignify'd to them, that their Thoughts went no farther than the Seſſions: and as to the Congregations, they would endeavour to diſpoſe the Count *de Lune* to abſent himſelf, as he might very well do, without prejudicing the Honour of the King his Maſter, ſince they were not publick Actions. This was the Colour that was given to the Acquieſcence of the *French* Embaſſadors. But the truth is, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, in betraying the Honour and Intereſt of the King his Maſter, *compell'd them to conſent to the Embaſſador of* Spain's *having an extraordinary Place.*

This being therefore in ſome Meaſure regulated, there remain'd ſtill one Difficulty concerning the Rank he ſhould have at the Proceſſions, and at the Church Ceremonies, that is to ſay, in reference to the *Pax*, and the *Incenſe* at ſolemn Maſſes. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſaid, he could find no other Accommodation in that Reſpect, but for the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador either to give place, or to abſent with Proteſtation. He moreover added, that in his Opinion he might alſo have a Seat even at the Congregations, right againſt the Legates; but out of the Rank of the Embaſſadors, near the Secretary of the Council; to the end it might not be thought, that this Place had been given him by the Aſſembly, or by Order of the Preſidents; upon which he might have form'd new Pretenſions. But this was only the Cardinal's Sentiment, on which the Embaſſadors had not explain'd themſelves. After he had conferr'd with them, in the beginning of the Month of *February*, 1563, he told the Legates, that the Embaſſadors were of Opinion, that during the King's Minority, the Miniſters could not conſent to the leaſt Alteration, which might prejudice the Poſſeſſion *France* was in, of preceding all the other Kings of *Chriſtendom*, every where: That what would be done at *Trent*, would be of ſo much the greater Conſequence, becauſe the Eyes of the whole World would be intent on what ſhould be regulated by the general Council: That the Services the Kings of *France* had done to the See of *Rome*, would not permit them to receive leſs Honours in this, than had been done them in former Councils: That whatever Place the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador might take, other than the uſual one, immediately after that of *France*; *even though he ſhould take the laſt of all*, might give Occaſion to have the Right of the King their Maſter call'd in Queſtion; and ſo would be a *Spolium*, which would oblige them to be gone: That the War the King ſuſtain'd againſt the *Huguenots*, for the Churches and Religions ſake, ought to prevail with the Fathers to imitate the Example of the Senate of *Venice*, which had maintain'd the King in the Poſſeſſion of his Right. The Legates were the more ſurpris'd at this Diſcourſe, by reaſon the King of *Spain* had given the Pope Hopes, that the good Offices he would do to the Court of *France*, would work upon it to ſend quite different Orders to its Embaſſadors.

Claudius de Quignones, Count *de Lune*, being arriv'd at *Trent* on the 11th of *April*, 1563, there aroſe a Conteſt about the Competition. He ſaid, that if he could not obtain the Precedency over the Embaſſador of *France*, he would be contented if he were plac'd right againſt him, or on any other ſide, at the Choice of the *French* Embaſſador himſelf. He alſo declar'd, he would make no Difficulty to accept ſuch other Place, as the Legates ſhould aſſign him, provided it did not appear, that he yielded the Precedency to the *French* Embaſſador. But in caſe ſuch a one was not given him, as he could accept of honourably, he would then purſue the Orders he had to withdraw. He really had ſuch Orders: For notwithſtanding *Philip* had written to the Pope, as we have before obſerv'd, that he would not amuſe himſelf with theſe Vanities, nor carry on his Pretenſions; theſe Sentiments were not over-ſincere, or elſe they muſt have alter'd very much ſince. In the mean time the Legates, conſidering that the

the Preſence of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador would add no ſmall Luſtre to the Council, and that it was even more neceſſary to it, than that of the Embaſſadors of *France*, by reaſon of the great Number of Prelates, Subjects, Creatures or Dependents of the King of *Spain*; reſolv'd to execute what had been propos'd concerning the Place, and wrote about it to the Pope. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* on his part wrote alſo to the Queen Mother, *Catherine de Medicis*, to know her Intention in this Matter. She made anſwer, *That ſhe tenderly lov'd her Son the King of* Spain, (*it was ſo ſhe call'd him, tho' he was but her Son-in-Law*) *and that ſhe would not only preſerve his Honour to him, but alſo augment it if it lay in her Power: That if he were in Poſſeſſion of the Precedency, ſhe would not ſo much as think of conteſting it with him: But that it was certain, the* French *Embaſſadors had always had, in all the Councils, a Seat immediately after that of the Emperor, and particularly before that of* Spain: *That in the Council of* Conſtance, *the famous* John Gerſon, *Embaſſador of* France, *had had the firſt Place, and after him* Raimond Folch, *Count of* Cardona, *Embaſſador of* Alphonſo, *King of* Caſtile; *and that at the Council of* Lateran *under* Leo X, *altho'* Ferdinand *poſſeſs'd in* Spain *the ſame Kingdoms that* Philip *is now poſſeſs'd of*, William de Vic, *his Embaſſador, had on all Occaſions given place to* John de Soliers, *Embaſſador from* Lewis XII, *and eſpecially in the* 8th, 9th, *and* 10th *Seſſions: That the King being very young, the Queen could not do any thing to the Prejudice of the King her Son, and againſt the Honour of the Nation.* Upon this Anſwer the Cardinal went to the Emperor at *Inſpruck*, to deſire him to prevail with the Count *de Lune* to come to an Accommodation; aſſuring him that afterwards the *French* Embaſſadors would do him all the Honours he could deſire from them. The Emperor told him, he would not meddle with thoſe Pretenſions, nor conſtitute himſelf Judge of the Rights of the two Kings; but that the Cardinal ought to remember what he himſelf had formerly ſaid; That the *French* Embaſſadors did not diveſt themſelves of their Poſſeſſion, by ſuffering an extraordinary Place to be given to thoſe of *Spain*, as long as they preſerv'd their own: That he wiſh'd the Embaſſadors would agree the Matter amicably among themſelves, without engaging the Kings their Maſters therein; to the Compaſſing of which he deſir'd the Cardinal to employ his beſt Endeavours.

The Pope, to whom the Legates had wrote about it, as I juſt now ſaid, had the ſame Conſideration for *Spain* that they had: and judging that the offending of *Philip* would do the utmoſt Prejudice to the Affairs of the Council, reſolv'd to procure him ſome Satisfaction. And to the end the Legates might have the greater Authority and Courage to execute his Orders, he wrote to them, *That the King of* Spain *urg'd him very much, and thought it ſtrange, ſuch Delays were made to aſſign a Place to his Embaſſador, as well at the Seſſions, as in the Congregations: That to him it ſeem'd reaſonable and juſt, ſome Conſideration ſhould be had for ſo great a Monarch, and that ſome Expedient ſhould be found to ſatisfy him, without prejudicing the Intereſt of the Parties: That the Place he mark'd out to them in the Draught he ſent them, appear'd to him honourable and to the purpoſe, and that he did not perceive what the* French *could therein complain of: That that was what he intended, and that it was their Buſineſs to execute it with their wonted Dexterity, and that in caſe they met with any Oppoſition in their Endeavours, they ſhould let them proteſt who had a mind to it; provided his Orders were executed, and that they did not fail therein.* Cardinal *Boromeus* added hereunto a Letter in Cipher, wherein he told them, *That it was the Pope's Intention the Affair ſhould remain a Secret till the time of its Execution, that the* French *might be ſurpris'd: That perhaps theſe might not be ſatisfy'd; but that they ſhould let them proteſt, and even depart if they pleas'd: But the Legates were commanded to execute the Order in all Reſpects.* Beſides this general Letter, *Boromeus* wrote a private one to Cardinal *Moron* which imported as a great Secret, that *d'Avila* and *Vargas*, Embaſſadors from *Spain*, had put into the Hands of the Pope a Writing ſign'd by them two, and ſeal'd with their Seal; by which they promis'd him in the King their Maſter's Name, that he would employ all his Forces, his Eſtates, and even his own Perſon, for the Defence, and for the Augmentation of the Authority of the Pope, of the Holy See, and of the Catholick Faith: That it was the Pope's Pleaſure that *Moron* ſhould know this Particular, that he might judge thereby, that it was not without Reaſon he endeavour'd to procure Satisfaction to *Philip*. The Legates, before they proceeded ſo far, were for making another Effort on the Minds of the *French* Embaſſadors, to diſpoſe them to acquieſce to what was deſir'd. They ſucceeded indeed, but it was with a great deal of Difficulty, and through the Infidelity of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, as we before obſerv'd. When the Legates ſpoke thereof to the Count *de Lune*, this Miniſter (whether out of a Deſign to give the *French* to underſtand, that he was not oblig'd to them for it as a Favour, or that he would have it believ'd, that if the King his Maſter and himſelf acquieſc'd therein, it was out of a certain Deference the King was willing to have to the King of *France*, his Brother-in-Law) publiſh'd himſelf what the Pope had wrote on this Subject, without ſcrupling to alter a little of the Truth, and the Circumſtances. He moreover added, *That what the Pope did herein, was of his own mere Motion.* The *French* were perfectly enrag'd hereat, and throughly perſuaded, that the Intention of the Court of *Rome*, was to drive the Miniſters and Prelates of *France* from *Trent*, in order to diſperſe the Council.

The Count *de Lune*, not contented with the Place which was given him out of the Rank, in the Seſſions as well as in the Congregations, was alſo for knowing whereabouts he ſhould ſit in the Church; from whence aroſe a greater Difficulty than the firſt; ſo that the Legates, notwithſtanding the great Pains they took, could not bring the Embaſſadors of the two Crowns to an Agreement. That of *Spain* refus'd to conſent to whatever could give the leaſt Idea of an Inequality; and thoſe of *France* could not bear the very mentioning of an Equality. This new Conteſt oblig'd the Legates to deſire the Pope again, to order them what they ſhould do: and in caſe he thought fit al-

ſo on this Occaſion to favour *Spain*, that he would be pleas'd to lay his Commands upon them by a Letter on purpoſe, compris'd in ſuch Terms, as might ſerve them for a Juſtification. *Avila* and *Vargas* made preſſing Inſtances alſo to him at *Rome*; ſo that the Pope ſeeing his firſt Orders had been ſo happily executed, as to be follow'd by no Diſturbance nor Clamour, and hoping the ſecond might be attended with the ſame Succeſs, wrote to them, *That the* Spaniſh *Embaſſadors preſs'd him very much to ſettle the Rank, the Count de* Lune *was to have at ſolemn Maſſes: which he could not decline, becauſe as he had aſſign'd him his Place, it was requiſite he ſhould alſo do the like, in reference to the Pax and the Incenſe, unleſs he would ſuffer the Count to retire: That in Conſideration the King of* Spain *was the chief Support of the Catholick Religion, he deſir'd the Legates would take care, that at the ſame time the Pax and Incenſe ſhould be preſented to the* French *Embaſſador, another Prieſt, or Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter, ſhould do the ſame to that of* Spain; *and that they would proceed herein with ſo much Addreſs, that the ſame might not be perceiv'd, till the very Moment of its Execution. He alſo told them his Intention was, that this Order ſhould be executed, whatever the Conſequence thereof might be; without Prejudice however to the Right of the Parties concern'd.*

The Cardinal *Boromeus* ſent at the ſame time two Letters to them; the one whereof very much recommended the Secrecy of the Matter; (which was to be communicated by the Legates to none but the Count) the Addreſs with which the Order was to be executed; and the Choice of the Miniſters who were to be employ'd therein. It alſo mark'd the Day for the Execution thereof, which was to be on the Eve or Feaſt of St. *Peter*. The other imported, that the Pope would not be pleas'd, if the Legates ſhould in this, do as they had done in the Execution of the firſt Order, where they had publiſh'd, that it was his Holineſs, who of his own Motion had directed them to act as they did; but he on the contrary expected that at the very time of Execution they ſhould notify, that the Pope had order'd it at the Inſtance of the King of *Spain*, thereby to prevent the Count *de Lune* from going away: and that that was the Reaſon why the Pope, who perceiv'd how things went in *France*, was unwilling to loſe or riſque *Spain* with her. The Legates communicated their Order to the Count on the 22d of *June*, as he was juſt getting on Horſeback, to go to the Emperor at *Inſpruck*. The Count told them he was ſatisfy'd, and that he believ'd there would be no great Reluctancy on the *French* ſide: however that the Legates might, without diſcloſing the Secret, cauſe *the Expedient of the two Paxes and the two Cenſers*, to be propos'd by *Draſcoñitz*, one of the Emperor's Embaſſadors, as if it were a Thought of his Maſters, in hopes to have it approv'd of. *Draſcoñits* ſpoke to the Cardinal of *Lorrain* about it, and finding it was not at all lik'd, he propos'd another Modification; to wit, that on St. *Peter*'s Day, neither the Pax nor the Incenſe ſhould be given to either the one or the other, as had been practis'd in the Competition between the Embaſſadors of *Portugal* and of *Hungary*, under *Julius* III. But this Medium was alſo rejected by the Cardinal. Whereupon *Draſcoñitz* intreated him to ſpeak to him freely, not as a Miniſter of *France*, but as a Cardinal, and a Perſon zealous for the Publick Good; and to tell him what he thought might and ought to be done. Hereupon the Cardinal made him two Propoſitions. The firſt was, *That the Embaſſador of* Spain *ſhould not come to Church till towards the latter end of Maſs, after the Ceremonies of the Pax and Incenſe were over.* The other was, *That the Pax ſhould not be preſented to the Count, till it had been preſented to all the Embaſſadors.* He thereunto ſubjoyn'd, *That the laſt could no wiſe prejudice the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador, becauſe being ſeated out of Rank, it was not requiſite to obſerve any for him; which Omiſſion would not injure him, ſince the Embaſſadors of the Emperor and of* France, *made no Difficulty to receive the Pax and Incenſe after the Embaſſadors of* Poland *and* Savoy, *who had their Place on the Bench of the Eccleſiaſticks.* But *Draſcoñitz* was not more ſatisfy'd with theſe Overtures, than the Cardinal was with thoſe which had been made to him: He therefore, when he made a Report to the Legates of his Negotiation, ſpoke of it as of a deſperate Affair. The Count *de Lune* return'd from *Inſpruck* on the 27th, but ſo late, that not being able to ſpeak with the Legates that Night, he went to ſee them the next Day, and learn'd from them what had paſs'd betweeen *Draſcoñitz* and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. They told him they were ready to execute the Pope's Orders. He accepted their Offer; and moreover ſaid, that he did not believe the *French* would make any Noiſe about it, provided they were ſurpris'd: and that they would make ſtill leſs, after the thing was done; becauſe they would not be willing the World ſhould believe, the *Spaniards* had got any Advantage over them, or that they had been Negligent in oppoſing the ſame: but on the contrary, would be glad to have it thought, that nothing paſs'd there to their Prejudice. However at his riſing from Dinner he would ſee the Legates again, and would talk to them more amply on the Matter. He did not do it notwithſtanding: and in the mean time, in this Uncertainty of the Count's Intentions, they flatter'd themſelves ſtill with the Hopes, that at the Eve of the Execution of ſo important an Affair, he might perhaps reflect on the preciſe Orders he had, to avoid carefully all Cauſes and Occaſions of a Rupture. It was in this Uncertainty that the Feaſt of St. *Peter* ſurpris'd them. The Embaſſadors and a great Number of Prelates were come to the Legates, to accompany them to Church; but before they ſet forwards they were whiſper'd in the Ear, that the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador intended to be there, and to bring thither ſome Prelates of his Nation. Upon this Advice the Legates gave private Orders to the Maſter of the Ceremonies, to cauſe a Chair to be brought into the Veſtry, and to have two ſtrange Prieſts ready, to preſent at the ſame time the Pax to the two Embaſſadors.

Thoſe of *France* did not perceive it; but they had hardly taken their Place in the Church, when they ſaw the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador come in, before Maſs was begun: and at the ſame time a Seat was brought and plac'd out of Rank.

Rank. The Place that was given him was not the ſame he had had in the Congregations, becauſe the different Situation of the Theatre would not allow it, but the Chair was put in the Place which the Pope had mark'd out in his Letter, before a Pillar, above the Patriarchs, pretty near the Legates Chairs, and almoſt right againſt the Bench of the ſecular Embaſſadors. The *French* Embaſſadors were very much ſurpriz'd thereat, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain* complain'd of it to the Legates, and particularly that the Pope's Order had been kept a Secret from him, which made a Noiſe that ſpread it ſelf throughout the whole Aſſembly. The ſaid Embaſſadors having conferr'd among themſelves, ſent for the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and ask'd him how he pretended to act in reference to the *Pax* and the *Incenſe*. He told them his Orders, and thereupon they made very ſharp Complaints to the Legates, and threaten'd to proteſt. The Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who ſate near the Legates, in ſeconding the Complaints of the Embaſſadors, ſaid, That they were commanded to appeal to the Council, and to proteſt againſt Pope *Pius*, who the *French* ſaid was not lawfully choſen, becauſe he had been elected thro' *Simony*, and that the Queen had Letters under the Pope's Hand, which prov'd it plainly. After this firſt Tranſport, which made no Impreſſion, the *French* ſaid, that admitting the Pope were duly and canonically elected, they would appeal from him, as from a tyrannical Pope who deſerv'd to be depos'd for the notorious Injuſtice he did in diſpoſſeſſing a minor King of a Right which he had enjoy'd for many Ages, without Conteſtation, and that too without ſo much as giving him a Hearing. That *France* would ſeparate from the See of *Rome*, till a juſter Pope was plac'd therein, who ſhould re-inſtate the King in the Poſſeſſion of what he was ſo unjuſtly depriv'd. The Cardinal added, that all the *French* Prelates ſhould depart, and that ſuch Meaſures ſhould be taken within the Kingdom, in reference to the Affairs of Religion, as ſhould be thought proper by a National Synod, or otherwiſe. *Muglitz* and *Draſcoüitz*, who as firſt Eccleſiaſtical Embaſſadors, were neareſt the Legates, went to and from the Parties, and endeavour'd to calm their Minds, in which they labour'd during the Time the Lecture of the Goſpel was finiſhing. But when the Preacher was beginning his Sermon, the Noiſe was ſo great, that the Legates to avoid a greater Scandal, retir'd into the Veſtry, whither the Embaſſadors of the Emperor and of *Poland* follow'd them. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* went thither likewiſe, and took along with him *Regnant Ferrier* one of the *French* Embaſſadors, as alſo the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and pray'd the Archbiſhop of *Granada* to be there preſent. This laſt inform'd him, that the Count *de Lune* deſir'd nothing elſe but to have the Orders of *Rome* executed, to which he referr'd himſelf. However the Legates, who knew that the King of *Spain* had charg'd the Count not to proceed to a Rupture, which the Archbiſhop of *Granada* had alſo aſſur'd them of, ſaid that Precipitation ought to be avoided in an Affair of that Importance, and that they were oblig'd to ſkreen the Pope from the Reproach of being the Cauſe of the Diſſipation of the Council, which was to be apprehended from this Deciſion. Thus they talk'd to the *Spaniards*, while they anſwer'd the Threats of the *French*, and endeavour'd to allay their Fury, by repreſenting to them, that what was done, was without Prejudice to their Rights and Pretenſions: That Matters had been thus reſolv'd upon from the very firſt Overture of the Council, and that the Pope expreſs'd himſelf in thoſe Terms in his Letters, which they offer'd to produce. They moreover urg'd, that there was no forcing the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador to give place to another, unleſs he were willing; and that ſince the *French* had conſented to his being plac'd out of Rank, they might alſo very well ſuffer the *Pax* and *Incenſe* to be preſented to him in an extraordinary manner. The *French* reply'd, that they could not take Words for Payment, that they were only Wind: Whereas in Actions there was Reality, and that as ſoon as any one is put in Poſſeſſion, in what manner ſoever it be, he acquires a Title. The Legates to get out of this Perplexity, deſir'd the Archbiſhop of *Granada* to know of the Count *de Lune*, if he were willing for this one time, that the Ceremonies of the *Pax* and *Incenſe* ſhould be omitted; letting him know at the ſame time, that they were ready to execute the Pope's Orders, if he abſolutely requir'd it. The Count conſented to their not being perform'd this time, reſerving to himſelf the Power of cauſing thoſe Orders to be executed at the firſt Opportunity, which was to offer it ſelf in three or four Days. But the Legates were in hopes they ſhould find in the mean time ſome Expedient to ſettle the Difference, or at leaſt, that the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Prelates would have Leiſure to prepare themſelves to maintain the Pope's Act; which they had not been able to do, becauſe it had not been communicated to them. But as the Pope's Orders were very poſitive, and that the Legates, who were oblig'd to have a particular Conſideration for the King of *Spain*, were unwilling to have any thing reproach'd them, they deſir'd Cardinal *Madrucci* to deliver the ſame Meſſage to the Count *de Lune*, which the Archbiſhop of *Granada* had carry'd. The Cardinal did ſo in the Preſence of *Draſcoüitz* and of the Embaſſador of *Poland*, and brought the ſame Anſwer from him.

As for the *French*, it is true they had rejected the Propoſition had been made them, concerning the Omiſſion of the Ceremonies: But taking into Conſideration, that by being obſtinate, they would reduce the Legates to the Neceſſity of executing the Orders they had receiv'd, and loſe at leaſt in fact, a Thing of which they were for preſerving the Right in all reſpects whatever, and that they broke with the Pope, which perhaps might not be for the Intereſt of the King their Maſter, they at laſt conſented to the Modification. They conſented that that Day, the Ceremonies ſhould not be perform'd, not only to the Embaſſadors, but alſo to the Legates themſelves: To which theſe laſt acquieſc'd the more readily, as not being willing to be the Cauſe, or Occaſion of the Scandal that might ariſe therefrom. After that, the Embaſſador of *Spain* got up as ſoon as ever the Maſs was ended; whereas before he was us'd to remain the laſt, and he went out

even

even before the Legates Croſs-bearer began to move.

The ſame Day all the Embaſſadors repair'd to the Legates, ſome as being intereſted, and others as Mediators. The Legates told both the ones and the others, that being preſs'd thereto by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, they could no longer delay executing the Pope's Orders. And in effect, *Cardinal Simonetta* having ſent for *Gabriel Palotta*, Auditor of the *Rota*, he bid him prepare the rough Draught of an Anſwer to the Proteſtation the Embaſſadors of *France* might make. *Palotta* made Anſwer, that he look'd upon it to be neither for the Service of God, nor that of the Pope, to kindle a Fire which perhaps might be hard to put out: That all the Prelates were extremely alarm'd with the Apprehenſion they had of the Schiſm of *France*; and that the Embaſſador of *Poland* had declar'd, that this Kingdom would infallibly follow the Example of that. The Cardinal reply'd, that the Orders from *Rome* were ſo preciſe and ſo abſolute, that they did not leave to the Legates the Liberty to deliberate thereon. *Palotta* ingenuouſly reply'd, That he was reſolv'd not to contribute to what might poſſibly prove the Ruine of the Church: That he had no Regard to the Pope's Command in this reſpect, but to God's, which expreſſly forbids giving Occaſion to an apparent Schiſm in the Church: That all the Lawyers unanimouſly declar'd, that a Command is of no Force, when in the Execution thereof, there happen Changes which the Superior could not foreſee. *Buencompagne* whom *Simonetta* ſent for after *Palotta* was gone, was of the ſame Opinion, as well as *Navager* one of the Legates: So that all the Legates judg'd it proper to diſpatch an Expreſs to the Pope, to repreſent to him theſe Difficulties: Accordingly they did ſo, on the 1st of *July*; but to the end they might in the mean time bring the Minds of the Parties to ſome Moderation in the Matter, they made the utmoſt Secret of this Diſpatch. They wrote to the Pope, that the Affair had been very ill receiv'd, not only by thoſe who were intereſted therein, but alſo by the *Portugueſe*, and even by ſome *Spaniards* who ſaid it was not juſt to deprive a minor King of his ancient Poſſeſſion, without hearing him: That *Ferdinand*, *Philip*'s Uncle, would not do it in his Court, nor even the Pope in his, where he might have done it with more Liberty than at the Council: That they were inform'd that the very next Day, the Embaſſadors of *France* deſign'd to come to them and declare, That the Liberty and Safety, which the Pope had ſo often promis'd them, was not to be found at the Council; ſince without the Advice of the Fathers, and without ſounding their Opinions, he acted ſo imperiouſly, and of his own Head and ſole Authority made an Innovation ſo prejudicial to the King, the eldeſt Son of the Church, and acknowledg'd as ſuch for many Ages, to whom ſo cruel an Outrage was offer'd in the Sight of the whole Council, to which he had ſent his Embaſſadors and his Prelates. The Legates ſpoke of it as of an Action which was not only unjuſt, but alſo very pernicious. That the *French* had a Proteſtation ready for the next Sunday, on which they expected the Effect of the Menaces of the Legates: That they would there ſpeak with very little Reſpect of the Pope and the Pontificate, while at the ſame time they treated the King of *Spain* and his Embaſſador with great Civility, with a Deſign to lay all the Blame on *Pius*; and that this being done, they would immediately leave the Place: That they threaten'd to proceed againſt him as a *Simoniack* and a *Schiſmatick*, and that they would cauſe him to be depos'd, in which they were ſenſible all the North would back *France*: That among the Prelates who were at *Trent*, there were ſome malicious enough to believe, that the Pope made uſe of this Fetch to diſperſe the Council, that he might not be oblig'd to ſet a Hand to the Reformation.

It therefore belong'd to his Holineſs to conſider, whether it might not be proper to ſuſpend the Execution of an Order from whence ſo great a Scandal might ariſe, and which they had not foreſeen themſelves when they had deſir'd him to ſignifie his Pleaſure to them, at a time when they did not believe the Execution would be accompany'd with ſo many Difficulties. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* diſpatch'd alſo an Expreſs, and wrote to the Pope in very ſtrong Terms, even to the telling him, that had it not been for the Piety and Prudence of the Count *de Lune*, and the Moderation of the *French* Miniſters, the Legates had like to have made St. *Peter*'s Feſtival the moſt unfortunate Day Chriſtendom had ever ſeen: That the Rank he held in the Church, and the Zeal he had for the publick Good, oblig'd him to acquaint the Pope, that if his Order was executed, the *French* Embaſſadors would declare, that ſince he had laid aſide the Office of Father, to take upon him the Quality of a Partizan, by giving Sentence without hearing him who was moſt intereſted, they would not abide by it, but would order their Affairs, by having Recourſe to the Council, or otherwiſe as they ſhould think convenient: That the Pope could not be ignorant, that the Reſentment of great Princes, who know they are injur'd, makes them loſe all manner of Conſideration and Reſpect, and ſo he intreated him to reflect ſeriouſly thereon.

After the Legates had ſeal'd their Letters, they added one to the Cardinal *Boromeus*, to whom they wrote, that they had juſt receiv'd Advice, that the Count *de Lune* was reſolv'd to cauſe the Pope's Orders to be executed on the Sunday following, and that the Emperor's Miniſters (who condemn'd the Obſtinacy with which the Embaſſadors of *France* rejected the Modification) were come over to him: That the ſaid Count finding his Endeavours with the Cardinal of *Lorrain* were fruitleſs, intended to ſignify to him on the ſame Day by three Biſhops, That he had reſolv'd to cauſe the Orders of *Rome* to be executed: That he had Reaſon to complain of the Lukewarmneſs of the Legates; to the End this Complaint might ſerve them for a Juſtification as well as to the Pope, who, as the Count ſaid, did not therein follow his own Motion, but acted at the Inſtance of the King of *Spain* his Maſter, tho' the *French* were for having the contrary believ'd: That the ſame Biſhops were to add, that the Count had been inform'd, it was the Intention of the *French* to proteſt, but he could not believe it, nor that the Cardinal would ſuffer it, even if

the Embaſſadors were ſo diſpos'd. However if that ſhould happen, he would alſo proteſt on his Side, and would anſwer the diſreſpectful Terms they might uſe againſt the Pope, after ſuch a manner, as would ſufficiently convince the World that the King his Maſter will not ſuffer the reſpect to be loſt which is due to the common Father: That the King of *France* would ſome Day give Marks of his Reſentment and Indignation againſt thoſe, who ſhould have been the Cauſe of his Separation from the Church; and that if the *French* ſhould depart from *Trent*, that ſhould not hinder the Council from ſubſiſting and continuing. The Concluſion of the Letter was, That all this Procedure did not diminiſh the Perplexity they were in; and that they pray'd God to aſſiſt them with his Grace, whilſt they would do their utmoſt to diſpoſe the Parties to an Accommodation.

The Count had in Effect diſcours'd ſeveral Prelates well-affected to *Spain*, who had offer'd him all that lay in their Power, to maintain the King's Honour and the Pope's Authority. But he had alſo met with ſome *Spaniards*, who being wiſer and more reſolute than the reſt, had remonſtrated to him, That he ought to make a ſerious Reflection on the Orders the King had given him, not to come to a Rupture; and had even declar'd to him, that ſome Day they would reproach him with the Violation thereof in the Preſence of his Majeſty. The common Opinion was, That as in all the Aſſemblies which are compos'd of Men of the Gown, there is always a greater Inclination to Peace than to War, the Council would have been for waiting for freſh Orders from the Pope. His firſt Commands indeed contain'd, That the Legates ought not to heed the Menaces of the *French*, even tho' they ſhould retire from *Trent*. But they made no mention of the Caſe where there might be likelihood of a Schiſm. The Pope therefore wrote to them, that if there was any Appearance of a Schiſm, it muſt be carefully avoided in all Reſpects; and laying aſide all Punctilio's, they ſhould remain within the Bounds preſcrib'd by the Laws and the Canons, and adhere to the Sentiments of the holy Doctors: That it was his Opinion there was no Innovation in the Orders he had ſent to the Legates, and that it was not his Intention there ſhould be any for the future; but he would have them gain Time, and endeavour to bring the Matter to a Modification: And whatever happen'd, to offer to make the Council Judge of the Difference: That if the *French* had accepted the Condition, and the Count rejected it, he would be the Author of his own Wrong, and the Pope thereby diſcharg'd of his Obligation: That from the very beginning of his Pontificate the *Spaniards* had never ceas'd perſecuting him, and threatening him, that their King would recall his Embaſſador from *Rome*, and even from *Trent*, if the Pope did not do whatever they deſir'd him: That ſeeing ſo ſmall a Matter made him riſque the Friendſhip of ſo powerful and good a King, while the *French* were wanting in what they ow'd to God, by the Peace they had lately concluded with the Hereticks; and by their Edicts, which tolerated the Meetings in ſpite of the Catholicks, as alſo by the Alienation of the Revenues of the Church, without its Conſent and againſt its Will, he had been oblig'd to ſend them his firſt Orders, to the end he might not find himſelf abandon'd, without Friends and Support: That he had flatter'd himſelf the Execution thereof would have been perform'd without Noiſe or Clamour, as indeed the Count *de Lune* had made him believe; but ſeeing there was Danger of Schiſm therefrom, tho' he was perſuaded the *French* were otherwiſe inclin'd enough thereto, yet it was not proper to furniſh them with an Occaſion, or a Pretext for the ſame. So that they might delay the Execution of his Orders, taking Care at the ſame Time, not to diſcloſe the Secret of this, by which he ſuperſeded the former; till a Mean might be found out to reconcile the Parties; however, he referr'd himſelf to the Diſcretion of the Legates, to make it publick when they ſhould judge it convenient.

The general Diſpoſition of the Council was favourable to the *French*, inſomuch that the Emperor's Embaſſadors ſeeing they were blam'd on Account of their being too partial, excus'd themſelves thereupon to the Legates, by proteſting that they intermeddl'd therein, not as being any way concern'd, but only as Mediators. Nay, there were ſome Lawyers of the Legates Council, who maintain'd, *That as this Matter was entirely ſecular the Pope could not decide it without a Hearing, and even that, after a voluntary Submiſſion of the Parties.* Nevertheleſs, the Legates had made a formal Promiſe to the Count, to go through with it if he deſir'd it; and they could not juſtify themſelves to the King of *Spain*, if they fell off from their Word. So that they labour'd ſedulouſly, and with the utmoſt Application to accommodate the Affair, which was at laſt compaſs'd in the following manner: *That in the Seſſions the ſame Order ſhould be obſerv'd which had been kept on St.* Peter's *Day: That on other ſolemn Days the Embaſſadors ſhould agree among themſelves, which of the two ſhould be preſent at the Ceremonies; whereby Things were thought to be ſo well adjuſted, that no Diſorder could ariſe therefrom; and that in the mean Time the two Kings ſhould be written to, to ſee if ſome Expedient might not be found to ſettle a fix'd Regulation therein.* The Cardinal of *Lorrain* diſpos'd, or rather compell'd the *French* Embaſſadors to a Compliance; and the Archbiſhop of *Grenada* made that of *Spain* acquieſce alſo; both of them aſſuring the Embaſſadors of the Approbation of the King their Maſter. It muſt be own'd that the Count *de Lune* obtain'd thereby all he could pretend to: Firſt, he did not give Place to the *French* Embaſſador; ſecondly, he had an honourable Place alloted him in all the Aſſemblies, which denoted a Competition between the two Crowns; and in the third Place his Conteſtations did not cauſe the Council to be diſpers'd, nor a Rupture with *France*, which is oblig'd to the Houſe of *Lorrain* for the Diſgrace.

In the mean Time the Difference about Precedency remain'd undecided at *Rome*. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador made preſſing Inſtances there, that it might be determin'd by a definitive Sentence, and deſir'd to have the firſt Place on the Pope's Left Hand, leaving that on the Right to the Emperor's Embaſſador. He did not ſcruple to ſay, that if he were refus'd a Thing, which he ſaid was very juſt, the King

his Maſter would not only recall his Embaſſador, but alſo command all his Subjects to leave the Eccleſiaſtical State. On the contrary, the *French* Embaſſador proteſted, That if he were moleſted in the quiet Poſſeſſion he had been in for many Ages, to take Place immediately after the Emperor's Embaſſador, the King his Maſter would recall his Miniſter, and would, with all his Kingdom, ſhake off Obedience to the See of *Rome*: And in effect, the King had order'd his Embaſſador, that in Caſe the leaſt thing were undertaken againſt his Right, to declare this Separation to the Pope, and to leave the City. The Pope being afraid, leſt *France* (where the Proteſtant Religion had already made a great Progreſs) ſhould follow the Example of *England*, was in great Pain what to do: He had been ſick, and under that Pretext he deferr'd going to Chapel; and when on *Holy Thurſday* he gave his Bleſſing to the People from the Box in the Vatican, *he had ſo regulated the Rank, in Reference to the Embaſſadors of the two Crowns, that it could not be ſaid which of them had the firſt*, excuſing himſelf for ſo doing, that on thoſe Days of Devotion none was given to any Body.

Loiſel, Embaſſador from *France* at that Court, was ſo ſcandaliz'd hereat, that he took from thence an Occaſion to ask his Audience of Leave; however his Departure was prevented, by giving him Hopes, that at the Chapel of *Whitſunday* he ſhould receive Satisfaction. The Pope flatter'd himſelf that he might do it even with *Philip*'s Conſent, who had wrote to him, as I before took Notice, that he would not amuſe himſelf with thoſe Vanities; and notwithſtanding he had alter'd his Mind ſince, the Pope fed himſelf with the Hopes of bringing him back to his firſt Sentiment, by repreſenting to him, that the greater and the more violent the Evils of *France* were, the greater Compaſſion *Philip* ought to have for it, and not ſtick at a little Smoke and Vain-Glory. But *Philip* made Anſwer to the two Nuncio's, who ſpoke to him about it, That too great a Progreſs had been made therein to let it drop, and that he referr'd the Matter to his Embaſſador, who had his Orders. *Ruy Gomez de Silva* rejected alſo the two Propoſitions which the ſame Nuncio's made to him, of having the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador abſent himſelf from the publick Ceremonies, and ſaid, that after what had happen'd at *Trent* the King would not ſtop here, but proceed farther. The Pope, that he might affront no Body, had in the mean time forbidden all the Embaſſadors to aſſiſt at the publick Ceremonies without his Order; and the better to oblige *France* to have a Deference thereto, he had deſir'd the Emperor to command his Embaſſador to acquieſce to it. The Emperor did ſo, and his Embaſſador expreſs'd a Readineſs to abſent from them, diſſembling the Order he had receiv'd from Court, as being willing to have it believ'd, that what he did was only out of Deference to the Pope's Deſire, thereby to oblige the *French* Embaſſador to follow his Example; but all this ſignify'd nothing. Upon the Advice they had in *France*, of what had paſs'd at *Rome* on *Maunday Thurſday*, the Queen-Mother told the *Nuncio*, That the King, young as he was, had nevertheleſs declar'd in full Council, that he would not ſuffer any Body to wrong him: That the Embaſſador had done very well in taking his Audience of Leave, but very ill in not coming away immediately: However, ſince the Affair was in that Condition, he might now continue there till *Whitſunday*: But that expreſs Orders were ſent him to come away, in Caſe Satisfaction were not given him at that Time, and to bring the Cardinal *de Bourdaiſiere* along with him. She moreover told him, ſhe was willing to ſpeak to him not as the King's Mother, and Regent, but as a Daughter of the Catholick Church, and let him know that, if the Pope fail'd herein, ſhe foreſaw a Fire kindling, of which the Enemies of the Church would make uſe, to irritate the more the King's Indignation, to the great Prejudice of Religion. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſpoke to him in the ſame Terms, and thereupon the Nuncio wrote to *Rome*, That he was certain the good King *Philip* would not for ſo vain and frivolous a Pretenſion, be the Cauſe of the Loſs of ſo many Souls, and of the Conflagration of a Kingdom in the Neighbourhood of his Eſtates of *Spain* and *Flanders*: That the King would think it an Honour to him to give here Marks of his own Prudence, and of that of his Council: After all, that the Pope would only do therein what he was for doing formerly, and what the Republick of *Venice* did already; ſo that her Example might ſerve for a Juſtification to his Holineſs.

The Pope had offer'd to leave the Deciſion of the Difference to the Council, or elſe to the *Rota*; but neither *France* nor *Spain* would ſubmit thereto: The one becauſe ſhe would not have her Right call'd in Queſtion, and the other becauſe ſhe diſtruſted hers. For which Reaſon he at laſt ordain'd, That without Prejudice to the Right each of the Parties might really have, the Embaſſador of *France* ſhould be maintain'd in the Poſſeſſion, and that he ſhould have the Place which his Predeceſſors had always occupy'd, before *Charles* V. Father to *Philip* had been elected Emperor; and which they had effectually enjoy'd, as well in the Chapel as at *Trent*. He offer'd at the ſame Time to refer the Cognizance of the Affair to the Council, or to the *Rota*; and in the mean Time to give a Place to the Embaſſador of *Spain*, ſeparate from the other Embaſſadors, amongſt the Cardinals, after the laſt Cardinal Prieſt. *Lewis de Cuniga*, and *de Requeſens*, Great Commander of the Order of St. *James* in *Caſtille*, ſince Governor of *Milan*, and afterwards of the Low Countries, where he dy'd, was ſo tranſported at this Declaration that the Pope told him in Anger, That it was a Civility, what he had offer'd him, to put him out of the Rank of the other Embaſſadors; but ſince he was not ſatisfy'd therewith, he might go even where he pleas'd, and that he would not revoke his Ordinance. He wrote alſo on this Subject to the Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, That what he had done had been out of a Motive of Juſtice, which had oblig'd him to regulate the Difference as he did. The *Spaniards* made a great Noiſe hereat, and gave out that *Philip* would employ his Arms to revenge himſelf. But all the Revenge he took was to recall his Embaſſador, and the Pope was willing to have it thought, that therein was more of Complaiſance than of Reſentment. Some Time before *Requeſens* had, of his own Authority, caus'd a certain Licentiate

to

to be carry'd off, and clap'd into Priſon; which had ſo incens'd the Pope, that he had refus'd to give him Audience, and had deſir'd *Philip*, by Cardinal *Pacheco*, to recall him, as being an unfit Miniſter to entertain a right Underſtanding between them. But herein he did not ſo much flatter himſelf, as he impos'd upon others.

The *Spaniards*, who were oblig'd to reſpect the Pope's Regulation at *Rome*, did not for that renounce their Pretenſions: on the contrary, they have ever ſince ſought all Occaſions, that might favour them, or could furniſh them with ſome Title or Pretext. *Don Pedro Faxardo* being ſent, ſome few Years after this Declaration of the Pope, to the Diet which had been call'd in *Poland*, for the Election of a new King upon the Death of *Sigiſmund Auguſtus*: and intending to go to the *Audience* the Senate gave to the Embaſſadors of all the Pretenders to the Crown, to recommend the Intereſt of their reſpective Maſters, he joyn'd himſelf to the *Emperor's Embaſſador, and endeavour'd to enter with him into the Tent where the Senate was aſſembled.* He ſaid, That the King of *Spain*, his Maſter, had no other Intereſt than that of the Emperor; and as he had no other Intention, than to recommend the Perſon of the Arch-Duke *Erneſt*, *Maximilian*'s Son, he thought he might do it in the ſame Audience with the Emperor's Embaſſador: but *the Embaſſadors of* France *oppos'd it; and by cauſing him to withdraw, preſerv'd to themſelves the Rank which was due to the King their Maſter.*

There was another Diſpute about Precedency, at the Aſſembly of *Vervins* in the Year 1598, between *Meſſieurs de Bellievre* and *de Sillery*, Embaſſadors of *France* on the one ſide; and *Meſſieurs Richardot*, *Taxis* and *Verreyken*, Embaſſadors from *Spain* on the other. The Cardinal of *Florence*, who was Legate there from *Clement* VIII, as Mediator, and who found himſelf very much perplex'd therein, propos'd ſeveral Expedients, which were all rejected by the *French*; as well as the Offer made by the *Spaniards*, to yield in the Quality of Embaſſadors from the Cardinal Arch-Duke, Governor of the Low Countries. *Bellievre* ſaid, that he could not conſider them but as Embaſſadors from the King of *Spain*, with whom the King his Maſter pretended to treat, and not with the Arch-Duke, nor with his Miniſters, and inſiſted on their yielding to him in that Quality. To put an End to this Controverſy, it was thought adviſeable ſo to order the Seats, that the Legate ſhould be at the upper End of the Table: That the Biſhop of *Mantua*, the Pope's Nuncio, ſhould place himſelf on the Legates Right-Hand; and after that, the *French* ſhould have the Choice of the Places, either the firſt on the Legate's Left-Hand, or the ſecond on his Right, after the Nuncio. They took the firſt Place next the Legate; tho' it ſeems as if therein there were ſomething that did not agree with the Maxim, *Of the laſt Place in the firſt Rank, being more honourable than the firſt in the ſecond.* But beſides that the having the Choice gave all the Advantage to the *French*, there were not two different Ranks on this Occaſion: and the Places neareſt to the firſt were the moſt honourable: ſince the two Places of the Embaſſadors of *France*, were reckon'd but for one, no more than the three of the Embaſſadors of *Spain*. Neither is there any Doubt to be made, but the *Spaniards* would have made the ſame Choice, if it had been left to them: in which conſiſted almoſt all the Advantage.

The Count *de Tilliers*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, and the Count *de Gondemar*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Spain* in *England*, being invited to the Diverſion of a Riding at the Ring; the Court deſiring to pleaſe both Parties, had caus'd two Boxes to be built, which were plac'd in ſuch manner, that it could not be ſaid, that one of the Embaſſadors was more favour'd than the other. He of *France* ſaid, *That it was not ſufficient to place them both in an equal Degree of Honour; but that it was neceſſary every Body ſhould be ſenſible, that* France *had the Precedency of* Spain: and that at leaſt he ought to have the Choice of the Boxes. He could not obtain it; ſo that he would not be preſent at the Diverſion, nor ſuffer his Lady to be there neither. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador took Advantage hereof, as if he had got the better of the *French*. It cannot be deny'd: but then it is impoſſible for an Embaſſador to parry ſuch Strokes, when the Prince with whom he reſides, declares in favour of his Competitor. King *James* in his Inclinations was more a *Spaniard* than a *Frenchman*, if we will believe the Hiſtory of thoſe Times: and he diverted himſelf with the Count *de Gondemar*, who on his Part fed him with Hopes of the Marriage with the *Infanta*. There is a Difference between theſe Aſſemblies and ſolemn Ceremonies. The Embaſſador may abſent himſelf from the ones, but he cannot avoid taking the Rank due to the King his Maſter at the others.

The Duke of *Longueville*, and the Count *de Pegueranda*, who were Chiefs of the Embaſſies of *France* and *Spain* at *Munſter*, did not viſit one another; not ſo much by Reaſon of the Count's Refuſal to give the Title of Highneſs to the Duke; ſince this laſt declar'd, he did not pretend to it from the Count, and was willing their Conferences ſhould run in the third Perſon without Title; but becauſe it was very difficult for them to ſee one another, eſpecially in a third Place, but the one would take Advantage of the other: The Count knew the *French* had boaſted, that they would cauſe it to be given them, coſt what it would, if an Occaſion offer'd it ſelf; for which Reaſon he was very cautious of expoſing himſelf. *Diego de Saavedra*, and *Anthony le Brun*, often ſaw *d'Avaux* and *Servien* in the Conferences, ſometimes at one of their Houſes, and ſometimes at the others, where they mutually gave the Style of Excellency each to the other; but they carefully avoided meeting in a third Place. *M. d'Avaux*, who was one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, happening to be alone at *Munſter*, endeavour'd to diſpoſe *M. le Brun* to agree to an Aſſignation in the Capucin's Garden; but whatever Overtures were made, and Expedients propos'd to concert this Interview ſo that the Dignity of the two Crowns might not ſuffer thereby, it could never be brought to paſs. *D'Avaux* had it repreſented to *le Brun*, that as he was the ſecond in the Commiſſion of the *French* Embaſſy, and the other the third in that of *Spain*, this would not injure himſelf

very much if he granted him ſome ſmall Advantage; but all was to no purpoſe. This Jealouſy even went ſo far, that the Aſſembly had like to have broke up, on the Difficulty which was ſtarted, *which of the two Kings ſhould be firſt nam'd in the publick Acts.* It was propos'd that neither the one nor the other ſhould be nam'd, and that it ſhould be ſimply ſaid, *The two Crowns.* *D'Avaux* reliſh'd this Overture well enough: but *Servien*, who condemn'd whatever the other approv'd, rejected it, tho' he might have remember'd, if he had pleas'd, that it was what had been done at the Treaty of *Queraſque*, which he had himſelf negotiated and ſign'd, with the Mareſchal *de Toiras*, in the Year 1631.

The Encounter the Count *Deſtrades* and the Baron *de Vatteville*, Embaſſadors of *France* and *Spain*, had at *London*, in the Year 1661, made it very plain, that the *Spaniards* had not renounc'd their Pretenſions, notwithſtanding the Regulations of Pope *Pius*. They were both to ſend their Coaches to meet Count *Brahe*, Embaſſador from *Sweden*, on the Day of his Entry. And for as much as they made no doubt, but there would be a Conteſt about the Rank, they each of them took thoſe Meaſures they judg'd neceſſary to procure the Advantage to his own ſide. *Vatteville* ſent for ſome Soldiers from *Oſtend*, made ſure of ſeveral *Engliſh*; and inſtead of Traces, had caus'd Chains of a moderate Thickneſs to be cover'd with Leather, that they might not be liable to be cut. *Deſtrades* had indeed reinforc'd his Equipage a little; but not expecting things would come to ſuch Extremities, he had not taken all the Precautions, which might have protected him from the Violence of others.

The Duke of *York*, who fear'd and foreſaw the Diſorder, had caus'd a Troop of Horſe, and three Companies of his Regiment of Foot to be drawn out: but as the Officers had no Orders to meddle with the Quarrel of the Embaſſadors, all they could do, was to be Spectators of the Fight and Confuſion. Some of the *French* Embaſſador's Coach-Horſes were kill'd, as well as two or three of his People. There were alſo ſome *Spaniards* who loſt their Lives, but yet they carry'd the Day, becauſe *Deſtrades* Coach could not move without Horſes. It was in Conſequence of this Diſorder, and of the Complaints *Deſtrades* made thereof, that the King of *England* ordain'd, that the foreign Miniſters Coaches ſhould not for the future attend at this kind of Ceremonies. Upon the firſt Advice hereof in *France*, the King ſent word to the Count *de Fuenſaldagne*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, who had already begun to take his Leave, to be gone from Court in four and twenty Hours, and not to make any Stay in any of the Towns he ſhould paſs through, till he was got out of the Kingdom. He moreover order'd the Archbiſhop of *Embrun*, his Embaſſador at *Madrid*, to require Satisfaction and Reparation; and unleſs he obtain'd both the one and the other, to retire. The King of *Spain*, who was aged and ſickly, promis'd he would comply with his Son-in-Law's Deſire: *That he would recall* Vatteville *from his Embaſſy in* England: *That he would give Orders to all his Embaſſadors, not to be preſent at the Ceremonies, at which thoſe of* France *ſhould aſſiſt: That the Marquiſs of* Fuentes, *who was nominated to the Embaſſy of* France, *ſhould make a formal Declaration thereof to the King.* He did ſo on the 24th of *March*, 1662, in the great Cloſet at the Louvre, whither the King had caus'd all the Embaſſadors and foreign Miniſters then in *Paris* to come, in the Preſence of the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Condé*, the Chancellor, and of ſeveral other Dukes and Peers, and of the four Secretaries of State, who regiſter'd the ſame. It is in this State that the Affair is at preſent: and one may ſay, That without a great Revolution, there is little likelyhood, that the Embaſſadors of *Spain* will be preſent at thoſe Ceremonies, where they ſhall be oblig'd either to conteſt, or give up the Rank to thoſe of *France*.

Vatteville thought, without doubt, that he did a ſignal Service to the King of *Spain*; and inſtead thereof he created him a very pernicious Quarrel, from whence neither he nor his Maſter could draw any manner of Advantage. Whatever Succeſs he had in his Enterpriſe, he thereby acquired no Title to his King, nor Credit to himſelf.

In the Month of *September*, 1667, the Duke *de Chaunes*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France* at *Rome*, had ſent his Coach to meet the Embaſſador of *Malta*, to do him Honour at his Entry; but the Cavalcade being oblig'd to paſs before the Palace of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, this laſt ſent out all his Servants, and having caus'd the Horſes of the *French* Embaſſador to be ſtop'd, made his own Coach take the Precedency. The Duke complain'd thereof to the Pope, who ſpoke to the Embaſſador about it: but this told him, That he had no Meaſures to obſerve with the Duke *de Chaunes*, ſince the King his Maſter had in two Reſpects as good as broke with the King of *Spain*; in ſuccouring the *Portugueſe*, and in carrying his Arms into *Flanders*: That nothing could hinder him from revenging it on all Occaſions. This was a ſorry Revenge; and a poor Comfort after the Loſs of ſo many fine Towns in *Flanders*.

CHAP. XXV.

Of ſeveral other Competitions.

THERE is not any thing the Embaſſador ought to be more jealous of, than of the Rights and Dignity of his Prince, and particularly of the Rank he holds amongſt the other Princes, to the End he may preſerve it to him in the Ceremonies and publick Aſſemblies. It is what he cannot be negligent in on any Account or Conſideration whatever; and

and he cannot fail therein, but at the Expence of his Honour, and his Life. Pope *Urban* VIII. who had a great Indulgence for his Relations, would have all the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads give place in the Chapels, and other publick Ceremonies, to *Thadeus Barberin*, Prefect of *Rome*. They had this Complaiſance for the Pope during his Pontificate: or at leaſt they avoided the Occaſions where they muſt have enter'd into a Conteſt with his Nephew. But immediately after the Exaltation of *Innocent* X, the Duke *Savelli*, the Emperor's Embaſſador, although a Subject of the Pope, and the Count *de Sivella*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, caus'd it to be mention'd to the Marquiſs *de St Chaumont*, Embaſſador from *France*, and they reſolv'd together, to reaſſume the Rank over the Prefect. The two firſt did not viſit the third, becauſe their Maſters were at War; but they ſoon enter'd into the ſame Sentiments for the common Intereſt of their Honour. *St. Chaumont* kept his Bed, being ſick of the Gout; but the two others took Poſſeſſion of their ancient Right on the very Day of the Pope's Election, who not having yet forgot the Obligation he had to the deceaſed, and to the *Barberins*, who had been inſtrumental to the making him Pope, had ſome Difficulty to declare himſelf in Favour of the Embaſſadors. He deſir'd them by Cardinal *Caponi*, not to aſſiſt at the Chapel that Day; ſignifying to them at the ſame time, that he would cauſe the Prefect to abſent likewiſe: So that nothing ſhould paſs to the Prejudice of their Rights, which ſhould be preſerv'd entire to them. The Embaſſadors expreſs'd a great deal of Surprize at this Propoſition, which put them upon the Level with a private Man. The *French* Embaſſador declar'd formally, *That nothing ſhould hinder him from being there, tho' he were ſure to loſe his Life, becauſe he had his Maſter's poſitive Orders for ſo doing*. The Emperor's and the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors made an Anſwer leſs vigorous; but after they had diſcuſs'd the Matter with the Cardinals of the Party, it was reſolv'd that *Savelli* ſhould write a Billet to Cardinal *Caponi*, in which he ſhould tell him poſitively, *That if the Pope himſelf ſhould expreſſly forbid him to come to the Throne*, (the *Italians* call it *Solio*) *he would notwithſtanding go and take his Place, whatever Oppoſition might be made him. St. Chaumont* added, that if he met the Prefect any where in the Town, he would oblige him to ſtop his Coach, and give him the way. The Pope at laſt declar'd in Favour of the Embaſſadors, and gave the Prefect Leave to proteſt. The Pope, when he ſent to invite the Embaſſadors to aſſiſt at the Chapel, ſignify'd to them, that the Prefect would not be there, becauſe he was gone out of Town about ſome Affairs. The Embaſſadors made Anſwer, That they would go and take their Places at the Throne, and did not trouble themſelves whether the Prefect was at *Rome* or in the Countrey.

It muſt be judg'd by *Savelli*'s Billet, that he would have had his Place at the Chapel, even tho' the Pope, inſtead of the Requeſt he made him as to the Emperor's Embaſſador, had commanded him as his Subject, to refrain coming; that he would have preferr'd his Maſter's Service to the Orders of his Sovereign, how abſolute ſoever they might have been: Wherein we muſt obſerve, what is ſpoken of elſewhere concerning the Reſpect Sovereigns ought to have for the Character in any Perſon whatſoever. It is true, a Sovereign Prince may make himſelf be obey'd, even by an Embaſſador, provided he does not violate the Law of Nations: But then as the Embaſſador on his ſide, acknowledges no other Orders than thoſe of his Maſter, the Prince muſt ſee how he can juſtify himſelf to the Prince of the Embaſſador, if this laſt is not allow'd all the Liberty that is due to his Character. In the Year 1558, the Senate of *Venice* ſignify'd to the Biſhop of *Acs*, Embaſſador from *France*, that it was expected he would not be preſent at a Proceſſion, where they would have been oblig'd to have invited alſo the Embaſſador of *Spain*. The Biſhop was ſo ſurpriz'd at this Meſſage, that he would needs have all his own Domeſticks, and thoſe of Cardinal *de Tournon* (who was lodg'd with him) to be Witneſſes thereof: However this did not hinder him from having a Deference to the Requeſt of the Senate; becauſe the Sovereign may and ought to prevent by all poſſible means, whatever can diſturb or ruffle the Tranquillity of the State. The Kings of *France* and of *Great-Britain* have thought it adviſeable, not to admit for the future, the Embaſſadors Coaches at the Entries of thoſe who arrive; becauſe as the Kings and Sovereigns do on theſe Occaſions all the Honours, they are in the right not to approve of Strangers medling therein. At *Rome* there is a particular Reaſon that obliges Embaſſadors to appear at the publick Ceremonies; becauſe in their Abſence others might be apt to take Poſſeſſion of ſome Functions which are peculiar to them; as the carrying the Train of the Pope's Cope, or the Pall, or the marching in their Rank at ſolemn Proceſſions. It may be ſaid on occaſion of this Competition of the Embaſſadors, and the Prefect, that the Embaſſador who does not at home yeild the Place of Honour to a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, will be far from doing it in a third Place to an imaginary Prince, though it may be alſo ſaid, that Pope *Pius* adjudg'd the Precedency to the Senator of *Rome*, againſt the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador. Thoſe who have any Knowledge of Hiſtory, know what the Authority of a Senator of *Rome* was for ſome Centuries after the tenth. Pope *Clement* IV, to do Honour to *Charles* Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Lewis* IX, King of *France*, made him Senator of *Rome*. *Nicholas* III. ordain'd, That for the future, the Quality of Senator ſhould not be given to any Prince of the Royal Blood: So that at this time there remains only the Name of it.

I have ſpoken at large in the foregoing Chapter, of the Difference the Embaſſadors of *France* and *Spain* had about the Rank, and after what manner it was regulated, as well at *Trent* as at *Rome*. In the Year 1542, was reviv'd that the King of *France* had on the ſame Subject with the King of the *Romans*, and this on occaſion of the Conteſt, the *Germans* and the *French* had concerning which of the two Kings ſhould be nam'd firſt in the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*. The *French* ſaid, their King was Sovereign and Abſolute, and was in Poſſeſſion of following the Emperor immediately, and preceding all the other Kings in Chriſtendom.

That the King of the *Romans* was only a Titular King, and Emperor in Expectancy, as Coadjutor of the Imperial Dignity. The *Germans* on the other ſide, maintain'd, that the King of the *Romans* had the ſame Authority which the Laws give the Emperor: That he diſpos'd of the Fiefs; that it was from him Princes took their Inveſtiture, and receiv'd the *Regalia*; and that in the Emperor's Abſence, he ſate in the Imperial Throne: That he conven'd the Diets; that he iſſu'd out Edicts, and in general did all that the Emperor could do. They added, that in the Emperor *Frederick* III's Time, the Embaſſadors of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, had preceded thoſe of *Lewis* XII, King of *France*, in the Pope's Chapel. *D'Urſé*, *Ligneres*, and *Danais*, Embaſſadors from *France*, being arriv'd at *Trent*, ſome Time after were for knowing what Place they ſhould have, as well at the Seſſions as in the Congregations. Cardinal *Pacheco* told them, That in his Opinion, they made this Queſtion very much out of Seaſon, ſince he judg'd that the Embaſſadors of *France* would not enter into Competition with thoſe of the Empire, and there were no others at *Trent*, and ſo there was no Body with whom they could have any Conteſtation about the Rank. Perhaps the Thing had ended here, had not the Archbiſhop of *Madera* thought fit to mention the King of the *Romans*, ſaying, That at the Council of *Lateran*, his Embaſſador had preceded that of *France*. The Archbiſhop of *Armac* made Anſwer, That at that Time *Maximilian* was not King of the *Romans*, but Emperor; and that he did not take the Quality thereof, becauſe he was not yet crown'd by the Pope: whereas *Ferdinand* had only the bare Title. The Biſhop of *Feltro* ſaid, That the Examples of ancient Hiſtory ſhew'd, that the Empire might at the ſame time have two Emperors of equal Power and Authority. But the Biſhop of *Bitonte* took him up, and ſaid, he had never heard ſay, nor read, that *Charles* and *Ferdinand* were both Emperors. The other Prelates would alſo ſpeak their Sentiments, and the Conteſt had gone very far, had it not been for the Biſhop of *Lucera*, who ſaid, That it was not a Matter belonging to the Council, and that the Fathers ought not to take Cognizance thereof; but that it ought to be regulated by the Legates. All the Aſſembly acquieſc'd therein, tho' in ſuch a manner as made it ſufficiently known that the Council was favourably diſpos'd to *France*. The Legates took here an Occaſion to ſpeak of a Decree which had been made ſoon after the Overture of the Council, whereby due Proviſion was made, that whatever ſhould be done in reference to the Ceremonies, ſhould do no Prejudice to the Parties, nor be any Precedent.

The Embaſſadors of *France* being inform'd of what had paſs'd in that Conference, declar'd to the Legates, that if they did not aſſign them a certain and honourable Place among the Embaſſadors of the other Kings, they would be gone. The Legates made Anſwer, That they ought to have more Regard to the general Diſpoſition of the Council, which was favourable to them, than to the Tranſports of two or three hair-brain'd Perſons who abus'd the Liberty they had to ſpeak which the Place gave them: That ſince the Embaſſadors of the Emperor were arriv'd at *Trent*, thoſe of the King of the *Romans* had not appear'd; becauſe the laſt Comers could act for both the one and the other: So that it was not neceſſary to begin a Proceſs before the Poſſeſſion was conteſted with them. The *French* Embaſſadors were not ſatisfy'd with this Anſwer, and the Legates appear'd to be ſo much the more perplex'd, becauſe there was no likelihood of prevailing with either of the Parties to yeild. They conſider'd alſo, that the Council could not give Judgment in a thing, concerning which there was neither Law nor Cuſtom, nor was not of its Juriſdiction. From whence it was reaſonable to think, that even tho' the Fathers ſhould determine the Matter upon good Principles, and an indiſputable Right, they would not be able to put their Sentence in Execution, nor to procure Obedience thereto. It ſeem'd as if the only Mean to remove theſe Difficulties, was to prevail with the Embaſſadors of *Ferdinand* not to be preſent at the publick Actions; becauſe not having been there while the Emperor had no Embaſſadors at *Trent*, they might very well forbear it ſtill, without any Suſpicion of their doing ſo on the *French* Embaſſador's Account. The Legates apprehended beſides, that the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, who as more eſpecial Protector of the Council, pretended to ſome Pre-eminency there, would make Difficulty to ſuffer the *French* Embaſſadors to take Place immediately after them; but they made none, and thoſe of *France* contenting themſelves to keep the Rank which belong'd to them, immediately after the Emperor's Embaſſadors, acquieſc'd likewiſe. It is evident, that the Embaſſadors of *France* came off here with Advantage. For if the Pretenſions of the King of the *Romans* were juſt and well founded, his Miniſters did him an irreparable Prejudice, by not appearing at the publick Aſſemblies. They renounc'd their Maſter's Right, in ſuffering the *French* Embaſſadors to take Place next to thoſe of the Emperor, never to relinquiſh the ſame after having gain'd Poſſeſſion. And in effect, ſince the Embaſſadors of *Ferdinand* ſuperſeded the Execution of the Functions of their Employment, on the Appearance of the Emperor's Miniſters, they ſufficiently made known, that their Prince being only a Lieutenant, Vicar, or Coadjutor of his Brother, the Emperor's Preſence eclips'd his Dignity, which in Reality had no Luſtre but in the Abſence of the Planet which gave it him.

It cannot be deny'd but the Miniſters of the King of the *Romans* diſtruſted their Maſter's Right, ſince they had ſome Difficulty to maintain it in a Competition, which they had ſince with a much weaker Adverſary. In the Year 1552, there arriv'd at *Trent* three Embaſſadors from *Portugal*, *James de Selva*, *James de Govea*, and *John Paez*, who immediately had a Difference about Precedency with the Embaſſadors of the King of the *Romans*. In Order to regulate the Conteſt, ſo as to preſerve the Right of both Parties, it was order'd, That for the firſt Time the Speaker of the *Portugueze* ſhould be ſeated on the Bench of the Eccleſiaſticks, over againſt the Preſidents or Legates: That in that Place he ſhould declare his Obedience, and

and in the mean time the Embaſſadors of *Ferdinand* ſhould remain in a Room hard by. But as this Proviſion did not decide the Difference, the Parties agreed among themſelves to refer the Matter to the Pope, who took Cognizance thereof as Judge, and not as Arbitrator. The Intereſſed, to render him favourable to them, try'd to make Friends at *Rome*, and had Recourſe to the Interceſſion of thoſe who had moſt Intereſt there. The Miniſters of *Ferdinand* writing on this Subject to ſome of the Pope's Officers, in recommending to them the Intereſt of their Maſter, deſir'd they would furniſh them with ſome Example that might oblige the Pope to pronounce in Favour of the King of the *Romans*; whether he conſider'd *Ferdinand* in this Quality, or would give him the Advantage on Account of his Kingdom of *Hungary*, which was not a bare empty Title, but an effectual Poſſeſſion. Anſwer was made them, That after a due Enquiry it appear'd, *that the Difference had never been regulated in Reference to the Chapel:* So that his Holineſs could not determine the Difference, without hearing the Reaſons of the Parties: That his Advice was, that thoſe Embaſſadors of *Ferdinand*, who were Biſhops, ſhould take their Places among the Eccleſiaſticks, and put themſelves at the Head of all the Prelates, while thoſe of *Portugal* ſhould be rank'd amongſt the Seculars; and that if this Propoſition did not pleaſe them they might accommodate the Matter with the Fathers of the Council, as they ſhould think it proper. On the 24th Day of *April* the Parties agreed among themſelves, that in the general Aſſembly of that Day, where all the Embaſſadors were to be preſent, as alſo in thoſe of the next Day, and of the 27th and 28th of the ſame Month, the Embaſſadors of *Portugal* ſhould be ſeated oppoſite to thoſe of the Emperor; that is to ſay, on the right Side, before the Legates, where thoſe Electors who were Eccleſiaſticks, and were gone, had been ſeated; and that thoſe of *Ferdinand* ſhould be plac'd by the Emperor's Embaſſadors on the left Hand: The whole, for theſe Days only. And to the End nothing might paſs to the Prejudice of either Party, neither the Pax nor the Incenſe was preſented to any of the Embaſſadors; of which thoſe of *Portugal* caus'd an authentick Act to be given them. Since that Time there has been no more Conteſts with the Embaſſadors of the King of the *Romans*, becauſe *Ferdinand* having ſucceeded to the Empire, by the Reſignation of *Charles*, he ſent his Embaſſadors to *Trent* as Emperor. He was alſo King of *Hungary*, and in that Quality he had alſo his Embaſſador.

But before we ſpeak of the Diſpute this laſt had with the Embaſſador of the King of *Portugal*, I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay a Word or two concerning the Difference which happen'd at *Munſter*, about the Quality of Majeſty between the Emperor and the King of *France*. In the Year 1646, the Queen Regent had ſent to *Munſter* the *Sieur de Mondevergues*, in Order to have him ſent from thence, by the Plenipotentiaries to *Vienna*, to complement that Court on the Death of the Empreſs. But forasmuch as in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII, the Emperor had been written to on ſuch an Occaſion, and had not anſwer'd the Letter; the Queen would not have this Gentleman ſet out, till it was certain that the Emperor would return the Civility which was intended him. In the Conferences which the Plenipotentiaries of *France* had with thoſe of the Emperor hereupon, the Count *de Trautmanſdorf* told them no Anſwer had been made, becauſe in thoſe Letters the King gave no other Title to the Emperor than that of *Serenity*. He was anſwer'd, That the King in that had follow'd the Emperor's Example, who had given the ſame Title to the King, in his: So that the Council having deliberated thereupon, had reſolv'd not to ſuffer the leaſt Inequality betwixt the Emperor and the King: That the King of *France* was Emperor within his own Dominions, even according to the Sentiments of the *German* Lawyers: That they could make it appear, that this Equality had always been obſerv'd amongſt them, and that the Queen would not ſuffer it to be alter'd in the leaſt. The Count reply'd, that, on the contrary, they could prove, That King *Henry* IV, and the late King, had always given the Emperor the Style of *Majeſty*, while this return'd them only that of *Serenity*. They did not agree upon the Matter of Fact; wherefore ſeveral Means of Accommodation were propos'd. The Mediators intermeddl'd, and it was thought the Parties might be ſatisfy'd if they gave one another the Style of *Majeſty* or *Dilection*, or elſe that of *Imperial Majeſty* and *Royal Majeſty*, when the Emperor and the King wrote each to the other with their own Hand, or in the Style of the *Chancery*. Letters were diſpatch'd to *Vienna* and *Paris* about it; but as at that Time the two Courts had not much Complaiſance one for the other, it was impoſſible to adjuſt the Difference. The Emperor's *Chancery* was obſtinate, and would not change its Style, and the Miniſters of *France* could not ſuffer the King ſhould be written to in a Style which was common to ſeveral Princes of *Germany*, and with the Doge of *Venice*. They ſaid that formerly none but the Kings of *France* were expreſſly nam'd in the Pope's Bulls, with the Emperors as their Equals; while they ſpoke of all the other Kings but in general, and without naming them, and that this Practice had been alter'd but ſince the Council of *Trent:* That if it was neceſſary to trace Things up to their firſt Origin, it would be found, that the King of *France* was not oblig'd to take Place after the Emperor, but only after his Coronation by the Pope; becauſe without this Ceremony he was properly but King of the *Romans*. However, *it was at laſt agreed between* Trautmanſdorf *and the Plenipotentiaries of* France, *by the Help of the Mediators, that when the Emperor and the King of* France *ſhould write each to the other with their own Hands, they ſhould give one to the other the Title of* Imperial Majeſty *and* Royal Majeſty.

The Embaſſador I lately ſpoke of, who repreſented *Ferdinand* at *Trent* as King of *Hungary*, was nam'd *George Draſcowitz*, and was Biſhop of *Cinqegliſes*. He came thither *incognito*; but when *Anthony Muglitz*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, one of the Emperor's Embaſſadors, made his Entry ſome Days after, *Draſcowitz* went alſo out of Town, and an Entry was made to both of them; they being accompany'd by five Biſhops who were ſent to meet them.

them. *Martin de Maſcaregnas*, Embaſſador from *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, being arriv'd almoſt at the ſame Time within three Leagues of *Trent*, ſent Word to the Legates, That he would not allow the Embaſſador of the King of *Hungary* to have Audience before him, as well becauſe he had only ſimple *Letters of Credence* without any other Power, as becauſe he repreſented *Ferdinand* but only as King of *Hungary*; and that in that Quality he ought to give Place to the King of *Portugal*. From this Pretenſion of the *Portugueze* ſprung three Difficulties: The firſt, whether *Draſcoüitz* ought to be receiv'd by Virtue of his Credentials, altho' he had no Powers: The other Difficulty was, whether his Audience ought to be put off till *Maſcaregnas* had taken his: And the third was how the Rank ſhould be regulated between them. The Fathers of the Council declar'd concerning the two firſt Points, That the Credentials were ſufficient to give the Character to *Draſcoüitz*; and that as he was arriv'd before the Embaſſador of *Portugal*, he might alſo be firſt admittted to Audience: But the third Point, as the moſt difficult, was put into the Hands of ſome Prelates to examine. The Legates wrote about it to the Pope, and pray'd him, in the ſame Letter, not to refer the Cognizance thereof, either to them or the Council, no more than of that which was depending between the Embaſſadors of *France* and *Spain* on the ſame Subject; becauſe, as the *Spaniards* were there in great Number, there was no Room to doubt but they would determine it in Favour of their King. In the mean Time, the ſaid Legates conſidering that the Competition was not a Thing they could regulate of their own Authority, and as Judges, endeavour'd to diſpoſe the Parties to an Accommodation. They made an Order, by which they ordain'd, That thoſe Embaſſadors who were Prelates, or of the Church, ſhould be ſeated on a Bench on the Right Hand, at the Head of all the other Prelates; but in giving their Opinions upon the Matters propos'd, they ſhould declare their Sentiments according to their Seniority, in reference to their Promotion; becauſe then they diſcharg'd the Function of Biſhop, and not that of Embaſſador. As for the Lay-Embaſſadors, they ſhould have theirs on the Left Hand, and ſhould precede all the Prelates who were not Embaſſadors, except when they were clad in their Pontifical Habits, to execute ſome eccleſiaſtical Function, in which the Biſhops and miter'd Abbots ſhould go to the Altar before the Lay-Embaſſadors, and that at ſolemn Proceſſions, theſe laſt ſhould march immediately before the Legates; which is the Rank they hold at *Rome* in the Proceſſions where the Pope aſſiſts in Perſon. What I have now related, was done in the Beginning of 1562. On the 26th of *February*, of the ſame Year, the Credentials of the Emperor's Embaſſador were read in the Aſſembly, and after that, thoſe of *Draſcoüitz*, Embaſſador of *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary* Then they ask'd *Maſcaregnas* for his, but he would not deliver them; pretending that the Council, by cauſing thoſe of the Embaſſador of *Hungary* to be read firſt, had prejudic'd the Rights of the King of *Portugal* his Maſter. The Secretary of the Council ſtept down from his Desk, to repreſent to *Maſcaregnas* that the Council had, in that, follow'd the Cuſtom of *Rome*, and of all the other Courts of *Europe*, where the firſt Comers are firſt heard. It was ſomewhat difficult to make him comprehend, and to perſuade him, that it was not the Intention of the Council to do any Prejudice to the King of *Portugal*, nor to his Embaſſador; becauſe there was no ſpeaking to him but by an Interpreter; but at laſt he agreed, and there was no Diſpute about the Rank: The one being of the Church, and the other a Lay-Perſon.

I ſhall here continue the Thread of my Diſcourſe (and perhaps not deviate from my Purpoſe) to ſome other Competitions, which frequently interrupted the ordinary Occupations of the Council. *John Strozzi*, Embaſſador from *Coſmus* Duke of *Florence*, who had not as yet the Quality of Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, arriv'd at *Trent* the 15th of *March*, 1562; and the next Day arriv'd *Melchior Luſſy*, Embaſſador from the five little *Swiſs Cantons*. This laſt had expreſs Orders from his Superiors, to take the next Rank immediately after the Embaſſador of *Venice*, and to precede all thoſe who ſhould give Place to the Republick. *Strozzi* oppos'd it; and the *Swiſs* Embaſſador proteſted, That if that Satisfaction were not giv'n him he would be gone. The Legates were ſo much the more perplex'd herein, becauſe there was no Accommodation to be hop'd for; and in breaking with either the one or the other the Council would be greatly prejudic'd thereby, and the Breach in Religion almoſt irreparable. They could not alſo be Judges in an Affair of this Nature; and ſuppoſing they were, they could not decide it without offending the Parties irreconcileably. To free themſelves from this Inquietude, they pray'd the Pope to take ſuch Meaſures that *Coſmus* might not enter into a Conteſt on that Head, but give up his Intereſt to the Good and Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*. *Coſmus* did ſo, by giving Orders to his Embaſſador to pretend ſome Occaſion to go into the Countrey, when he ſhould be inform'd that the *Swiſs* Embaſſador would be at the Aſſembly. If the *Cantons* at this Day enter'd into a Diſpute about the Rank with the Great Duke, they would not meet with the ſame Condeſcenſion But this Competition can have no Room but at a Council; becauſe the *Swiſs* have no Embaſſadors in Ordinary in the Courts of Princes, and the Extraordinaries make ſo ſhort a Stay there, that they can have no great Communication with the other Embaſſadors, who have no Occaſion to meet with them in a third Place, neither do they ſeek it.

This Difference gave Birth to another, between the ſame *Swiſs* Embaſſador and *Auguſtin Baumgartner*, whom *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, had ſent to *Trent* with the Quality of Embaſſador, with the Jeſuit *Cavillon*. They made no publick Entry; but when they ſaw the Legates, they told them, *That the Embaſſadors had Orders to give Place to none but to thoſe of crown'd Heads, and of the Electors.* The Legates made Anſwer, *That the Republick of* Venice *poſſeſs'd two Kingdoms.* The Miniſters of *Bavaria* reply'd, *That it was poſſible the Duke their Maſter, in mentioning the crown'd Heads, might alſo comprize the Republick; but that it was not their Buſineſs to explain the Intention of their Maſter, ſince he*

he had not done it himself: That they would write to him about it; and in the mean time, they desir'd the Legates to call together an Assembly, at which the Venetian *Embassadors might not assist; to the end they might therein shew their Credentials.* The Legates said, *They could not do it, and desir'd the* Bavarian *Embassadors to dispatch an Express to their Prince, that he might send them his last Orders.* They receiv'd them quickly, but in very positive Terms: The Duke *commanding* Baumgartner *to come away immediately from* Trent, *if he had not a Rank given him before the Embassador of* Venice. There was no regulating this Competition to the Content of both Parties, and there was no disobliging either the one or the other, without hazarding Religion very much; the Duke being full as Considerable in *Germany*, as the Republick was so in *Italy*. The Legates therefore pray'd the Pope to employ the Authority of *Ferdinand*, with the Duke of *Bavaria* his Son-in-Law, and to represent to him, that the Republick was a King in effect, and was in Possession of an indisputable Right to follow the crown'd Heads immediately. But the Emperor, who would not meddle in a Negotiation of that Delicacy, kept within general Terms, and contented himself to send the Propositions of the Pope and the Legates, to the Duke his Son-in-Law. Nevertheless *the* Bavarian *Embassador receiv'd a second Order to yield Precedency to the Embassador of* Venice: *protesting however at the same time, that it was for the sake of Peace, and without Prejudice to his Rights. Baumgartner* being afterwards admitted into the Congregation, there protested that the Precedency was due to the Prince his Master; because the Electoral Dignity was actually in his House, and the Imperial had been formerly. *Nicholas de Ponte*, Embassador of *Venice*, protested on the contrary, That it was neither through Courtesy nor Favour that he took the first Place, but of Right and Justice; not provisionally, but for ever. They both requir'd to have their Protestations register'd; and the Animosity went so far, that the Embassador of *Bavaria* refus'd to give a Copy of his Harangue; because he was inform'd the *Venetian* had not given any.

Baumgartner could not form this Difficulty, without making himself a Controversy with the Embassadors of the Cantons and of *Florence:* so that the Legates, to regulate in some Measure the Difference, prevail'd with the first of these two, to absent from the Congregations, till he had receiv'd fresh Orders on this Subject: and *Cosmus* suffer'd himself to be persuaded, to command his Embassador not to be present thereat, even tho' the Embassador of the Cantons should not be there. But the Duke of *Bavaria* took it so hainously, that the Minister of the Cantons should presume to contest with his Embassador, and that the Council should suffer it; that he commanded his Embassador to leave *Trent*; and he accordingly went away. The Legates gave him Assurance, that his Rank should be duly preserv'd to him in the Congregations; and that the Embassador of the Cantons should never be invited thither; but he would not be satisfy'd therewith, without they made a formal Decree; which the Council did not think fit to do, for fear of offending the *Swiss* in too great a Manner. The Legates proceeded with so much the more Circumspection, because they had receiv'd Orders from *Rome*, to declare to the Embassadors, that till the Answers were return'd from *Bavaria* and the Cantons, no Embassador should assist at the Congregations, unless he were expressly invited; and that those who notwithstanding this should go, should give Place to those who were invited; and that they who should not be satisfy'd with this Regulation, might do as they thought fit. The *Swiss* order'd their Embassador to be contented with the *Alternative*, if he of *Bavaria* would consent thereto; but *Baumgartner* was set out when this Order came.

The *Bavarian* Embassador said right, that the Electoral Dignity was in his Master's House; but even if the Duke had been Elector himself, the Embassador of *Venice* would notwithstanding that have disputed the Precedency with him. The Contest which the Bishop of *Osnaburg*, Embassador from the Electoral College, had at *Munster* with *Aloysio Contarini*, sufficiently shews, that the Republick is resolv'd to maintain it self in the Possession she is in, in all the Courts, to follow the crown'd Heads immediately. The Bishop alledg'd there amongst other Reasons, that at the Marriage of the Emperor *Matthias*, and of *Anne* of *Bavaria*, which was solemniz'd at *Gratz* in the Year 1600, the Embassador of the Elector had preceded that of *Venice*. *Contarini*, who did not allow it, said, That even if that were true, the Electors could not draw any Advantage therefrom; because the *Palatine* might have been there consider'd, as a Relation of the Bride. These particular Examples, where Princes regulate the Ceremonies as they please, are no Precedents. When in the Year 1605, *Sigismond*, King of *Poland*, solemniz'd the Marriage of *Demetrius*, the pretended *Czar* of *Moscovy*, with the Daughter of the *Palatin* of *Sendomir*, he seated at his own Table only the new marry'd Couple, the Queen, the Bride's Sister, Wife to *Sigismond Battory*, Prince of *Transilvania*, and the Embassador of *Muscovy*. There was another Table for the other Embassadors, where that of the Elector of *Brandenburg* having been plac'd above the Embassador of the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, this last was grievously vex'd thereat; but with so much the less Reason, as the Great Duke, who every where gives Place to the Duke of *Savoy*, makes no Difficulty to yield Precedency to the Electors, with whom the Duke of *Savoy* has no Competition; unless this last has new Pretensions, since he has given himself the Title of *Royal Highness*. The Embassador of *Brandenburg* had not more Reason to dispute the Rank with the *Nuncio*. For altho' the Elector does not acknowledge the Pope in his spiritual Capacity, and that he has no Commerce with him in reference to the Temporal, yet his Embassador ought not to have been ignorant of the Rank the Nuncio holds in all the Catholick Courts.

At this Day there is a Competition between all the Kings, because being all Sovereigns, they judge that their Rank ought not to be regulated by their Power, which is much greater, and more absolute in some than in others; but by their Sovereignty only, which admits of

no Compariſon. As ſoon as they began to ſettle the Preliminaries for the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*, the *Swedes* declar'd, they would not yield to the Miniſters of *France* in any thing; becauſe the Crown of *Sweden*, altho' leſs Powerful than that of *France*, *yet poſſeſſes the ſame Dignity, in the ſame Degree; and ſo might juſtly pretend the ſame Rank.* And *France* on its part, not thinking it adviſable to diſoblige on this Account, a Crown whoſe Friendſhip was neceſſary to it; and not being able at the ſame Time, to renounce a Preheminency which ſhe had enjoy'd for many Ages, another Expedient was thought of; and to avoid theſe Conteſtations, it was reſolv'd that the Aſſembly ſhould be held at two different Places, *viz.* at *Munſter* and at *Oſnaburg*. But from this Accommodation, ſprung another Difficulty concerning the firſt Viſit. It was abſolutely neceſſary the Miniſters ſhould ſee one another often; becauſe they could not ſeparate their Intereſts, without ruining them: They therefore agreed at laſt, after many long and vexatious Debates, that the Conferences ſhould be held at a third Place, in the Mid-way between *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, in two neighbouring Houſes, *of which the* French *ſhould have their Choice:* That the *Swedes* ſhould come thither firſt, that they might make the firſt Viſit to the *French*, as to the laſt Comers. But before all this could be executed, *Salvius*, one of the Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden*, having been oblig'd to make a Journey to *Munſter*, the *French* paid him the firſt Viſit, as to the laſt Comer. *Servien* went ſome Days after to *Oſnaburg*, where he receiv'd alſo the firſt Viſit. I ſhall ſpeak in the ſecond Part of this Work, of the Conteſt which aroſe between the two Crowns, concerning the Rank they ſhould hold in ſigning the Treaty, which they were to negotiate with the Emperor, and the States of the Empire; as well as of the Difference *France* has had on the ſame Account with *England*.

In the Year 1607, *France* had three Embaſſadors at the *Hague*: and foraſmuch as two were expected alſo from *England*; and that the firſt apprehended a Conteſt might ariſe among the Miniſters, about the Rank, Preſident *Jeannin* was for knowing from *M. de Villeroy*, how they were to govern themſelves in reference to thoſe of *England*, when they ſhould be oblig'd to enter into Conference with them, either at the Lodgings of the *French* Embaſſadors, or in a third Place, at Prince *Maurice*'s, or elſewhere. Whereupon *M. de Villeroy* wrote on the 29th of *Auguſt* in theſe Terms. *We cannot believe that they* (the Embaſſadors of *England*) *will be ſo preſumptuous as to diſpute the Precedency with you; if they do it, it muſt be to thwart and perplex Matters. This Queſtion was never conteſted between them and us, as it juſtly has by them with the* Spaniards. *For the* Engliſh *have formerly taken Place of the* Caſtilians. *When they come to your Houſes, you ought to do them Honour, and give them the firſt Place by Courteſy. But when they ſhall come there, to treat in the Preſence of the Deputies of the States, or others, you are not to give Place, either to them or any others, on any account whatever. This Contention would of it ſelf be ſo prejudicial to the Dignity of the King our Maſter, that you ought to avoid engaging therein, or even to mention it, if it be poſſible. When you meet them at Prince* Maurice's *or elſewhere, you are to take the moſt honourable Place. This is what the King has commanded me to write to you.* It is true when the Conferences were held at the *French* Embaſſadors, their Lodgings were to be conſider'd as a neutral Place; but thoſe of *England*, that they might not be reduc'd to the Neceſſity of yielding to the *French*, in the Houſe of the *French* Embaſſadors, ought not to have ſuffer'd the Conferences to be held any where but in a third Place. The *Engliſh* ſaid indeed, that they had Orders not to enter into a Conteſt with the *French* concerning the Rank; but that they thought alſo, that when they ſhew'd this Reſpect to the *French*, theſe ought on their part, to do them the Civility of giving them the firſt Place in their own Houſes, when they ſhould happen to be there with the Deputies of the States, and pay them the ſame Civilities which were ſhewn them at their private Viſits. The Embaſſadors of *France* made anſwer, *That that would prejudice the Dignity of the King their Maſter, and would be contrary to the Proteſtation the* Engliſh *made, of being willing to yield, becauſe that on thoſe Occaſions, their Houſe would be a publick Place, deſtin'd to a ſolemn Aſſembly: for which Reaſon they would take the moſt honourable Place; as accordingly they did.* This would not be practis'd at this Day; ſince the Embaſſadors of *France*, yeild in their own Houſes the Place of Honour, even to the Deputies of the States: and with much more Reaſon would they do it to the Embaſſadors of *England*, who even without that, would be no longer ſo eaſy.

What *Villeroy* ſays, that *England* has formerly had the Precedency of *Caſtile*, is not without Foundation. King *Henry* IV. having in the Year 1600, diſpos'd *Spain* and *England* to to ſend their Miniſters to *Bologne*, there to negotiate a Peace, it was conſider'd in *England*, that the firſt Difficulty that would offer it ſelf, would be concerning the Precedency. Queen *Elizabeth* having therefore caus'd an exact Search to be made of the Practice of Times paſt, it was found in the Ceremonial of *Rome*, that among the Kings, the firſt Place was due to the King of *France*, the ſecond to the King of *England*, and the third to the King of *Caſtile:* That the *Engliſh* had peaceably enjoy'd this Advantage, at the Councils of *Conſtance*, of *Baſil*, &c. Beſides which, the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, which conſtitutes the firſt Title of the King of *Spain*, is altogether new in reference to *England:* ſince before the Year 1017, it had no Kings, but only Counts: and Pope *Julius* II. *had pronounc'd in favour of* Henry VII, *againſt* Ferdinand *the Catholick*. In Conformity hereunto, the Queen expreſly commanded *Henry de Neufville*, her Embaſſador in Ordinary in *France*, *John Herbert*, *Robert Beale* and *Thomas Edmonds*, her Extraordinary Embaſſadors, not to yield Precedency to the Miniſters of *Spain:* However, rather than to ſuffer the Negotiation to break off, to have recourſe to *Lot*. After the Powers were communicated on both ſides, the *Engliſh* pretended to the Precedency. The Miniſters of *Spain* ſaid, They were ſurpriz'd to ſee the *Engliſh*, who could not hope for an Equality with the Catholick King, pretend to the Precedency. The *Engliſh* reply'd, That their Right was notoriouſly plain; and that on

all

all Occaſions their Embaſſadors ought to precede the Miniſters of *Spain*, and of the Arch-Duke, who had only the Quality of Deputies: but the *Spaniards* would not ſo much as hear this; and ſaid, That the King of *Spain* would neither conſent to the Precedency, nor even to an Equality. They had no great mind to treat, and took this Pretext to break off the Negotiation; tho' the *Engliſh* offer'd to enter upon Buſineſs, without prejudicing this Pretenſion, and to negotiate by Writing.

I had began to ſay, that there happen'd a great Conteſt concerning the Rank, between the Embaſſador of *Venice*, and that of the Electors. I ſhall make make an end of it, when I have ſpoke a Word or two about that the Electors had with the Duke of *Burgundy* at the Council of *Baſil*. The Embaſſadors of *Philip the Good* ſaid, That their Maſter was a Prince of the Blood, and the firſt Lay Peer of *France*: That he was in Poſſeſſion of *Burgundy*, which had formerly been a Kingdom, and with it, of ſix Dukedoms, fifteen Counties, and ſeveral other Sovereign Lordſhips, which gave him Rank immediately after the crown'd Heads. *Philip* was in effect one of the moſt powerful Princes of Chriſtendom: and what he poſſeſs'd in *Burgundy* and in *Flanders*, were well worth the Kingdom of *France*, before *Charles* VII. had reunited *Normandy* and *Guyenne* to it, and that *Lewis* XI. had joyn'd thereto *Burgundy* and *Province*, and *Charles* VIII, *Brittany*: But all theſe Eſtates together could not give him a Dignity, that no one of his Provinces had in particular. The Qualities of Prince of the Blood, and of firſt Peer, could not make him be conſider'd any where but in *France*; and they were not what qualify'd him to ſend Embaſſadors to the Council. The Dutchy of *Burgundy* being at this Day but a very ſmall Part of what formerly made a large Kingdom enough, under that Name it could give him no other Rank than that of Duke. It cannot be deny'd but the Electors and Princes of the Empire, ought to be at leaſt as Conſiderable in the Empire, as the Cardinals are at *Rome*; becauſe they are Sovereigns, and make a Part of the Empire; whereas the Cardinals are the Pope's Subjects, and only conſtitute his Council: So that in this Quality, the Electors ought to precede all thoſe who are not Sovereigns. *Chopin* and *Chaſſagne*, *French* Lawyers, ſay, That the Fathers of the Council adjudg'd the Precedency to the Embaſſadors of the Duke of *Burgundy*; but the Truth of the Matter is, that after a Diſpute of ſeveral Hours, theſe had a Place aſſign'd them right againſt that of the Emperor, on the Bench appointed for the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads; and that the Electors kept theirs by the Emperor, as Members inſeparable from their Head. Neither was it the Council that regulated the Difference and the Rank among the Embaſſadors; but it was only done by way of Accommodation and Proviſion; as the Emperor *Sigiſmund* ſays very expreſſly, in a Letter which he writes on this Subject to the Fathers of the Council. So that one may ſay, That the Embaſſadors of the Duke of *Burgundy* reap'd no other Advantage thereby, than what was granted to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador at *Trent*, where he had a Place given him out of Rank; while thoſe of *France* preſerv'd the Place they had always had immediately after the Emperor. It is true, that this Advantage was ſo much the greater to the *Spaniards*, and to the Duke of *Burgundy*, *as in the Caſe of Precedency, it is not ſufficient to preſerve ones own Rank, but it is alſo requiſite, to oblige them who are to follow, to keep theirs likewiſe.*

The Conteſt the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg* and the Embaſſador of *Venice* had at *Munſter*, was conſiderable enough. The Plenipotentiaries of *France* declar'd at firſt, That as the Biſhop was a Prince of the Empire, they would make no Difficulty to pay him the firſt Viſit, and to give him the Title of Highneſs: and thoſe of the Emperor ſtruck into the ſame Sentiments. But the Embaſſador of *Venice* fearing leſt it might be a Precedent of ill Conſequence to him, went and told the Miniſters of *France*, That he very well perceiv'd the Intention of the Electoral College, was to diſpoſſeſs the Republick of the Rank ſhe had held for many Ages; immediately after the Crowns; from whence her Dignity and Reputation would receive a Prejudice, which he was oblig'd to prevent: That the Precedency was due to the Republick, on the Account of its Antiquity, and of the Power and Extent of its Eſtates, having greater Revenues than all the Electors together: as alſo on the Account of its Liberty, it acknowledging no other Superior but God alone; whereas the Electors take an Oath to the Emperor, and hold of him: proteſting that he ſhould be oblig'd to withdraw, if Satisfaction was not given him. The Biſhop alledg'd for himſelf the Reſolution the Electoral College had taken thereupon, and the Poſſeſſion the Electors are in, of preceding all other Princes and States, except crown'd Heads. He ſaid, That if the Electors gave Place to *Venice*, the United Provinces would alſo pretend to the Precedency; and after that they ſhould have the ſame Conteſtation with the *Swiſs Cantons*, and with the Republick of *Genoa*: That if *Contarini* would retire, it would not be the Elector's Fault, but the Injuſtice of his Pretenſions that would be the Cauſe thereof. The Biſhop very much preſs'd the Plenipotentiaries of *France* to declare themſelves for the Rights of the Electors; but they repreſented, that it was a Novelty, that it requir'd Deliberation, and that they ought not to proceed in it with Precipitancy; tho' he aſſur'd them, that the Count of *Naſſaw*, and *Volmar*, had Orders from the Emperor, to do the ſame Honours to the Embaſſadors of the Electors, as they did to thoſe of *Venice*. *Don Diego Saavedra*, who was then firſt Plenipotentiary of *Spain*, ſaid at firſt, That what the Biſhop demanded was neither Juſt nor Reaſonable: but as the Friendſhip of the Electors was more neceſſary to the King his Maſter, than that of the Republick, he ſoon reſolv'd to do the ſame Honours to the Biſhop; leaving the Difference of the Rank undecided. The Miniſters of *France* conſented alſo thereto, upon Condition that thoſe of the Electors ſhould not do more Honour to the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, than to thoſe of the King: ſignifying on another Occaſion, that what was done at *Munſter*, ſhould be of no Conſequence out of that Place. It is not long, ſince at *Vienna* more Honour was done to the Embaſſadors of *Venice* and of *Florence*, than

than to thoſe of the Electors; and when Complaint was made thereof, the Count *de Trautmanſdorf* ſaid, *That in the Emperor's Houſe the Electors were conſider'd as an eſſential Part of it; and the Princes of* Italy *as Strangers; to whom more Civility was to be ſhewn than to Domeſticks.* To me the Compariſon ſeems very familiar; and that *Trautmandorf* ſpoke like an Officer of the Emperor's Houſhould: But he did not thereby do much Honour to the Electors. The Bull of *Charles* IV. ſays, *That they are the Pillars, the Buttreſſes, the Luminaries of the Empire, of which they are an eſſential Part, and not of the Emperor's Houſhold; where their Miniſters ought to be preferr'd to thoſe of all other Princes and States, except crown'd Heads; provided they have the ſame Character.* I doubt whether thoſe the Electors ſend to *Vienna* have that of Embaſſador, becauſe there is no likelihood that their Embaſſadors would ſpeak to the Emperor uncover'd, ſince they may avoid that Mortification, by giving to their Miniſters the Quality of *Abgeſanter*, inſtead of that of *Geſanter*; and if I am not miſtaken, it is that which they moſt commonly give to them; tho' theſe two Words are often confounded in the Chanceries, as well as in Books. The Reſolution of the Electors, of which the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg* ſpoke, is conformable to the fourth Article of the Capitulation of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III, and to the Fifth of that of the preſent Emperor. They both ſpeak almoſt in the ſame Terms: But as the Electors there renounce their own Intereſt, and have Regard only to the Empire, they cannot be ſtrain'd beyond that to the Prejudice of other Sovereigns, who acknowledge neither the Laws nor the Decrees of the Princes of *Germany*.

It will not be from the Purpoſe to obſerve here, what the Chancellor *de Chiverny* ſays of a Difficulty which happen'd at the Entry, which Queen *Elizabeth*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian* II, (who came to be marry'd to King *Charles* IX.) made at *Mezieres*, in the Year 1570. The King ſent to meet her by the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, and the Emperor had given the chief Charge of conducting his Daughter the Elector of *Triers*. And foraſmuch as there aroſe ſome Difficulty concerning the Rank theſe two Princes were to take, an Expreſs was ſent to Court to know the King's Intention, who ſaid, that the Duke ought to yield to the Elector as to a Sovereign Prince, who was the Emperor's Embaſſador. *Chiverny* ſays, that he who was then the Duke's Chancellor, knew ſo well how to repreſent to the Council the Wrong that was done to the firſt Prince of the Blood of *France*, and to the preſumptive Heir of the Crown, who ought to give Place to crown'd Heads only, even out of the Kingdom; that Leave was given him to put the Affair in Negotiation, and to endeavour to bring the Elector to conſent thereto, without being offended. That hereupon he, *Chiverny*, who had gain'd ſome Credit with the Elector, manag'd him ſo nicely, that he prevail'd with him to acquieſce; but that however, the Duke did him Civility, and offer'd him the Place of Honour, which the Elector refus'd. This Paſſage is by ſo much the more remarkable, as the King himſelf judg'd that the Duke his Brother ought to yeild to the Elector, and that the Duke did not ſcruple to offer him the Place of Honour: That the Ceremony was perform'd within the Kingdom, where Monſieur is without doubt, the ſecond Perſon when there is no *Dauphin*; and that the Elector, who was not well vers'd in the Ceremonial, ſuffer'd himſelf to be hurry'd away with the Wheedles of *Chiverny*, who all along ſpoke for his Maſter's Intereſt. After all, I cannot tell how he could maintain what he adds, that the firſt Prince of the Blood of *France* ought to precede all other Princes, except crown'd Heads, even out of the Kingdom: Since ſovereign Princes, and particularly the Electors do not agree therein. When in the Year 1640, the Elector *Palatine* came to *Paris*, the Duke of *Orleans* made Difficulty to give him the Place of Honour at his own Houſe, for which Reaſon theſe two Princes did not viſit. The Duke of *Orleans* did not always reflect that he was a Subject, but Cardinal *de Richlieu* had an Opportunity more than once to make him know it.

In the Year 1641, the States of the United Provinces ſent into *England* an Embaſſy compos'd of the Lords of *Brederode*, *D'Aarſens*, and *de Hiemvliet*, about the Marriage of Prince *William* Son to the Prince of *Orange*. One of the firſt Viſits they made, was to the Elector *Palatine*, who was then at *London*. The Elector who had carry'd it upon the Level with the Prince of *Orange*, the Son, took at his own Houſe the upper Hand of the Embaſſadors, without boggling. They thereupon ſignify'd to him, that they expected to be us'd after the ſame manner as he carry'd it to the Prince of *Orange:* But he made Anſwer, that he was in Poſſeſſion of the Precedency, and that he could not innovate, without knowing the King's Intention; but he did not viſit the Embaſſadors. There is room to wonder that *Aarſens*, who had been ſo long Embaſſador in *France*, who had been employ'd in ſo many Embaſſies in *Germany* and *Italy*, ſhould not know that the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Florence*, and of *Mantua*, do not give at their own Palaces the Place of Honour to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads: And yet theſe Princes have no Competition with the Electors. However by the Elector *Palatine*'s Anſwer, it appears, *That he was willing to know the King's Intention*; that he pretended to this Prerogative as being a Prince of the Blood of *England*, rather than as Elector; tho' I can hardly believe that that was his Electoral Highneſs's Thought; becauſe at that time, even the Princes of the Blood of *France*, made no Difficulty to give the Hand and Step to Embaſſadors; though at the ſame time they were very cautious of yeilding elſewhere the Advantage they enjoy'd in the firſt Court of *Europe*.

It cannot be deny'd but the Electors have obtain'd a great Advantage, by obliging the King of *France*, to give them the Style of Brothers; becauſe that in treating them thus upon the Level with the Dukes of *Savoy* and of *Lorrain*, one would think that his Majeſty ſhould not after that, make any Diſtinction neither, between the Miniſters of the one and of the other. I ſhall give no Occaſion to be thought vain, when I ſay, that the Negotiation which was had on that Account, was my own

Work,

Work; and that the Elector of *Brandenburg* is oblig'd for it to my Zeal, and to the Acquaintance I had at the Court of *France*. *Fabian*, Count *de Dona*, who, with the eminent Qualities which are hereditary to his Houſe, had a ſingular Merit, which brighten'd very much the Luſtre of his Birth, being in the Year 1646. come into *France* on the Part of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, repreſented that that Prince, who poſſeſſes ſo many large Provinces that his Dominions extend from the Frontiers of *Gaul* to thoſe of *Muſcovy*, could not bear being treated on the Level, not only with the Dukes, Peers, and Officers of the Crown of *France*, but alſo with ſeveral little Counts of *Germany*; while the King at the ſame Time gave the Quality of *Brother* to the Dukes of *Savoy* and of *Lorrain*, who give Place to the Electors on all Occaſions. He was told that it was the ancient Style of the *Chancery*, and that there was no altering of it during the King's Minority: That the Conſequence thereof would be too great: That after that, the Elector would alſo pretend *to cauſe his Embaſſador to be cover'd*, and that his Example would give Birth to ſeveral other Pretenſions, which a Regent would be cautious of meddling with: That the Duke of *Savoy* and of *Lorrain* gave the Title of Majeſty to the King, which the Elector did not, notwithſtanding ſome of his Predeceſſors had done it. However, it was added, that what could be done ſhould be examin'd into, provided, the Elector would diſpoſe the whole Electoral College to give the King the Title of *Majeſty*; in which he would meet with ſo much the leſs Difficulty, becauſe the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors, and the Elector of *Bavaria* did it already. The Count *de Dona* reply'd, That he had no Orders to engage the Elector in ſuch a Negotiation: That he ſpoke only in Reference to his Maſter's Intereſt, and that what he ask'd was very juſt; but he could obtain nothing: And at his going away, he left me at that Court as Miniſter of the Elector, who ſent me ſome Time after the neceſſary Letters and Commiſſions. The Year following, 1647, a Deſign was propos'd in the Electors Council to form a third Party in the Empire, with the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*. The Execution of this Project would have deſtroy'd the whole Work Cardinal *Mazarin* had been labouring at for ſo many Years at *Munſter*, he therefore being very much alarm'd thereat, deſir'd the Elector to approve of the King's making uſe of my Service, to offer him ſome Propoſitions, which he judg'd would indubitably be very advantageous to his Intereſts. I prepar'd to undertake the Journey, provided Letters were given me with the Quality of Brother. The Count *de Brienne*, whom I frequently ſaw, and familiarly enough, did not diſſemble with me, that if the Matter was mention'd in Council he would oppoſe it with all his Power; and told me he would not ſign the Letter, even tho' the Queen ſhould lay her abſolute Commands upon him to do it; and in effect he hinder'd the Council from coming to any Reſolution in Favour of the Elector. But the Cardinal, who was liberal of any thing that did not coſt Money, and who was willing to oblige the Elector, prevail'd with the Queen to write him a Letter with her own Hand, as did alſo the King; in both which they gave the Elector the Style of Brother. Immediately after the King had attain'd to the Years of Majority, the Cardinal ſeeing almoſt all the Kingdom riſe againſt his Authority, and being deſirous to make himſelf ſome Friends abroad, had no Difficulty to yield to the Inſtances I made, to have Letters diſpatch'd out of the *Chancery* in the ſame Form: And the Count *de Brienne* was then oblig'd to execute the Orders the King gave him for that Purpoſe, after his Majority, as accordingly he did without Reluctancy.

The States of the United Provinces have Conteſts about the Rank not only with the Electors, but alſo with ſome other Princes of *Germany*. In the Year 1671, there was an Aſſembly of ſeveral Deputies of the Princes of the Circles of *Weſtphalia*, and of the *Lower Saxony* at *Bileſeld*, where the Chancellor of the Duke of *Newburg* having ſpread a Rumour, that he would not give Place to the Deputies of the United Provinces, theſe took the Alarm, and gave Advice thereof to their Principals. This caus'd great Uneaſineſs at the *Hague*, from whence a ſharp Letter was written to the Duke on that Subject. The Duke did not anſwer it; but, ſome Time after, a Writing was publiſh'd, wherein the Pretenſions of the States were examin'd and debated on the Duke's Part with great Animoſity and Bitterneſs. Thoſe Princes who conſtitute Branches, and as ſuch have a Vote, and Seat in the Diets, are not oblig'd to give Place within the Empire to foreign Powers, except to crown'd Heads; and I dare be bold to ſay, they ought to do it to none whatever, unleſs the Miniſters have the Repreſenting Character. Civilities may be done to the other, but they cannot pretend to the Precedency. The Electoral College, the Deputies whereof were aſſembl'd at *Ratisbone*, took an Occaſion from this Diſpute, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1671, to make a Regulation in the following Terms, *That according to the ancient Cuſtom, the Embaſſadors, the Envoys, and the Reſidents of the Electors, ſhould precede as well at the Emperor's Court as in the other Courts, the Miniſters of all Princes and Republicks, except thoſe of crown'd Heads, and thoſe of their Widows, and of their Children deſtin'd to the Succeſſion when they ſhall come to Age.* What is ſaid therein of the other Courts, is to be underſtood of the other Princes of *Germany*: For among the Princes of *Italy*, the Republick of *Venice* and the United Provinces are otherwiſe conſider'd than the Electors.

It is true the Regulation ſays, That what obliges the Electoral College to make it, is, that it often happens that at the Emperor's Court, *and in thoſe of other Kings*, and elſewhere; the Electors, their Embaſſadors, Deputies and Miniſters, meet with the Embaſſadors, Deputies, and Reſidents of other Princes; and that it behoves them to maintain themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of the Precedency, which they have enjoy'd for many Ages: And that therefore they charge and command their Miniſters, who ſhall be employ'd as well within the Empire as elſewhere, not to give Place to thoſe of other Princes, except to thoſe of crown'd Heads, *&c.* But this is what it is

impoſſible to cauſe to be obſerv'd, even at the Court of *Vienna*, where the *Venetian* Embaſſador takes Place of the Miniſters of all the Electors, altho' the Capitulation obliges the Emperor to ſecure to the Electors this Prerogative.

At the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia* there happen'd a Diſpute concerning the Rank, *between the United Provinces and the Duke of* Savoy, in what Order they ſhould be nam'd in the Treaty. The Eſtates were for being conſider'd on Account of their Power, which is without doubt the greateſt of all *Europe*, after that of the three firſt Crowns; and by Reaſon of the Extent of their Dominions, very much reſpected by ſeveral powerful Kings in the other Parts of the World. The Duke alledg'd the Antiquity of his Principality, altho' the Dignity of moſt of the Provinces of the Low Countries is, beyond Compariſon, more ancient than that of *Savoy*; the Advantage of his Birth, and the illuſtrious Alliances which he and ſome of his Predeceſſors have contracted in the firſt Houſes of *Chriſtendom*.

This Diſpute ceas'd, becauſe the Duke caus'd himſelf to be put in the Number of the Princes of *Italy*. The Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who thought the Duke of *Savoy* would rather have choſen to be plac'd amongſt the Princes of *Germany*, pretended to be next in Rank to the Republick of *Venice*. But the Duke, who knew that amongſt the *Germans* he ſhould be oblig'd to give Place to the Electors, and to the Arch-Dukes, and that the United Provinces, and ſome other Princes, would diſpute the Rank with him, choſe the other Party, and caus'd himſelf to be plac'd among the Princes of *Italy*, where his Rank was ſettl'd.

It is ſomewhat ſtrange, the Inequality of Treatments which was dealt at *Trent* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and to the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, who, as it is well known, take Place of the Seculars. *Martin de Roxas de Portalarabio*, Commander of *Malta*, and Embaſſador from the Great Maſter, arriv'd at *Trent* in the Month of *March*, 1563, and demanded a Place on the Bench of the Lay-Embaſſadors. The Procurators of the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*, of the Biſhop of *Aichſtat*, and of ſome other Prelates, *who had not been allow'd, no more than the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, to ſend Embaſſadors to the Council*, altho' with the Quality of Prelate, they have alſo that of Prince, oppos'd the Pretenſion of the Embaſſador of *Malta*, and ſaid, That ſince they, whoſe Maſters were Princes, had their Places among the Eccleſiaſticks, the Embaſſador of an Order that is merely Eccleſiaſtical, as is that of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, ought to be ſeated there likewiſe. The Embaſſador urg'd, That the Exerciſe of temporal War was inſeparable from their Order, which had its Armies, coin'd Money, and did all that a Sovereign Prince can do; and which, for that Reaſon, had not its Procurators at the Council, as had the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*, but its Embaſſador; and that by the Pope's expreſs Orders, who had commanded it by his Brief, to ſend an Embaſſador, and not Procurators: *That ever ſince the Pontificate of* Leo X, *the Embaſſadors of the Order had had a Place in the Pope's Chapel with the other Embaſſadors*: That the Ceremonial ſo order'd it, and that the Practice was not other in the Courts of the two firſt Kings of *Chriſtendom*: That the Biſhops came to Council, to have their Vote there, and their Seat; and if together with their Biſhoprick, they had alſo the Quality of Prince, or elſe were in actual Poſſeſſion of ſome Principality, it was ſtill but an Appendix, the Condition whereof could not be better than that of the Principal: That for Proof thereof it was ſufficient to alledge one Reaſon; to wit, That if the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg* had come to the Council in Perſon, he would have had Place only among the Eccleſiaſticks, and in the Rank of his Promotion. The Cognizance of the Conteſt was referr'd to the Pope, becauſe the Debate was between Eccleſiaſticks, and it was ordain'd that he ſhould be ſeated among the Seculars, which was ſignify'd to the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*.

After this an Oppoſition was made by the Patriarchs, who would not give Place to the Embaſſador of a Religious Order, notwithſtanding the Legates had declar'd, that it ſhould be without Prejudice to their Rights. To remove all theſe Difficulties, the Legates wrote to the Pope, that the Embaſſador of *Malta* finding himſelf very much perplex'd with all theſe Diſputes, and his Perſon being of no great Aſſiſtance to the Council, his Holineſs would do well to give him Orders to be gone. The Pope did ſo; but before this Order arriv'd at *Trent*, the Legates chang'd their Minds, and did not think it proper to execute their Deſign, becauſe they adjuſted the Difference in ſuch Manner, that the Embaſſador contented himſelf with the Place that was aſſigned him on the Bench of the Prelates, after the laſt Eccleſiaſtical Embaſſador of the Lay-Princes; of which he took Poſſeſſion the 7th of *September*. No Body diſputes the Quality of Sovereign Prince with the Great Maſter of *Malta*.

The Pope himſelf conſiders him as ſuch, and was willing to teſtify the ſame in the Year 1581, when *John Biſhop* of *la Caſſiere*, who was Great Maſter of the Order, went to *Rome*, to juſtify himſelf of the Crimes of which he was accus'd by ſome of the Knights who had revolted againſt him. At his Arrival at *Rome*, the Families of the Pope and the Cardinals went to meet him; the Artillery of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* ſaluted him as he paſs'd by, and all the Honours were done him that are uſually done to Sovereigns. The Cardinal *d'Eſte*, Protector of *France*, with whom he lodg'd, becauſe the Great Maſter was a *French* Man, receiv'd him at the top of the Staircaſe, accompany'd by *M. de Foix* the *French* Embaſſador; and four other Cardinals, either *French* Men by Birth or Inclination, waited for him in the Apartment which had been prepar'd for him. The Pope did not receive him in the Conſiſtory, but in his Chamber, whither he had caus'd twelve Cardinals to come to do him Honour, and he made him ſit after the laſt Cardinal. The Pope in giving him Audience in his Chamber, did him the ſame Honour which he does to the Embaſſadors of the Duke of *Mantua*, and of the other Princes of *Italy*; and that he would do to the Princes themſelves, if they came thither in Perſon; except the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who have Audience in the Ducal Chamber. The

Preſident

Preſident *de Thou*, who is otherwiſe very exact and very faithful, ſays in his Hiſtory, that the Pope *ſeated the Great Maſter after the fourth Cardinal, before the eight others.* But it ſeems to me, that there is more Veriſimilitude to believe in this *M. de Foix*, who was at that Time Embaſſador at *Rome*; and who having a very particular Care of the Affairs of the Great Maſter, wrote to King *Henry* III, in the Terms I juſt mention'd. And what makes me believe that *M. de Thou*, or he that printed his Works after his Deceaſe, forgot himſelf in this Point, is, that when *Coſmus*, Duke of *Florence*, arriv'd at *Rome* the 5th of *February*, 1560, he receiv'd a great many more Honours, than were done ſince to the Great-Maſter of *Malta*. The Cardinals of St. *Flora*, and of *Ferrara*, went as far as the City Gate to meet him at his Departure from Audience, which he had in the Ducal Chamber, the Pope gave him a Dinner, and to all the Cardinals: but he was ſeated immediately before the laſt Cardinal Deacon. He march'd alſo in the ſame Rank in the Proceſſion, which was perform'd at *Rome* the 24th of the ſame Month. Upon which I ſhall make this ſmall Remark *en paſſant*, that when the Pope goes in Proceſſion, the Embaſſadors carry the Pall to a certain Place, where they are reliev'd by the Barons.

It will not be from the Purpoſe, to mention here the Competition ſome of the Princes of *Italy* have among themſelves; and the Debates their Miniſters have had on that Account. The Duke of *Feria*, Governor of *Milan*, did not do the ſame Civilities to the Miniſters of the Duke of *Mantua*, which he did to thoſe of *Savoy*: whereupon theſe two Princes enter'd into great Conteſtations; not about Precedency, but about the Titles and Equality: The Miniſters of *Mantua* ſaid, That the Governor was in the Wrong; becauſe that at *Madrid*, and even at *Milan*, the Miniſters of the two Princes had always been treated equally: That the King of *Spain* would never give a Place in the Chapel to the Embaſſador of *Savoy*, notwithſtanding the Duke's preſſing Inſtances on that Account: and that he would not ſuffer, that in reference to the Number of Horſes to his Coach, and the other Honours, he ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd from the Embaſſador of *Mantua*, from that of *Genoa*, and of the other Princes of *Italy*: That the Governors of *Milan*, Predeceſſors of the Duke of *Feria*, had not behav'd themſelves otherwiſe; as well in reſpect to the Titles, as to the Chapel, and other publick Ceremonies, to which the Miniſters of *Savoy* and of *Mantua* had always been invited by Turns: That the *Savoyards* obſerv'd very well, that *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, had given their Duke the Title of *Highneſs*, when he went to *Madrid* on Account of his Marriage; but that they did not take Notice, that the Grandees of *Spain* had refus'd him that Title: That it was true, that when the Duke went to *Madrid*, *the King went to meet him, and gave him the Honour of the Hand*; but that the very next Day after his Marriage, he treated him after the ſame Manner he had us'd to do before mention was made of that Alliance: That it was only at the King's preſſing Inſtances, that the Conſtable of *Caſtile*, and the other Grandees of *Spain* gave him the Title of *Highneſs*: That in the Letters *Philip* II, and *Philip* III, had wrote to him, they had always ſtyl'd him *Vos*; and at the beginning of the Letter *Senor Hijo, Senor Hermano*, in the ſame Line, and without Civility: That a Regulation had been made there ſince, by which it was ordain'd, that *the Prince, the Infantas, and their Brothers-in-Law, ſhould have the Style of Highneſs*; but that the Duke could not draw any Advantage there-from; becauſe that was done only, that more Honour might not be done to the Wife than to the Husband; whereas the Emperor himſelf had publickly given the Title of *Highneſs* to the Dutcheſs of *Mantua*, when ſhe was at *Vienna*: But that the Miniſters ought not to claim any thing from the Honours that are done to their Prince: That ſince the Catholick King had been pleas'd to make no Diſtinction between the Dukes of *Savoy* and of *Mantua*, the Governor of *Milan* might have very well forborn making any there, where his King himſelf makes none.

The Council of *Savoy* made Anſwer to this Writing by another; wherein they ſet forth, That there was no Compariſon between the Dukes of *Savoy* and of *Mantua*, neither for Antiquity of Houſes, nor for the Advantage of Alliances, of which a long Enumeration is there produc'd: That the Governors of *Milan* had always given the Title of *Highneſs* to the Duke of *Savoy*, and that of *Excellency* to the Duke of *Mantua*: That the Republick of *Venice* did the ſame: That even the Duke *Emanuel Philibert* gave only the Style of *Excellency* to the Duke of *Mantua*, while this gave him that of *Highneſs*: That *Sanſovin* writes, That in his Time, of all the Princes of *Italy*, there was none but the Duke of *Savoy* to whom it was given: That when the Duke *Charles Emanuel* went into *Spain* on the Score of his Marriage, the King *went to meet him, and gave him the Hand*; and that ſince the King himſelf gave him the Title of *Highneſs*, the Grandees of *Spain* could not refuſe it him neither: That notwithſtanding the next Day after his Marriage, and ſince, he has been always treated with the Style of *Vos*, and of *Hijo*, it was only to do him ſo much the more Honour; becauſe therein he treated him upon the Level with the *Infantas*; and with the other Princes of his Houſe: That it is reaſonable to believe that the King did not do it with any other Intention, ſince the Duke of *Savoy* being become his Son, it is probable he was willing to do him more Honour than before: That it was true, that before mention was made of the Marriage, the King of *Spain* had only given him the Title of *Moſt Illuſtrious*; but that it was alſo true, that at that Time he gave only that of *Very Illuſtrious* to the Duke of *Mantua*: That the Title of *Moſt Illuſtrious* had never been given to the Duke of *Mantua* before *Ferdinand*, who making his Advantage of the bad Underſtanding which was between *Spain* and *Savoy*, had begg'd it at *Madrid*: That notwithſtanding the ſaid *Philip* did not think fit to give a Place in the Chapel to the Embaſſador of *Savoy*, altho' this might pretend to it with Juſtice, ſince he had it in thoſe of *France*, of *Vienna*, and even of *Rome*, which is the firſt Court of *Chriſtendom*, the Duke of *Mantua* could draw no Advantage from thence for himſelf; ſince it was not to take away the Diffe-

ference which is between theſe two Princes; the Duke of *Mantua* having no Place in the Chapel of the other Courts; and ſo on that Account there was no Competition between them: That the King had ſignify'd to him, he ſhould be glad not to be further importun'd about it; becauſe what he did was to do him ſo much the more Honour, in treating him upon the Level with the other Princes of his Houſe, and even with the Arch-Dukes: That before the Dukes of *Savoy* left off paying Obedience to the Pope, by reaſon of the well-grounded Pretenſion they have to perform it in the Royal Hall, they did it in the Ducal Chamber: whereas even at this Day, the Dukes of *Mantua*, or their Miniſters, do not perform it in the Conſiſtory, but in the Pope's Chamber: That as for the Title of *Highneſs*, which the Emperor had given to the Dutcheſs of *Mantua* when he marry'd; at leaſt if it was true, that he did really give it her, that poſſibly he might have Regard to the Houſe, from whence the Dutcheſs was extracted, or to the Alliance *ſhe had with the Arch-Dutcheſs, Siſter to the Emperor, whoſe Siſter-in-Law ſhe was; tho' it may be ſaid, that it was a Civility which the Emperor was willing to do to a Lady, to whom the greateſt Princes would think it a Glory to do Honour:*

That it was certain, that if the Duke of Mantua *had accompany'd his Siſter into* Germany, *the Emperor would not have given him the Title of Highneſs; becauſe he could not have done it, but to the Prejudice of thoſe, who could pretend to it with more Juſtice than the Duke: But that it was a Piece of Prudence in him not to go thither, for fear he ſhould there meet the Count* d'Ognate, *the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador, who pretended to take Place of the Duke, and that they ſhould reciprocally give one the other the ſame Titles: That ſeveral Letters and Acts were to be found in the Archives of* Savoy, *wherein the Emperor gives the Title of Highneſs to the Dukes thereof: That it was impertinent to ſay, that the Honours which were done to Princes, draw no Conſequences for the Miniſters; ſince theſe regulate themſelves by the Grandeur and Qualities of their Maſters: And as for the Alternative, which was ſaid to have been practis'd at* Milan *between the Miniſters of the two Princes, that it imply'd a very groſs Ignorance, or great Malice, in thoſe who advanc'd Things which had ſo little Truth in them: That the Contrary was ſo notorious, that the Duke of* Feria *could not have done otherwiſe than he did, without introducing a Novelty which was both Offenſive and Scandalous: it being certain that the Embaſſador of* Mantua, *had never appear'd there at the publick Aſſemblies, unleſs he of* Savoy *was either abſent or ſick.* At this Day there is no Competition between the two Princes. The Duke of *Mantua* gives Place to that of *Savoy*, and they give one another reciprocally the Title of *Highneſs*.

There is no Competition neither between the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* and the Duke of *Parma:* and nevertheleſs Prince *Francis*, the Son of *Coſmus*, being at *Madrid* in the Year 1562, had there a Conteſt with *Alexander Farneſe*, Son of the Duke of *Parma*, and of *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, natural Siſter to *Philip* II, King of *Spain*. *Coſmus*, who at that Time was negotiating a Match for his Son, with one of the Emperor's Daughters, and who for that Purpoſe ſtood in need of the Favour of *Philip*, was willing his Son ſhould yeild him the Precedency, and ſhould even diſſemble his Diſpleaſure.

It was almoſt at the ſame Time, there was a Conteſt at the Court of *France* for the Rank, between the Miniſters of *Florence* and of *Ferrara*; and that thoſe of *Florence* had the Advantage through the Favour of the Queen Mother, *Katherine de Medicis*. The Count *Ferdinand Scotti*, Plenipotentiary of *Edward* Duke of *Parma*, being in the Year 1643, at *Venice*, where he negotiated a League againſt the *Barberins*, ſaid, he could not aſſiſt at the Conferences, becauſe he had Orders not to give Place to the Miniſter of the Great Duke. He grounded on the Example of *Madrid* which I lately mention'd, as on a Title that juſtify'd his being in Poſſeſſion. *Guſſoni* aud *Nani*, Deputies of the Senate, ſaid, *That on theſe Occeſions, there was an Obligation to follow what was practis'd in all the other Courts*, where the Miniſters of the Great Duke have the Precedency of thoſe of *Parma*, without Conteſtation; and that even at *Venice* theſe two Princes were treated with a great deal of Difference; ſince the Senate gave the Title of *Highneſs* to the one, and that of *Excellency* to the other: That a great many Things might be ſaid, in reference to what had paſs'd at *Madrid*; ſince it was only at the Inſtigation of ſome Enemies of the Houſe of *Toledo*, which was ſtraitly ally'd to that of the Great Duke, that this Quarrel had been created him.

At this Day there is no Duke of *Ferrara*, never ſince that Dukedom has been anner'd to the Pope's Mitre, as a Fee of the See of *Rome*, in the Time of *Clement* VIII, towards the End of the foregoing Century: However, to ſhew that there is nothing fix'd in moſt part of the Ranks of Princes, I ſhall here add a Word or two concerning the *Difference, the Miniſter of the Duke had with that of* Florence. *Coſmus* ſaid, That the Republick of *Florence* had always preceded the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and that ſhe could not loſe the Rank ſhe had always held; under the Pretext, that ſhe was now govern'd by a Sovereign Prince. The Duke of *Ferrara* maintain'd, That *Florence* having loſt its firſt Dignity of ancient Republick, to become a new Principality, the Antiquity of the two Dutchies was no longer the Queſtion. Pope *Pius* V, offer'd to regulate the Difference; but the Duke of *Ferrara* maintain'd, that it belong'd to the Emperor to decide it. The Duke of *Florence* acquieſc'd, and prevail'd with the Pope to conſent thereto, but upon Condition that the Emperor ſhould only do the Office of Arbitrator, and not that of Judge. *Maximilian* II. was incens'd thereat: and as both the Princes were nearly ally'd to him, he had no great Mind to ſpeak his Opinion, and ſpun the Affair out in Length. The Duke of *Ferrara* in the mean Time procur'd the Difference to be regulated to his own Advantage at the Court of *France*, under *Francis* II, while the Duke of *Guiſe*, his Brother-in-Law, was there All-powerful. But his Pretentions being brought again upon the Stage, under *Charles* IX, on occaſion of the Service, which was perform'd at *Paris* in the Year 1568, for the

the Prince of *Spain*; the Embaſſador of *Florence*, ſupported by the Credit of Queen *Catherine de Medicis*, demanded the next immediate Rank after that of *Venice*; and the Embaſſador of *Ferrara* oppos'd the ſame with ſo much Warmth, that the Dukes of *Anjou* and of *Alençon*, with the Cardinal of *Bourbon*; had much a-do to keep them from coming to an Engagement about it, and oblig'd them both to withdraw, leaving them the Liberty of proteſting. *Coſmus* being made Great Duke of *Tuſcany* ſome Time after, the Queen-Mother caus'd it be determin'd in his Favour.

It is neceſſary to add a Word more about what was lately hinted at concerning the Count *d'Ognate* Embaſſador of *Spain*, who pretended to have Precedency of the Duke of *Mantua*, and to treat him on the Level in reference to the Titles. He conſider'd him as a Vaſſal of the Emperor, or of the Empire, and he knew *that at the Court of* Madrid, *his Miniſter is treated with ſome Difference from others*: But however, he holds the Rank of a ſovereign Prince: He takes at home the Place of Honour of the Embaſſador of *France*, and his Embaſſador is cover'd when he ſpeaks to the Kings of *France* and of *England*. If the Marquiſs *de Fontenay* takes in his own Houſe the Hand, the Door, and the Chair of the Duke of *Guiſe*, it is becauſe he treats him as a Subject of the Prince he repreſents; but whatever Character a Miniſter may have, he cannot diſpenſe himſelf from the Reſpect which is due to ſovereign Princes; and he ought to make ſo much the leſs Difficulty here, becauſe he makes none in reference to the Cardinals. It is true that Cardinals have the Precedency of Princes; but it is only at *Rome*, and in ſome other Courts where they are willing to ſuffer it: But they do not take Place of the Princes of the Blood of *France*, nor of the Princes or Infants of *Spain*. An eccleſiaſtical Elector would not ſuffer a Cardinal to take the Upper-hand of him: A proteſtant Elector would ſuffer it ſtill leſs: And I do not think that the Elector of *Bavaria* would permit it. Some Princes of *Italy* allow it, and perhaps thoſe of *Germany* might do it; but both the one and the other are in the wrong.

In the Year 1642, ſome Electoral Miniſters taking Audience of the Emperor, ſeem'd to be very much ſcandaliz'd that the Duke of *Neubourg* who was there preſent, was cover'd while they ſpoke to the Emperor uncover'd. I cannot tell whether they were in the right or not. The Princes of *Germany* ought to have at leaſt the ſame Advantage with the Emperor, that the Grandees of *Spain* have with their King: that is to ſay, the Right of being cover'd in the Preſence of the Emperor.

The Duke of *Neubourg* had it in effect, ſince the Emperor ſuffer'd it; and it did not belong to the Miniſters of the Electors to put him in Mind of his Duty, if he fail'd therein. If they were really Embaſſadors, they ought to be cover'd, and if they were but Miniſters of the ſecond Order, why ſhould they deſire the Duke of *Neubourg* ſhould have that Reſpect for them? I find my ſelf oblig'd to repeat here what I ſaid before, that the Electors and Princes of *Germany* do not give the true Character to the Miniſters they employ to the Emperor: But if they do give it them, and withal ſuffer their Miniſters not to be cover'd in ſpeaking to the Emperor, they are in the wrong to complain of the Diſtinction which is made in *France* betwixt their Miniſters and thoſe of the Princes of *Italy*.

I muſt ſay ſtill farther, that the Duke of *Savoy* ſends no more to pay Obedience to the Pope; and the Emperor has alſo left it off. When the Emperor ſtill receiv'd the Imperial Crown at the Pope's Hands, they took an Oath to him, which was a kind of Liege-Homage; of which ſee a particular Example in *Lotharius* II.

Rex venit ante fores, Jurans prius urbis honores.
Mox homo fit Papæ, ſumitque hoc dante Coronam.

But they have ſince been convinc'd, that they could not without injuring the Imperial Dignity, take an Oath to the Biſhop of *Rome*, who according to the Order of Things, ought to make ſuit to them for a Confirmation of his Election, and take an Oath of Fidelity. Pope *Pius* IV. ſaid, That the Election of *Maximilian* II, was faulty; becauſe that of all the Electors who were preſent thereat, there were but two that were lawful; ſince of the five others, three were Hereticks, he of *Cologn* was ſick, and *Maximilian* himſelf was King of *Bohemia*. The Pope pretended moreover, that the Electors could not without his Conſent, nominate a Succeſſor to the Empire while the Emperor was ſtill alive, but only during the Inter-regnum, and after his Deceaſe: That they might indeed appoint a Coadjutor while the Emperor was ſtill living, but that it did not depend on this Coadjutor, nor on the Electors, to change the Quality of King of the *Romans*, which the Election gave him, into that of Emperor, without the Pope, who ought to confirm the Election. He ſignify'd however, that he would paſs over all theſe Conſiderations, if *Maximilian* would take an Oath to him, and would ſend to *Rome* an Embaſſy of Obedience, as all other Chriſtian Princes do, and as the Emperor *Ferdinand* his Father had done. The Pope even ſent him the Form of an Oath, which he ſaid had been copied from that of his Predeceſſors. *Maximilian* ſaid, that he would not deſire a Confirmation of his Election, unleſs it were made appear to him, that the other Emperors had done ſo before him: That the Oath which was exacted from him, was an Innovation; and that that which *Charles* V. had taken, was applicable only to thoſe Emperors who receive the Crown at the Pope's Hands. He moreover added, that it would not be found that *Charles* or *Ferdinand* had ſent Embaſſadors of Obedience to *Rome*: That it was true indeed, that the Embaſſador of the Emperor his Father had done it, but then he had done it without Orders, and had ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſuaded thereto by the Cardinals *Moron* and *Madrucci*, who had promis'd him to furniſh him with Examples thereof; and that the Emperor had been ſo incens'd thereat, that if he had not more conſider'd the Intention than the Action of his Embaſſador, he would have puniſh'd him ſeverely for it. *Maximilian* indeed offer'd to pay Obedience for his Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and for his other hereditary Countries, as the Emperor *Maximi-*

lian I, his Great Grandfather had done, for the Provinces depending on the Succeſſion of *Burgundy*, in the Name of his Son *Philip*, and that that was all *Julius* II. had pretended from him, and it was alſo what *Pius* IV. was forc'd to be contented with.

The Cardinals have Competition with all Princes. They pretend to be upon the Level with Kings, and to take Place of all other Princes, even thoſe of the Blood of *France*. In the Aſſembly which King *Henry* III. had conven'd at St. *Germans* in the Year 1583, there happen'd a Conteſt about the Rank, between *Charles* Cardinal of *Guiſe*, and *Charles* of *Bourbon*, Prince of the Blood, who had no other Quality than that. The Cardinal *de Bourbon*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, who had more of the Sentiments of a Prieſt, than of the Heart of a Prince, declar'd againſt *Charles* of *Bourbon*, his Nephew, and reproach'd him with Audaciouſneſs, to dare to think of taking Place of a Cardinal, who was advanc'd in Years, and a Prieſt: But however, the King gave it in favour of the Prince of the Blood, and adjudg'd him the Precedency, conformably to the Laws of the Kingdom. The Cardinal *de Guiſe* would not therefore be preſent at the Aſſembly.

Some Time after, the ſame *Charles* of *Bourbon*, having been made Cardinal, *Francis de Joyeuſe*, Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, who was made Cardinal at the ſame Promotion, was for having the Precedency of *Charles*, who was call'd the Cardinal of *Vendoſme*; becauſe at *Rome*, the Cardinals who are Prieſts, take Place of the Deacons; and he would have carried it, through the Credit of the Duke of *Joyeuſe* his Brother, if *John Lewis de Nogaret*, Duke *d'Epernon*, who ſhar'd the King's Favour with *Joyeuſe*, had not repreſented the Conſequence thereof to his Majeſty, and had not reminded him of the Paſſage with the Cardinal *de Guiſe*. After the Coronation of *Lewis* XIII, the King was for making a Promotion of the Knights of the Order. There happen'd ſome Conteſt for the Rank among the Candidates; but particularly between the Prince of *Condé* and the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, whom I juſt mention'd. The Prince carried it, and the Cardinal choſe rather to forego the Order than to yeild. It muſt be own'd that a Clergyman is a haughty Animal, of what Religion ſoever he be. Their Pride has ſucceeded that of the ancient Philoſophers, whoſe Maxims they copy in all their Actions. The Cardinals of *Retz* and of *la Rochefoucault*, Chiefs of the Council of *France*, had not Leiſure to know themſelves in that Poſt; but Cardinal *de Richlieu*, who was the fierceſt of all the Miniſters who had ever poſſeſs'd it, caus'd the ſame Submiſſions to be paid him in *France* that the Cardinals exact at *Rome*. The Prince of *Condé*, who was wiſe, and who deſir'd nothing but to compaſs his Ends, ſhew'd the utmoſt Complaiſance to the Cardinal; but the Count *de Soiſons*, who had not the ſame Prudence, ſaid, that the Prince's Example did him no Prejudice; and by oppoſing the Regal Power and Authority which were lodg'd in the Cardinal's Hands, he was obliged to leave the Kingdom, and loſt with his Life, the Fortune of his Friends in the Conteſtation. The Embaſſadors of *England* would not negotiate with Cardinal *de Richlieu*, that they might not be oblig'd to give Place to him in his own Houſe; but they did not advance their Maſters Buſineſs thereby, and their Succeſſors have known how to benefit by the ill Effects of theſe difficult and perplexing Scruples. Cardinal *Mazarine* who enter'd into the Miniſtry during the King's Minority, could not do very well without the Friendſhip and Credit of the Prince of *Condé*, being himſelf a Foreigner, without Birth, and without any other Support than that of the Queen-Mother. He was far from diſputing the Rank with the Princes of the Blood; yet for all that he made himſelf be reſpected, and reſented the Slights that were ſhewn him, by forcing the one to fling himſelf into the Arms of the *Spaniards*, and the other to ſubmit ſo intirely to his Will, as even to marry one of his Nieces. When the Duke of *Savoy*, the Father of him that now reigns, came to *Lions* in the Year 1659, he would not yeild Precedency in a third Place to Cardinal *Mazarin*. Thoſe Princes who dare not at *Rome* raiſe any Difficulty with the Cardinals, who can do them neither Good nor Harm, ought to be much more cautious how they do it with a Cardinal, who is abſolute Miniſter of a very powerful Kingdom. Prince *Thomas*, Unkle to the Duke of *Savoy*, being inform'd that Cardinal *Zapata* had yielded the Hand and the Step to *Emanuel Philibert*, third Son of Duke *Charles Emanuel*, whoſe fifth Son *Thomas* was, endeavour'd to take the ſame Advantage over Cardinal *Mazarin*: But this prevented it ſo well, that he had no Reaſon to apprehend the Reproaches which the Court of *Rome* made to *Zapata*. *Don John* of *Auſtria*, natural Son to *Charles* V, being come to *Rome* to receive the Pope's Benediction for the Expedition in which he was to command the naval Forces againſt the *Turks*, *would not viſit one ſingle Cardinal*, that he might not be oblig'd to pay them Honours which he did not think their due. While he was at *Naples*, Cardinal *de Granvelle* gave him the Place of Honour every where; except at the ſingle Ceremony which was perform'd in the Church of St. *Claire*, where the Cardinal bleſs'd the Royal Standard. On the contrary, Cardinal *Albert* of *Auſtria*, being at *Ferrara*, whither the Pope *Clement* VIII. went after the Death of the laſt Duke, *viſited all the Cardinals*, and did them all the Honours they could deſire of him. *Don John* of *Auſtria*, he who is at preſent the King of *Spain*'s firſt Miniſter, being at *Naples* after the Reduction of that Town, would never grant Precedency to Cardinal *Filomarin*, Archbiſhop of the Place, except only in his Church.

Cardinal *de Bourbon*, whom I lately mention'd, being in the Company of *Anthony* King of *Navarre*, his Brother, who was conducting *Iſabella* of *France*, Queen of *Spain*, to the Frontiers of that Kingdom, had Orders to do Civilities to the *Spaniſh* Lords who came to receive her. They were the Duke *de l'Infantado*, and the Cardinal *de Burgos*, his Brother, who were follow'd by a great Number of Perſons of Quality; and among the reſt, eleven titl'd Noblemen of the Houſe of *Mendoſſe*. The Cardinal receiv'd them at the Entrance into his Lodgings; and having conducted them through a large Ground-Room which was hung with Mourning, on account of the Death of *Henry* II,

and

and being ſeated in a Chair under a Canopy, between the Duke and the Cardinal, he caus'd a Lecture to be made of the Powers the Duke and Cardinal had to receive their Queen. *After the reading of the Powers*, the Cardinal *de Bourbon* yielded the Place of Honour to the Cardinal *de Burgos*, as to his Senior. As they went up to the Apartment, where the Queen and the King of *Navarre* expected them, the Duke went firſt, and the Cardinal *de Burgos* took the Hand of the Cardinal *de Bourbon*.

Philip Prince, and ſince King of *Spain*, thinking he could prevail with *Ferdinand* his Uncle to yield up to him his Quality of King of the *Romans*, went into *Germany* in the Year 1551, but his Journey proving fruitleſs, and having a Mind in his Return to paſs through *Italy*, he took *Trent* in his way, while the Council was there aſſembled. The Legate having Advice thereof, went with Cardinal *Madrucci* to meet him, at the Diſtance of three hundred Paces without the Town. *Philip* and the Legate embrac'd one another on Horſeback, but the other Prelates alighted off their Horſes and kiſs'd the Prince's Hand. The two Cardinals plac'd him between them, and conducted him to the Biſhop's Palace, where he was to lodge, and where the Legate took his Leave of him without alighting from his Horſe. The next Day *Philip made the firſt Viſit to the Legate, who came without the Gate of his Palace to receive him.* His Viſit was very ſhort: And going from thence he took the Legate along with him into an Iſland, which the *Adice* forms near the Town, where Cardinal *Madrucci* had caus'd a Timber Houſe to be built, which was very finely furniſh'd, and in which a moſt magnificent Entertainment was prepar'd for him. *Philip*, the two Cardinals, and the Prince of *Savoy*, who accompany'd *Philip*, were all four at the upper end of the Table, and the other Prelates were on each Side. The next Day the Legate return'd *Philip*'s Viſit; and the Day following, which was the 9th of *June*, the Prince left *Trent*: All the Prelates, except the Cardinals, conducted him without the Gate. Some Days after, *Maximilian*, King of *Bohemia*, who went to fetch his Wife from *Spain*, paſs'd alſo through *Trent*; but foraſmuch as he had no Retinue, and that he paſs'd as it were *incognito*, no Entry was made him, nor any other Civility, except that *the Legate made him the firſt Viſit*, and the next Day he return'd the ſame. When *Albert*, and the Arch-Dutcheſs who was going to be marry'd to the King of *Spain*, *Philip* III, arriv'd at *Ferrara*, all the College of Cardinals went in a Body to meet them.

There is no lawful Judge for the Competitions between Sovereigns, neither is it a Matter that belongs to a Council. And indeed there is no Prince that will undertake, or ever did undertake, to regulate the Rank between Miniſters. The King of *England*, when he marry'd the Princeſs his Daughter in the Year 1612, invited the Embaſſadors of *France* and of *Venice* to the Feaſt of the firſt Day; and *Boiſchot*, Embaſſador of the Arch-Dukes *Albert* and *Iſabella*, to that of the Day following. *Boiſchot* was much offended thereat, and ſaid, he could not ſuffer that a Republick, which poſſeſs'd in a manner but a Foot of Land, in Compariſon of the Arch-Duke's great and vaſt Provinces, ſhould be preferr'd to them; ſince ſhe had never made Difficulty to yield to their Predeceſſors, when they were yet but Dukes of *Burgundy*. The King ſent him Word, *That it was not his Intention to erect himſelf as Judge of the Competition of Princes, nor to do any Prejudice to their Rights and Pretenſions, by regulating the Rank between their Miniſters:* That he had invited the *Venetian* Embaſſador firſt, becauſe he had as good as invited himſelf above a Fortnight before; and that the Republick having been pleas'd to do ſomething extraordinary, by ordering her Embaſſador to make a magnificent Equipage, to do Honour to the new marry'd Couple, he had thought himſelf likewiſe oblig'd to do this Civility to her Embaſſador: That all the Days ſhould be equal, as well in the Entertainments as the Diverſions: And that he was even of Opinion that that of *Shrove-Tueſday*, to which *Boiſchot* had been invited, would be the greateſt of all, as being the Day of the greateſt Rejoicing; proteſting again, *That he did not undertake to ſettle the Rank between the Miniſters*; which he caus'd to be given him in Writing.

Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*, having deſir'd the Elector of *Brandenburg* to ſend his Miniſters to *Lubeck*, to diſcharge there the Office of Mediators between *Poland* and *Sweden*, together with *France*, *Venice*, and the United Provinces; *Ewald Cleyſt*, the Elector's Embaſſador, told the Queen, That he hop'd that the Parties who invited the Prince his Maſter to this Meditation, would alſo take Care to preſerve him the Rank which was his Due. The Queen made Anſwer, *That it did not belong to her to regulate the Precedency among the Miniſters:* And that the Elector, by making this Propoſition, ſubverted the Order of Things, by deſiring the Parties intereſſed ſhould become Mediators. *Cleyſt* was a Miniſter worthy of that Court, as it was then conſtituted. Some time before he had told *Chanut*, the *French* Embaſſador, that the Marquiſs *Sigiſmond*, the Elector's Embaſſador, would have given a Box on the Ear to a Burghermaſter of *Amſterdam*, who diſputed the Precedency with him. There was a little Ignorance, and a great deal of Malice in this Tale. It was not a Burghermaſter of *Amſterdam*, but a Counſellor of the Court of Juſtice of *Friſe*, that had the Diſpute about the Rank with the Marquiſs *Sigiſmond*: And they did not proceed ſo far as Menaces, nor nothing near it.

In the Year 1653, Queen *Chriſtina* having invited all the foreign Miniſters to a Ball, where ſhe intended to dance, ſhe told them, *Gentlemen, you ſhall place your ſelves if you pleaſe, for it is none of my Buſineſs to regulate your Ranks.* They all mingl'd with the Senators without Order. There was none but *Pimentel*, Miniſter of *Spain*, who plac'd himſelf ſeparately from the reſt, with *Radzienſky* and *Uleſeld*, who were Refugees from *Poland* and *Denmark*.

The King of *England* did not indeed regulate the Rank, but yet he diſtinguiſh'd between the Miniſters; and that is done every where, tho' there is ſomething very delicate in this Diſtinction.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of Embaſſies compos'd of ſeveral Embaſſadors.

PHilip *de Commines* ſays, *That it is much better to ſend two or three Embaſſadors than one*; becauſe, what the one cannot find out the other does. He wrote in a Time when Embaſſies in Ordinary were not yet ſpoken of, which are never compos'd of a Plurality of Embaſſadors; and the Extraordinaries are not always neither. I do not here ſpeak of thoſe Extraordinary Embaſſadors, who have only the Name and Salary thereof, and who in effect diſcharge the Functions of Ordinaries; but of thoſe who are only employ'd to perform ſome Civility, to aſſiſt at a Ceremony, or to negotiate ſome particular Affair, the Concluſion whereof puts an end alſo to the Embaſſy. In an Obedience: To ſign a Contract of Marriage, the Articles whereof have been concerted; to preſent the Child of a Sovereign at Baptiſm; to make a Complement either on the Marriage or Death of a Prince; on his Acceſſion to the Crown; to ſee the Execution and Obſervation of a Treaty of Peace, or of an Alliance ſworn to; and for many other Affairs of this Nature, Princes frequently employ but a ſingle Perſon, whereas Republicks, on theſe Occaſions, almoſt always ſend a Plurality of Embaſſadors, tho' there is no certain Rule in this Caſe. After the Peace of *Vervins*, *Henry* IV. ſent to *Bruſſels* the Mareſchal *de Biron*, who on this Occaſion was made Duke and Peer of *France*, to the end he might appear there with the greater Luſtre, and made him be accompany'd by *Pompone de Bellievre* and by *Nicholas Brulart*, who had negotiated the Treaty. The Arch-Duke ſent to *Paris* the Duke of *Arſchot*, the Count of *Aremberg*, the Admirant of *Arragon*, *Don Lewis de Velaſque*, *Richardot*, *&c.* which was a very extraordinary thing, and perhaps would not have been done if the Arch-Duke had not been oblig'd to ſend the Duke, the Count, the Admirant, and *Don Lewis* into *France*, there to remain as Hoſtages, till the Reſtitution of the Places which the *Spaniards* were to evacuate by Virtue of the Treaty; and *Henry* IV, who was the beſt and the civileſt Prince that ever was, was willing to return the Honour in Appearance which the Arch-Duke did him on the part of the King of *Spain*. The Republick of *Venice* commonly employs four Senators in Embaſſies of Obedience, and ſometimes ſhe increaſes, nay even doubles that Number. The States of the United Provinces make almoſt all their Extraordinary Embaſſies conſiſt of a Plurality of Perſons, becauſe their State being compos'd of ſeveral Sovereign Provinces, they will all have a Share in the Honours, as well as in the Affairs. Some Years ago the *Swiſs Cantons* ſent nine and thirty Embaſſadors or Deputies into *France*, to ſee the Confirmation of the Alliance ſworn to; and, in the Year 1602, they ſent about as many to King *Henry* IV.

The Republick of *Venice*, to do Honour to the Emperor *Charles* V, who came into *Italy* in the Year 1530, to confer with Pope *Clement* VII. at *Boulogne*, ſent him ſix of its chiefeſt Senators, *Mark Dandalo*, *Lewis Gradenigo*, *Lewis Mocenigo*, *Laurence Bragadin*, *Anthony Suriano*, and *Nicholas Tiepolo*, who having made their Complement, aſſiſted at the Ceremonies of his Coronation. Some Years before, in the firſt Journey *Francis* I. took into *Italy*, ſhe ſent to the King *George Cornaro*, *Andrew Gritti*, *Anthony Grimani*, and *Dominick Treviſan*, all four Procurators of St. *Mark*, which is the firſt Dignity after that of the Doge; and ſhe commanded them to remain with the King as long as he ſhould ſtay in *Italy*. When *Henry* III, King of *France*, at his Return from *Poland*, enter'd into that part of *Frioul* which belongs to the *Venetians*, he was met there by *Andrew Badouere*, *John Miqueli*, *John Soranzo*, and *James Foſcarini*, who conducted him to *Muran*, where the Doge himſelf receiv'd him with Boats and Gondola's, and accompany'd him to the Palace of *Foſcarini*, which had been fitted up for him. Theſe four Senators did not leave him during the Stay he made in that Town, and conducted him throughout the whole State of the Republick, defraying him to the very Frontiers of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. After the Death of *Julius* II, the Republick appointed ten Senators, of the graveſt and firſt Authority, to go and make their Obedience to *Leo* X, which ſhe ſignify'd to him by *Foſcarini*, her Embaſſador in Ordinary. The Intention of the Republick was, by doing this exceſſive Honour to the Pope, to prevail with him to enter into the Treaty which ſhe had juſt concluded with *France*: But finding *Leo*'s Thoughts were otherwiſe diſpos'd, ſhe alſo laid aſide that of being at ſo extraordinary an Expence.

This great Number of Embaſſadors, which indeed ſerves for an Ornament to the Embaſſy, when it is intended to do Honour to a Prince, becomes neceſſary when they are employ'd in Negotiations that are knotty, intricate, and of Importance; more eſpecially, if ſeveral different Intereſts are mix'd therein, one ſingle Miniſter cannot always anſwer the Sufficiency of many, nor unravel alone all the Difficulties that attend it; nor charge himſelf with the Succeſs of an Infinity of Intrigues, which are but too common in ſuch Caſes. The Preſident *Jeannin*, ſpeaking of *M. de Ruſſi* his Collegue, ſays, That he is a very able Miniſter, and capable of ſupporting alone the Function and Dignity of an Embaſſy, but that the Affair they had to negotiate was ſo odd and intricate, that it would find full Employment for two Embaſſadors: That they had each of them their particular Acquaintance: And that notwithſtanding the King had given the Preſident Leave to take a Turn to Court, yet he was afraid of failing in the Service he ow'd his Majeſty, if he abſented while the Miniſters of the Arch-Duke continu'd their Conferences. In the Year 1647, *d'Avaux* going to *Oſnaburg*,

to negotiate with the the Miniſters of *Sweden*, and the States of the Empire, while *Servien* was at the *Hague*, the Duke of *Longueville*, who was leſt alone at *Munſter*, proceeded after ſuch a Manner as ſurpris'd the whole Court; and oblig'd *Servien* to complain of the Leave which was granted to *d'Avaux*, to be ſo long away from a Place, *where it was impoſſible for a ſingle Miniſter to acquit himſelf of the King's Service as he ought*. He ſaid, that *Mr de Longueville* had like to have marr'd the Affairs. His Meaning was, that he had like to have made a Peace contrary to the Intention of the firſt Miniſter.

However, ſetting aſide this Neceſſity, one would think that it were better to employ but one ſingle Embaſſador. For if in the Plurality they are all equally Able, Conteſtation is inevitable. If among them there happens to be a ſtrong and imperious Genius, he will be for regulating the Affairs after his own Whim; for tranſacting them alone, and for reaping ſingly all the Glory. The Embaſſy which *Henry* IV. ſent into *Holland* in the Year 1607, was compos'd of Preſident *Jeannin*, *Buzanval* and *Ruſſi*, who entertain'd a perfect Harmony among themſelves; not ſo much by reaſon of the Superiority the Preſident (who was one of the truſtieſt Miniſters the King had) had over the two others; as chiefly becauſe with his extraordinary Penetration, he had alſo a Modeſty, and Sweetneſs of Temper not to be expreſs'd. This Example is very rare, neither can it be deny'd, that after the Death of *Buzanval*, there was ſome ſmall Miſunderſtanding between the other two. It cannot be deny'd neither, that the Preſident was entruſted with all the Secret and all the Confidence, after what *Villeroy* writes to him on the 23d of *April*, 1607. *Buzanval* and *Ruſſi* were both of the reform'd Religion, and ſo could not be confided in by *Villeroy*. Thoſe Miniſters who have the ſame Character, who ſee one another every Day, and who have frequent Conſultatios together, are not always in the ſame Sentiments, nor in a Humour to enter into thoſe of their Collegues. Every one delights in maintaining his own Opinion: it is done ſometimes with Warmth, and even with Obſtinacy: from thence enſue Quarrels, and declar'd Enmities. It is impoſſible alſo but in the Number, one of them ſhall always have the Confidence of the Maſter, and ſhall thereby excite the Envy and Jealouſy of his Companions.

Of the three Embaſſadors who were on the part of *France* at *Munſter*, none but *Servien* was let into the Secret, becauſe the two others were not capable of ſeconding the Artifices of him, who had the Direction of this Negotiation, as well as of all the Affairs of the Kingdom. *D'Avaux*, who thought he ought to have this Advantage over his Collegue, was ſeiz'd with Jealouſy thereat, which turn'd to a kind of Rage, ſince both Parties did not ſcruple to make their Animoſities publick by printed Letters. This gave ſo great a Scandal to the whole Aſſembly, that the Duke of *Longueville* having in vain endeavour'd to reconcile them, the Nuncio and the *Venetian* Embaſſador ſignify'd to them, that the Pope and the Republick would be oblig'd to deſire the King to ſend to *Munſter* ſuch Miniſters, as were more capable of contributing to the Peace than they were. The King having diſſembled the Scandal for ſome Time, recall'd *D'Avaux*, and left *Servien* alone at *Munſter*. He concluded alone the Treaty of the Empire; as ſome Years before *d'Avaux* had mediated alone the Truce between *Poland* and *Sweden*, and ſettl'd the Preliminaries for the Congreſs at *Munſter*. *La Tuillerie* had alone concluded a Peace between the two Crowns of the *North*. *Chanut* was ſent alone to *Lubeck*, to mediate a Peace between *Poland* and *Sweden*; and Queen *Chriſtina*, who was a Queen indeed, explain'd her ſelf very well at that Time, ſaying, That, in that kind of Negotiations, the great Number of Embaſſadors was troubleſome.

The States of the United Provinces had Eight at *Munſter*; but I cannot tell whether they were the better ſerv'd for it. There were two of them, who having been employ'd in ſeveral Negotiations, were for governing the reſt, and making themſelves neceſſary. The *French* ſaid publickly, That the *Spaniſh* Gold and Silver had corrupted thoſe two: and they don't ſcruple to ſay in their Hiſtory, that ſome of them communicated the moſt private and moſt important Secrets of their Negotiation, to the Plenipotentiaries of *France*. They might very well have forborn proſtituting thus in their Books, the Names and Memory of Perſons of Quality, from whom they ought to have drawn ſuch noble Services. But it is the Humour of the Nation, which finds more Satisfaction in publiſhing the Kindneſs that is done it, than in receiving it.

Oxenſtiern and *Salvius*, who were on the Part of *Sweden* at *Oſnaburg*, were not declar'd Enemies, as were *d'Avaux* and *Servien*, but they were almoſt always of contrary Sentiments. The firſt follow'd thoſe of the Chancellor his Father, and the other depended entirely on the Queen, who confided in him. This appears on ſeveral Occaſions; but particularly in a Conjuncture, wherein the Queen was pleas'd to ſhew the Eſteem ſhe had for the one, and how much ſhe deſpis'd the other. The Elector of *Bavaria*, having in the Year 1647, almoſt as ſoon broke as concluded the Treaty of *Ulm*, which *France* had procur'd him, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of *Sweden*; *Oxenſtiern* fell into ſuch a Paſſion about it, that he was ready to conclude the Treaty with the Emperor, to the Excluſion of *France*, if *Salvius* would have ſign'd it with him. *Oxenſtiern* complain'd to the Queen of *Salvius*'s Refuſal; and told her, that this laſt had been the only Hindrance, of his concluding a very advantageous Treaty with the Emperor. The Queen made a Jeſt of it, and ſent *Oxenſtiern*'s Letter to *Salvius*, who ſhew'd it to *Servien*; to deſtroy thereby, the Opinion the *French* might have of the Diſpoſition of the Court of *Stockholm*; as if it were capable of treating without its Allies. Princes do not always meet with Miniſters that merit their Confidence, as *Servien* and *Salvius* did, who had no other View than their own Intereſt, which they found in the Satisfaction of thoſe who employ'd them.

Charnacé and *St. Stephen*, being at the Court of *Bavaria* on the Part of *France*, in the Year 1632, proceeded to ſuch Extremes, that they were for fighting a Duel; inſomuch that their

Diviſion render'd them uſeleſs with the Elector. In *England* there were three Embaſſadors from the United Provinces, who being lodg'd in the ſame Houſe, had each of them their Kitchin and particular Table; and liv'd ſo ill together, that they were call'd, *the Diſunited Embaſſadors of the United Provinces:* making themſelves by that Means the Laughing-ſtocks and Contempt of thoſe People, whom the Crime of Rebellion had ſo perfectly united againſt their Sovereign.

When in the Year 1570, the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Republick of *Venice* negotiated at *Rome* a League againſt *Selim* II, Emperor of the *Turks*, the Senate, which had for ſome Time employ'd therein *Suriano*, its Embaſſador in Ordinary, judg'd it adviſeable to joyn *John Soranzo* with him, as Extraordinary. *Suriano* had had Occaſion for all his Addreſs, to overcome the Obſtacles the Miniſters of *Spain* were continually making: and as he had a great deal of Wit, they were eaſily perſuaded at *Venice*, that he had too much Complaiſance for the others, and that he conſented with too much Facility to thoſe Things, which he ought to have debated with Vigour, and which the Senate had already rejected. He juſtify'd himſelf, and gave ſo good an Account of his Conduct, that *Soranzo*, who did not make any greater Progreſs therein than he, was ſoon recall'd.

It may fall out that a Prince, who has no great Confidence in the Capacity, or in the Fidelity of his Miniſter, may give him a Collegue, who may ſerve as a Comptroller and Superviſor, to obſerve his Actions: But then this ſo ſeldom happens, that it is hard to find one ſingle Example thereof in Hiſtory. Credit may be given to all that that of thoſe Times ſays, of the dangerous Intrigues of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*: And yet I think my ſelf oblig'd to acquaint the Reader, that it is after the Duke of *Sully*, who was not his Friend, that I ſay, That King *Henry* IV, finding himſelf very much preſs'd by the Duke of *Bouillon*; who was deſirous to be ſent into *England*, that he might there learn the true Sentiments Queen *Elizabeth* had in reference to *France*: And the King not being willing to refuſe him, tho' he was in a continual Diſtruſt of his Wit and his Intentions, ſpoke thereof to the Duke of *Sully*, and endeavour'd to diſpoſe him to go into *England* with the other, that he might inſpect his Actions; but the Duke *de Sully* excus'd himſelf.

In the Year 1623, there were at the ſame Time three Embaſſadors from *Spain* at *London*; two Extraordinaries, *viz.* the Marquiſs *d'Inoioſa* and *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoſſe*; and one in Ordinary, *Don Carlos Coloma*, beſides *Don Diego Mexia*, who was there on the Part of the *Infanta*. The Marquiſs, and *Don Diego de Mendoſſe*, differ'd about the Rank; and notwithſtanding *Don Carlos* had a great deal of Deference to the Marquiſs, yet their Humours were ſo oppoſite, that the Qualities of Oyl and Vinegar are not more contrary. The following Years 1624 and 1625, there were ſeven or eight Embaſſadors from *France* at *London*; the Duke *de Chevreuſe*, *Meſſieurs de la Villeauxcleres*, *de Tremes*, *Deſſiat*, *de Tillieres*, *de Chaſteauneuf*, *de Blainville*, &c. *Auguſtin Guſtiniani*, Biſhop of *Nebio*, ſays in his Annals, That in the Year 1494, the Republick of *Genoa* ſent ſixteen Embaſſadors to *Lewis le More*, Duke of *Milan*; and that in the Year 1499, ſhe ſent four and twenty to *Lewis* XII, King of *France*. *Alphonſo the Magnanimous*, King of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, being inform'd that *Alphonſo Borgia* was elected Pope under the Name of *Calixtus* III, had ſo much Joy thereat, that he ſent to pay him Obedience, by fifteen or ſixteen, as well Prelates as Noblemen, of the beſt Quality in his Kingdoms; amongſt whom were one Patriarch, three Archbiſhops, one Biſhop, the Lord Chief Juſtice of *Sicily*, the Maſter of the Order of *Monteſa*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Note.

It is uſual to ſend a Plurality of Embaſſadors to Congreſſes, which are appointed to negotiate a Peace between ſeveral Parties intereſted; of which we have many Inſtances, as well in ancient as in modern Hiſtory. The Wars which have harraſs'd, and almoſt ruin'd a good part of *Chriſtendom*, have afforded ſeveral: So that they who cannot remember what was done in *Weſtphalia*, cannot be ignorant of what paſs'd at *Cologne*, and what is actually doing at *Nimeguen*. But I don't think mention was ever made of a more illuſtrious Aſſembly, than that which was conven'd at *Arras* in the Year 1435. The War which the *Engliſh* had carry'd on in *France* for ſeveral Years, had reduc'd the Kingdom to a very deplorable State, more eſpecially after *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, (who was reſolv'd to revenge his Father's Death, and did indeed revenge it in a very cruel Manner) had declar'd himſelf againſt the King. The Pope who ſaw *France* was periſhing, thought himſelf oblig'd to exert his utmoſt Efforts, to try to bring the Minds of the contending Parties to reaſonable Terms. The *Engliſh* had not well husbanded the Friendſhip of the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſince the Death of their King *Henry* V, ſo that the Duke (who had ſeveral Reaſons to be diſſatisfy'd) had no Difficulty to conſent to the Place and Time which were appointed for the Congreſs. The Pope ſent thither the Cardinals *de St. Croix*, and of *Cyprus*, the Archbiſhop of *Auch*, the Biſhops of *Aes*, of *Uſez*, of *Auxerre*, of *Albania*, with ſome other Biſhops and Prelates. On the Part of *Charles* VII, King of *France*, there were the Duke of *Bourbon*, Prince of the Blood, the Count *de Richemont*, Conſtable of *France*, *Chriſtopher de Harcourt*, the Mareſchal *de la Frayette*, *Adam de Cambray*, firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*, and thirty other Lords and Perſons of Diſtinction which Hiſtory names. *Henry* VI, King of *England*, ſent thither the Cardinal of *Wincheſter*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *Liſieux*, of *Norwich* and of St. *Davids*, the Earl of *Huntingdon*, with above fifty other Lords, Prelates, and Officers of the King's Houſhold. The Embaſſadors of the Duke of *Burgundy*, were the Biſhops of *Liege*, of *Cambray* and of *Arras*; *Nicholas Rollin*, his Chancellor; the Duke of *Gueldre*; the Counts *d'Eſtampes*, *de St. Pol*, *de Ligny*, *de Naſſau*, *de Vaudemont*, *de Nevers*, *de Montford*, *de Valenebourg*, *de Megue*; the Prince of *Orange*'s Son, and ſeveral other Lords and Perſons of Quality; the Dukes of *Britany*, of *Alançon*, and of *Bar*: And the Provinces of *Brabant* and of *Holland*, had alſo their Deputies there. The

Duke

Duke of *Burgundy*'s Harbinger, who kept a Liſt of the Aſſembly, reported to his Maſter, that there were in the Town Five hundred Knights, and in all about *Nine or ten thouſand Strangers*; comprehending therein above fifty Heralds, Purſuivants and Kings at Arms.

Cardinal *Pool* having prevail'd with *Mary* Queen of *England*, to offer her Mediation to reconcile the Differences that continu'd the War between the Emperor *Charles* V, her Father-in-law, and *Henry* II. King of *France*; ſhe brought them to conſent to an Aſſembly of Embaſſadors, and to a Suſpenſion of Arms. She had caus'd a Timber-Houſe to be built at *Marck*, two or three Leagues off of *Calice*, in which were three diſtinct Appartments for the Embaſſadors of the Emperor, for thoſe of *France*, and the third for the Cardinal. This Structure had its Conveniences for the Day, but at Night all the Embaſſadors retir'd to their own Homes; thoſe of the Emperor to *Gravelins*, the *French* to *Ardres*, and the *Engliſh* to *Calice*. In the middle of this Timber-Houſe was a large Tent, to which the Embaſſadors might repair from their reſpective Appartments, through a long cover'd Gallery. *John de la Cerde*, Duke of *Medina Celi*, *Charles* Count of *Salin*, *Anthony Perenot de Granvelle*, Biſhop of *Arras*, and Keeper of the Seals to *Charles*; with *Viglius de Zuichem*, Preſident of the Privy Council, and *Bravenus* Preſident of the Parliament of *Mecklin*, aſſiſted there on the Part of the Emperor. The King of *France* ſent thither *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Conſtable of *Montmorancy*, *Charles* of *Marillac*, Biſhop of *Valence*, *John de Morvillers* Biſhop of *Orleans*, and *Claudius de l'Aubepine*, Secretary of State: Cardinal *Pool*, *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Chancellor of *England*, *William Arondel*, and *William Paget*, were on the Part of Queen *Mary* for the Mediation. The Embaſſadors of the Emperor and of *France*, ſaw one another but once by the way of Civility, and the whole Negotiation was tranſacted through the Intermediation of the *Engliſh*. They concluded nothing at this time: But in the Month of *October*, 1558, there was another Aſſembly on the Part of *Henry*, and of *Philip* King of *Spain*, in the Abbey of *Cercamp*; whither came on the Part of *France*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the Conſtable of *Montmorancy*, the Mareſchal *de St. André*, the Biſhop of *Orleans*, and *Laubepine:* And for *Spain*, *Ferdinand de Tolede*, Duke of *Alva*; *William Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*; *Ruy Gomez Deſilva:* the Biſhop of *Arras*, and *Ulrich Viglius de Zuichem*, who there laid the Scheme of the Treaty that was concluded the Year following at *Chaſteau Cambreſis*. The Queen of *England* ſent thither the Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Thomas Howard* of *Effingham*, her Great Chamberlain. When *Charles* of *Auſtria* ſu'd for the Imperial Crown, he employ'd in the Quality of Embaſſadors, the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*; the Biſhops of *Liege* and of *Trent*; *Fredrick*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*; *Caſimir*, Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*, and *Henry*, Count of *Naſſaw*, accompany'd and aſſiſted by ſome Counſellors.

In the Embaſſies which are compos'd of ſeveral Miniſters, all the Embaſſadors, in what Number ſoever they be, are inſeparable, and make together but one Body; where the repreſenting Character is like the Soul in the human Body, *entire in the Whole*, and *entire in each Part*. It was after this Manner that the three Embaſſadors of *France* (who were ſent into *Germany* in the Year 1620, on occaſion of the Troubles of *Bohemia*) underſtood it. And it was thus alſo that they who were on the Part of the ſame Crown at *Munſter*, underſtood it; when they inſiſted on having the Viſits paid to them all without Interruption; and that the ſame Honours ſhould be done to each of them without Diſtinction. In the Year 1645, at the beginning of the Negotiation of *Munſter*, the Deputies of the Hanſe Towns having ſent to demand Audience of the Embaſſadors of *France*, at the *Hotel* of *Monſieur d'Avaux*, who was then the firſt; it was aſſign'd them on Sunday the 29th of *January*; *and it was ſignify'd to them at the ſame Time, that at their Departure from that Viſit, or elſe the next Day after, they might alſo ſee* M. Servien, who had a ſeparate Lodging. They were receiv'd in the Entry by *M. d'Avaux*'s Domeſticks, who fill'd the ſame, as well as the Stairs, up which they were conducted to the Chamber; where they alſo found *M. Servien*, who did them the ſame Civility that *M. d'Avaux* did, in taking them by the Hand, after the Cuſtom of the Countrey. They were ſeated on Chairs with Backs; and when they had finiſh'd their Complement, which they addreſs'd to both of them, *d'Avaux* was for yeilding the Honour of the Anſwer to *M. Servien*, who would not accept of the Civility, but oblig'd *d'Avaux* to make it; this laſt alſo conducted them alone to the bottom of the Staircaſe. The Deputies thinking they had acquitted themſelves of their Devoir to the Embaſſadors, were no ſooner return'd home, than they ſent to deſire Audience of thoſe of *Spain*, who gave it them on the Day following, in the ſame Manner as they had had it of the others. On the laſt Day of *January* they ſent to demand Audience of *M. Servien* in particular, who appointed them the Hour of Two in the Afternoon. The Domeſticks receiv'd them in the Entry, and conducted them into a Chamber, where they remain'd ſome time alone. Afterwards a Gentleman came and told them, That *M. Servien*, it was true, had fix'd them an Hour; but at preſent he was taken up with other Affairs: That he had alſo been inform'd, that the Day before they had paid their Viſit to the Embaſſadors of *Spain:* That that deſtroy'd the inconteſted Right of the King of *France*, and that of *M. Servien* in particular, who was Embaſſador in the ſame Degree, and in the ſame Dignity with *M. d'Avaux*: That he had Reaſon to be offended thereat, and could not admit them without the King his Maſter's expreſs Orders: That they had ſinn'd againſt their Principals, as well as againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and that they would find ſome Difficulty to clear themſelves. The Deputies, ſurpris'd at this Harangue, were for juſtifying their Proceeding; but their Excuſe was not allow'd of: So that finding there was no likelihood of ſpeaking to *Servien*, they retir'd; the ſame Domeſticks conducting them to their Coach. The Deputies ſaid for their Juſtification, That they had but one *Letter of Credence*, which addreſs'd to both the Embaſſadors: That the two Embaſſadors of *France* compos'd but one and the ſame Embaſſy, which was indiviſible:

ſible: That they had ſpoke both to the one and the other of them, before they viſited the Embaſſadors of *Spain:* That *M. d'Avaux* had anſwer'd for them both; and that they thought they had diſcharg'd their Duty in preferring *France* to *Spain*. They were ſo ſcandaliz'd at *Servien*'s Procedure, that they were for reſenting it by a publick Writing; but they were hindred from doing it by the Miniſters of *Heſſe*, who adjuſted the Difference to the Satisfaction of *Servien*; who going ſome time after to *Oſnabourg*, ſent word immediately to the Deputies of the Hanſe Towns of his Arrival. They viſited him, and he return'd their Viſit. There was ſome Appearance of Truth in what the Deputies ſaid; but it cannot be deny'd alſo, that they committed a great Fault. If they believ'd they had had Audience of *M. Servien* at *M. d'Avaux*'s, it was not neceſſary to ask a Second; and if they did not think ſo, they ought not to have interrupted their Viſits, to ſee the Embaſſadors of *Spain*; but they had to do with a Man, who did not diſtinguiſh betwixt the Fault and the Crime. In the beginning of the Aſſembly of *Munſter*, the Deputies of the Electors, of the Princes, and of the States of the Empire, were accuſtom'd to viſit the two Embaſſadors of *France* ſeparately, each at his own Lodgings. But ſome time after the Court ordain'd, That the two Embaſſadors ſhould repair to the Houſe of the Firſt with their Retinue, to receive the firſt Viſit; that in that Manner they might receive it with the greater Splendor, for the Dignity of the Embaſſy; yet nevertheleſs that the Viſit ſhould be continu'd to the Second without Interruption. The Cardinal *Mazarin* was for imitating in that the Cuſtom of *Rome*, where, when there are two Embaſſadors from the ſame Prince, they receive the firſt Viſit at the Houſe of the Firſt, where they both meet for that Purpoſe. It was no ſmall Mortification for *Servien* who was the haughtieſt of Mortals.

The three Embaſſadors of *France* whom I lately mention'd, met with the ſame Difficulty; becauſe ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, who were unwilling to offend *Spain*, were for obliging them to be contented with the alternative. The Princes were willing to begin with *France:* But they judg'd the *French* ought not to diſapprove, that after they had firſt viſited the Duke *d'Engouleſme*, they ſhould viſit the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, before they ſaw the Count *de Bethune*, and the ſecond Embaſſador of *Spain*, before they viſited *M. Chaſteauneuf*; but the *French* would never admit of this Separation, and reſolv'd rather to receive the Viſits altogether in the ſame Place; which was beyond Diſpute the ſafeſt and moſt reaſonable Choice.

The Lord *Wotton*, who was at that Time Embaſſador from *England* at *Vienna*, made the ſame Difficulty. He viſited the Duke *d'Engouleſme* the firſt, and after that was for viſiting the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, deſigning when he had done ſo to finiſh his Viſits to *Mrs. de Bethune* and *de Chaſteauneuf*. But they ſignify'd to him, That if he ſaw the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, before he made an End of his three Viſits, they would not ſee him nor negotiate with him, and that none but *M. d'Engouleſme* ſhould treat with him. Hereupon *Wotton* offer'd to viſit *M. de Bethune* before *Chaſteauneuf*, but they rejected again that Propoſition; inſomuch that he was oblig'd to viſit them all three before he went to ſee the others.

Caſpar of *Geneva*, Marquiſs *de Lullins*, whom the Duke of *Savoy* had ſent to the Aſſembly at *Vervins* in the Year 1598, was for taking Place after the two firſt Embaſſadors of *Spain*, and before the third: He ſuppos'd the two to be really the Embaſſadors of *Spain*, and that the third was the Miniſter of the Arch-Duke, Governor of the Low Countries. The Truth is, They were all three Embaſſadors from the King of *Spain*, who was the Party with whom *Henry* IV. treated, and not with the Arch-Duke. The Embaſſadors of *Spain* oppos'd him herein, and oblig'd that of *Savoy* to ſit at the lower End of the Table, with the General of the *Cordeliers*, right againſt the Legate.

The ſame Embaſſadors of *France*, who were ſo ſenſible in this Point, and the ſame *M. Servien*, who treated ſo outrageouſly the Deputies of the Hanſe Towns, did not ſcruple to propoſe to the States of the United Provinces, That at the Viſits their Plenipotentiaries ſhould pay to thoſe of *France* at *Munſter*, theſe ſhould yield their Hand to the firſt, or elſe to the two firſt, and ſhould take it of the others; which was look'd upon to be by ſo much the more impertinent, as by that Mean not only the Union was injur'd, but a Diſtinction was alſo made between the Provinces, which are all equally ſovereign: Neither would they hearken to this Overture. And the *French* were oblig'd to do in Reference to the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces, what they caus'd others to do to themſelves.

Some People wonder that the Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries of *France*, who are now at *Nimeguen*, and who would not be willing a Diſtinction ſhould be made between the Mareſchal *Deſtrades* and *Mrs. d'Avaux* and *Colbert*, notwithſtanding the firſt is an Officer of the Crown; ſhould themſelves make a Diſtinction between the firſt Embaſſador of the Electors and the ſecond; by paying to the firſt the Honours which they will not do to the others. I am ſenſible it is what was practis'd at the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*; but would one not think alſo, that ſince *France* deſir'd then, That what was there done in Reference to the Ceremonies ſhould be no Precedent out of that Place; That no Precedent ought to be made neither, of what the Electors judge to have been done there, to the Prejudice of their lawful Pretenſions? So that one might ſay, That all that has happen'd on that Subject can make neither Rule nor Example. One may moreover add, That in thoſe Times the Electors, and even the Emperor himſelf, ſet at the Head of their Embaſſies thoſe Perſons, which they were willing ſhould be conſider'd after another Manner than their Collegues. The Emperor made ſome Diſtinction between the Count *de Naſſau* and the Doctors *Crane* and *Volmar*. The Elector of *Brandenburg* did himſelf diſtinguiſh between the Count *de Witgueſtein*, and the Doctors *Weſenbeeq* and *Frombold*, ſo that they could not be offended at the Diſtinction the *French*, and, after their Examples, the Mediators, made between the ones and the others. But I cannot tell whether a Prince can give

himſelf the Power of making a Diſtinction between the Miniſters of another, which the Maſter himſelf does not make; more eſpecially if theſe Miniſters are of the ſame Quality, or at leaſt pretty near it. However the Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and after them, thoſe of *Sweden* (who make no Difficulty to give the Title of Excellency, to yield the Hand, and to do to *M. Somnitz* all the other Honours which they do to the Embaſſadors of the United Provinces) refuſe the ſame to the *Sr. Blaſpiel* his Collegue. The Embaſſadors of *England* at firſt did ſo too, but upon Reflection afterwards of what had paſs'd at home, in the Embaſſy of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, and of *Daniel Weiman*, who, notwithſtanding they were of very different Qualities, were nevertheleſs us'd alike at *London*; they chang'd their Conduct, and acquieſc'd to the Elector's Deſires. Perhaps it may be ſaid, That as the King of *Great Britain* may have had a particular Conſideration for his Electoral Highneſs, for whom he has an Eſteem, whom he has admitted into his Order, and with whom he has been willing to joyn in the Care of the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Orange*, during the Minority of the Prince; ſo it is reaſonable to believe, that a little Animoſity has intermix'd with the Orders the Moſt Chriſtian King gave to his Miniſters on that Subject. There will be no great Difficulty to believe this, or at leaſt to ſuſpect, that no great Complaiſance is to be hop'd for on that Side, if Reflection be but made on the Differences *France* has had with the Elector, ſince the Advantages the King has granted to the Elector, by the Treaty of *Voſſen* in 1673, and on what the Miniſters of the one have publiſhed againſt the Reputation of the other. There are alſo very oppoſite Intereſts between the King and the Elector, as well on the Account of *Pomerania*, as for other Reaſons: So that no Wonder ought to be made at the little Diſpoſition the two Kings have to be complaiſant to his Electoral Highneſs.

But let us ſee whether he that has undertaken to unravel the Queſtion has ſucceeded ſo well, as to leave the Aſſembly of *Nimeguen* well perſuaded and convinc'd of the Strength of his Reaſons; and whether this Cauſe, which ought to be debated with powerful Arguments, has not met (if not a Prevaricator) at leaſt a very indifferent Advocate, and a very ſorry Sophiſter.

In the firſt Place, what he collects from the Hiſtory of the Mercury of the Abbot *Siri* is not much for his Advantage, neither does it ſerve his Intention. It was not very neceſſary to eſtabliſh the Credit of that Author by the Quality of Counſellor of State, which he gives himſelf. There are above ten thouſand Counſellors of State in *France*, beſides thoſe who are ſo in effect, and beſides thoſe who have the Quality thereof by Reaſon of their Offices; as have all the Preſidents, all the Solicitors and Advocates General, the Maſters of the Requeſts, *&c.* but who notwithſtanding have no more Share in the Affairs, nor in the Honours that accompany them, than they who are actually in the *Indies*. I do not hereby pretend to weaken the Authority of the Abbot *Siri*; on the contrary, I am ſenſible that the late *Lionne* has communicated excellent Memoirs to him, and that there is no Hiſtorian that ſpeaks of the Affairs of *Munſter* with greater Knowledge and Judgment than he. But what the Author of the *Unravelling* draws from thence, concerning the Title of Excellency, which was given at that Time to the Embaſſadors of the Electors, and the Orders thoſe of *France* had to treat them upon the Level with the Embaſſadors of *Venice*, and of the United Provinces, is wide enough from the Purpoſe; becauſe that relates only to the Treatment the *French* Embaſſadors had Orders to give to the firſt of the Electoral Embaſſadors, excluſively of the others. Reference is had to *Vittorio Siri*, whoſe Authority is ſo great with the *Unraveller*, that he is willing to be determin'd by his Arbitration; to whom the Plenipotentiaries of *France* will make no Difficulty neither to ſubmit in this Reſpect.

I cannot tell neither, whether he is very reaſonable himſelf, when he ſays, That it is not reaſonable that the foreign Potentates, to whom the Electors ſend their Miniſters, ſhould make a Diſtinction which their Maſters themſelves do not make. That is not here the Queſtion. The Electors do not ſend their Embaſſadors to the King of *France*, becauſe he will not ſuffer them to be cover'd; but if he thought it proper to admit them, and to treat them as he does thoſe of *Venice*, he could not be hinder'd from doing it but upon Condition that they ſhould ſend him but one Embaſſador a Time; or if ſeveral were ſent, that he would do that Honour but to the firſt. If the *Unraveller* will ſay that that is unjuſt, we muſt enter into a Circle which has no End. At the ſame Time *France* has for Proof the Example of *Munſter*, where the Emperor himſelf put it in Practice, and where all the Electors acquieſc'd thereto. There is again the late Example of *Hamburgh*, where the firſt Deputy of *Lunenburg* pretended to have the Precedency of the ſecond of the Elector of *Brandenburg*. I at the ſame Time agree with him, that a Prince may give to his Miniſter what Quality he pleaſes, as *Lionne* told Pope *Urban* VIII. But for all that, the Prince to whom the Miniſter is ſent, is not thereby oblig'd to treat him otherwiſe than he was us'd to do. The Emperor could not hinder the Commander *de Gremonville* from taking the Quality of Embaſſador, but he reſerv'd to himſelf the Liberty of preſerving the Rank to that of *Spain*. The King of *France* does not hinder the Miniſters of the Cantons from taking the Quality of Embaſſador, but he hinders them from being cover'd at their Audience: He will not ſuffer his Secretaries of State to give them the Title of Excellency, nor to yield them the Hand and the Step. The Quality of Embaſſador was not diſputed with the Count *de Gronsfelt* and *M. Curtz*, but they were given to underſtand, that notwithſtanding their Character, they muſt remain within the Bounds of Reſpect.

It is true, that in the Aſſemblies that are held out of the Empire, the Princes are not oblig'd to keep ſcrupulouſly up to the Order that is obſerv'd in the Diets, becauſe the Electors are there at Home; but then may it not alſo be ſaid, that Kings are not oblig'd to ratify all the Novelties the Electors have a Mind to introduce? And that it does not belong to the Electors, to preſcribe to crown'd Heads, after what

Manner they will be treated? They follow in that the Style receiv'd in their Court, which they do not alter at the Pleasure of other People.

I shall say nothing of the Examples, that the Author of the *Unravelling* calls to his Assistance; except that that of the Assembly of *Lubeck*, where *Chanut* would follow the Order which had been observ'd at *Munster*, is against him. It is proper to know in what Terms *Lignage* speaks of it. He says, That in the Year 1653, there was an Assembly at *Lubeck*, for the reconciling the Differences, which according to all Appearances, could not be regulated but by Arms, if the Truce between the two Crowns of *Poland* and *Sweden* was not prolong'd, or else converted into a perpetual Peace. *France*, *Venice*, the United Provinces and *Brandenburg*, were to be concern'd therein as Mediators; and they accordingly sent their Embassadors thither. There were Three on the Part of the Elector, who being arriv'd at the Place of the Congress, met at first with a very great Obstacle; because *Chanut*, *Embassador from* France, *would at home give the Place of Honour but only to the first Embassador*, and refus'd to give the Title of Excellency to the two others. They complain'd very much thereof; but *Chanut* maintain'd his Procedure, by the Example of *Munster* and *Osnabourg*, which, as he said, ought to serve for a Rule on these Occasions. He moreover added, That he had the express Order of the King his Master, to act in this Manner. The Embassadors of *Poland* did the same Civilities to all the three Embassadors of *Brandenburg*, and treated them equally. Those of *Brandenburg* were for taking Advantage thereof; but *Chanut* told them, That the *Poles* could not give him the Law; and that *France* was not oblig'd to follow the Example of *Poland:* That the *North* not being well regulated in its Ceremonies, could not establish new ones without the Consent of other Sovereigns. The Ministers of *Sweden* follow'd *Chanut*'s Example: and those of *Venice*, and of the United Provinces, with whom the Embassadors of *Brandenburg* would come in Competition, said, They would not visit them; and that in their own Houses they would not give them the Hand. I cannot tell whether the Haughtiness of these last could be well justify'd; especially since the Ministers of *Brandenburg* had the Character of Embassadors: but I dare at the same Time say, That the *Unraveller* does not strengthen his Argument by this Example.

He does not act very sincerely neither, when he says, That the four Ministers, who in the Year 1648, were at the *Hague* on the Part of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, had not the Quality of Embassador at their first Journey. It is most certain on the contrary, that upon the Difficulty which was rais'd them about their Character, they caus'd their Credentials to be reform'd, without stirring from the *Hague*; and that of Embassador was given them before they left it. As for *M. de Lumbres*, he was President of the Magazine of Salt at *Monstrueil* upon Sea; that is to say in a Place, and in a Function, where he had never heard speak of this sort of Affairs, when he was taken from his Post, at the Recommendation of the Duke of *Longueville*, to be employ'd to the Elector of *Brandenburg*. He was a mere Novice, who knew not what he did; who was disavow'd; and who, if he had not been so, could not prejudice the Rights nor Pretensions of the King his Master.

Whatever may be said, it is certain that the Honours, which are done to the Ministers of the Electors, were regulated only at the Congress of *Munster*. Before that Time the Quality of Embassador was given them but in a very general Signification. They did not cover themselves before crown'd Heads, neither did they so much as pretend to the Title of Excellency. The *Unraveller* ought to be more sincere, and acknowledge with the Author whom he quotes so often, that *France* expressly stipulated, that the new Honours which were done to the Electoral Ministers, should be reserv'd to the first, to the Exclusion of all others. He ought also to answer what the Abbreviator of the Negotiation of *Sweden* says, concerning what pass'd in the Assembly of *Lubeck* in the Year 1653, *viz.* That it was there observ'd, that when the Elector of *Brandenburg* caus'd the last Investiture to be taken for the Dutchy of *Prussia* in *Poland*; of the Elector's three Embassadors, *none but the first had a Place given him on the side of the King's Chair, and that the two others were plac'd at some Distance, in another Line*. He farther says, That at the Diet which was conven'd at *Ratisbon*, after the Peace of *Westphalia*, the Emperor complain'd very much of the excessive Honours which had been done to the Ministers of the Electors. To which I shall add, That the *Unraveller* does not reflect on what he says, when he speaks of the Embassadors of the Cantons. What Distinction could be made amongst them, when *Lionne* receiv'd them all at the top of the Staircase; and pretended to take the Hand and Step of the first, as well as of the others? They all spoke to the King, not as Embassadors, but as Deputies, uncover'd. He is not very well acquainted with *la Tuilleries* since he says, That that Embassador had at home yielded the Place of Honour to the Ministers of *Brandenburg*, who he says, were only Deputies. That Minister knew his Business too well, to commit a Fault of this Nature. It is wide from the Purpose also, that he speaks of the Honour which *Mrs. Colbert*, *Milet*, *St. Geran*, *Furstemberg*, *Vauguyon*, *Verjus*, &c. did to the Ministers of the Elector of *Brandenburg*; since neither the ones nor the others had the Character of Embassador, no more than *Downing*, *Vane* and *Loccard*; but if all these Ministers had been cloath'd with the Character, those of the Elector, to whom the Style of Excellency was given, by reason of the Rank they held in the Council, could be no Precedent for the Embassadors. I make no doubt of the *Unraveller*'s being a very able Man; but I believe also, that he would have sooner found in his House wherewith to cut the Knot of the Question, than under his Perruke wherewith to unty it.

There are Persons of some Ability, who judge that those Ministers who stickle with so much Obstinacy for an Advantage of so little Importance, have therein more Regard to their own particular Glory (altho' imaginary) than to the true Interest of their Master. The Electors have therein no other, than to cause their Representatives to be acknowledg'd for Embassadors,

baſſadors, and to procure them the ſame Civilities which are done to the Embaſſadors of *Venice* and of the United Provinces, and thereby to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of a Right which they neither had, nor did not pretend to fifty Years ago, and which was now become in common to them, with the firſt Potentates of Chriſtendom. It is what *France* and *Sweden* offer to do, and they eſteem that his Electoral Highneſs ought to be contented therewith; becauſe that all he can pretend to beyond that, does not acquire more Honour to himſelf, but a great deal more Vanity to ſome one of his Miniſters, who has ſuch mighty Obligations to Fortune, that ſhe might with more Reaſon complain of the Ingratitude of her Creature, if after the Example of other Wolves, ſhe were not accuſtom'd to proſtitute her ſelf to the moſt unworthy. I may perhaps be miſtaken, but I am perſwaded that there is no Elector, that would not freely renounce the Advantage he pretends to for his ſecond Embaſſador, if the King of *France* would at his Court, do to the firſt the ſame Civilities which he does to the Embaſſadors of the Princes of *Italy*.

When a Prince employs in the ſame Court two Embaſſadors, of whom the one is in Ordinary, and the other Extraordinary: This always has the Precedency of that; and if they are both Extraordinaries, the laſt Comer takes Place of the firſt. *Deffiat* was Embaſſador Extraordinary at *London*; but *la Villeauxcleres*, who came thither after him, took the Precedency of him every where. In the Year 1623, *Don Carlos Coloma*, Governor of the City of *Cambray*, was Embaſſador in Ordinary from *Spain*, in *England*. *Don John de Mendoſſe*, Marquiſs *d'Inoyoſa*, came thither ſome time after, in the Quality of Extraordinary, and at the ſame time that the Prince of *Wales* return'd from *Spain*, *Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoſſe* came thither in the ſame Quality. The Marquiſs fearing leſt *Don Diego*, as the laſt Comer, ſhould pretend to the Precedency; and being ſenſible that he could not refuſe it him with Juſtice, lodg'd him with himſelf, as being his Relation, and did him the Honours of the Houſe. But *Don Diego* perceiving at laſt the Artifice, did not ſcruple to give the Marquiſs to underſtand, that if there ſhould at any Time happen any Occaſion to appear in Publick together, *he ſhould be the Man that would inſiſt upon having the Rank which he judg'd was his due*. The Marquiſs ſaid indeed, that *Don Diego* could not take the firſt, becauſe he was only ſent to the Prince of *Wales*, and he had no other Buſineſs, than barely to carry back to the King his Maſter, the happy News of the Prince's ſafe Arrival: But for all that, he declin'd the Neceſſity of appearing with him at Court. He alſo ſaid, that the King of *Spain* had regulated the Rank between them and to his Advantage; but yet he did not dare to accompany him to *Audience*, *for fear of being oblig'd to give Place to him*, and he let *Don Carlos Coloma* do this Office. *Don Diego* made no long Stay in *England*, and he was hardly ſet out from thence, when Letters arriv'd from the King of *Spain*, which reprimanded him ſeverely for daring to diſpute the Precedency with the Marquiſs *d'Inoyoſa*; and did not only revoke the Commiſſion *Don Diego* had to ſee the Archduke and the King, as he paſs'd through the Low-Countries and thro' *France*, but likewiſe commanded him to repair to his own Houſe, and there to remain till farther Orders. The Court of *Madrid* was for having him reſpect the Quality of the Marquiſs, who was of the Council of State, who had been Governor of *Milan*, and was actually Vice-Roy of *Navarre*; but this was what the Council ſhould have expreſſly commanded him; becauſe in Courſe *Don Diego* ought to take Place. In theſe Conteſtations the Concern was merely perſonal, the Dignity of the Prince having no Share therein.

Don Diego de Saavedra, Plenipotentiary of *Spain* at *Munſter*, being inform'd that the Biſhop of *Boiſleduc* was nominated to negotiate there with him, was mightily concern'd thereat, *and did all that he could, to preſerve to himſelf the firſt Place, but in vain*. The Biſhop being arriv'd at *Munſter*, ſent to *Saavedra* the Seal and Cypher of the Embaſſy, in purſuance of an Order he had for that Purpoſe from the Marquiſs *de Caſtelrodriguo*, which he communicated to him: But *Saavedra* ſignify'd to him, that in an Affair of that Importance, he receiv'd his Orders from none but the King immediately, and ſo would not comply. Their Quarrel laſted till *Pegneranda* being arrived at *Munſter*, *Saavedra* put the Seal and Cypher into his Hands. It is reaſonable to think, that formerly there was no Rule for that, ſince *Don Gutierre Gomez de Fuenſalida*, being in the Year 1505, Embaſſador from *Ferdinand* the Catholick to *Philip* of *Auſtria*, his Son-in-Law; *Ferdinand* ſent thither alſo another Embaſſador, nam'd *Don Pedro d'Ayalla*; notwithſtanding which, *Don Gutiere* kept the Precedency, and was always the Speaker. Hiſtory ſays expreſſly, that *Don Pedro* yeilded him this Honour, as to his Senior; and it is probable it makes this Remark, becauſe at this Day, the quite contrary is practis'd.

In the Year 1607, King *Henry* IV. ſent Preſident *Jeannin* to mediate there a Peace with *Spain*, at which he was to labour in Conjunction with the *Sr. de Buzanval*, who was there Embaſſador in Ordinary. The King afterwards thought fit to ſubſtitute the *Sr. de Ruſſy* in the Office of Ordinary, and to comprehend him in the Commiſſion with the two others. He arriv'd in *Holland* after them, but yet he had not the Precedency, as well becauſe it was not the King's Intention, as becauſe the two others were Extraordinaries, to whom the Ordinary is oblig'd to give Place. In theſe Caſes Regard muſt be had to the Maſter's Intention. In the Year 1573, *Charles* IX, King of *France*, ſent into *Poland* *John de Monluc*, Biſhop of *Valencia*, to recommend there the Election of the Duke of *Anjou*. The Journey was dangerous, and it was apprehended that the Emperor, who ſolicited that Crown for his Son, would cauſe *Monluc* to be either kill'd, or taken up in *Germany*: For which Reaſon the Court ſent after him, *Giles de Noailles* (he who ſucceeded ſince to the Biſhop of *Acs*, his Brother, in the Embaſſy of *Conſtantinople*) to diſcharge the Function of Embaſſador to the Senate of *Poland*, in the Abſence of *Monluc*, in caſe any Misfortune ſhould happen to him, or otherwiſe conjointly with him *Monluc*, who was not for having a Companion, and who conſider'd that the

the laſt Comer would pretend to have the Precedency, was at firſt mortify'd thereat: But the other ſhew'd ſo much Deference to his Advice, in yielding to him every where, that *Monluc* ſeeing himſelf rather reſpected as a Maſter, than conſider'd as a Collegue, ſuffer'd him without Reluctancy.

Formerly there was not ſo much to do in the Matter. *Philip de Commines* ſays, that *Ferdinand* the Catholick, finding himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the *Rouſſillon*, and having a Mind to make it be believ'd that his Intention was to make Reparation for his horrible Infidelity to *Charles* VIII, in arming all *Italy* againſt him, with a Deſign to oppoſe his Paſſage, at his Return from the Kingdom of *Naples*, had the Impudence to ſend him his uſual Negotiator, Brother *John de Mauleon*, with ſome other religious of the Convent of *Montferrat*. The Catholick Kings who had caus'd *Charles* to be driven out of *Italy*, and who had made him loſe all the Kingdom of *Naples*, except *Gayette*, caus'd a Truce to be propos'd to him which might ſecure that important Place to him, which was the ſtrongeſt of all. *Charles* who was deſirous to dive into the Intention of theſe Princes who had lately ſo villainouſly deceiv'd him, ſent into *Spain*, *William* of *Poictiers*, Lord of *Clairieux*, but *Gayette* being taken before this Embaſſador could get to *Ferdinand*, ſo that the Affair was no longer in the ſame State: Other Overtures were made to *Charles* about the Diviſion of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of all *Italy*. Upon this Propoſition *Charles* ſent *Clarieux* back again with another Gentleman, nam'd *Michael de Clermont*. *Clarieux* at his Return from the ſecond Journey, reported, that *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* had declar'd to him, that their laſt Intention was to content themſelves with that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples* which is neareſt *Sicily*; that is to ſay, with *Calabria*, and that they would leave the reſt to *Charles*. *France* was very much ſurpriz'd at theſe liberal Offers from Princes whom it had ſo much Reaſon to diſtruſt. *Charles* therefore ſent back the ſame Embaſſadors for the third time, and join'd with them *Imbert de Bertenay*, Lord *du Boccage*, who for having been approv'd of by *Lewis* XI, was the fitter to negotiate with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, who were the moſt ſubtile, and the moſt perfidious Princes of their Time. But as ſoon as theſe three Embaſſadors were arriv'd, they were narrowly watch'd and obſerv'd, that they might have no Communication with any Body whatever, and they were ſoon ſent back.

In thoſe Times there was no Notion of Embaſſadors in Ordinary; but foraſmuch as *Clarieux* and *Clermont* had been employ'd at the Court of *Spain*, and about the ſame Affair, for which *du Boccage* was ſent thither, they were compris'd in the ſame Commiſſion. This is what is almoſt always done: So that when a Prince ſends an Embaſſador Extraordinary to a Court where he has already one in Ordinary, he cannot exclude this from the Negotiation, without doing him wrong, and injuring himſelf. In taking his Confidence from the Ordinary, he alſo leſſens his Credit, without which it is impoſſible for him to ſucceed in the Affairs he has to negotiate. The Republick of *Venice* when ſhe ſent in the Year 1581, *Vincent Tron* and *Hierome Lippomano*, her Embaſſadors Extraordinary into *Spain*, to complement *Philip* II. on his Succeſſion to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, would have *Francis Moriſini*, their Embaſſador in Ordinary, and *Matthew Zane*, who was to ſucceed him in the Embaſſy, to aſſiſt at all the Functions of the Extraordinary's. I juſt now ſaid, that *Buzanval* was Embaſſador in Ordinary in *Holland*, when *Jeannin* arriv'd there: But he was compris'd in the ſame Commiſſion, and he became Extraordinary as ſoon as *Ruſſy* came to the *Hague*; and this labour'd there in Conjunction with the other two, although he was but in Ordinary. *Dufargis* being Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France* at *Madrid*, was compris'd in the Commiſſion of *Baſſompierre*, and afterwards in that of the Marquiſs of *Rambouillet*. *William Borcel*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from the United Provinces at *Paris*, was in the Year 1660, compris'd in the Commiſſion of *Mrs. de Ghent*, *Van Beuninguen* and *de Hubert*.

Whereupon I ſhall make two or three more neceſſary Remarks. Firſt, That in the Commiſſions of an Embaſſy Extraordinary, where the Ordinary is compris'd with the Extraordinaries, they are diſtinguiſh'd in ſuch Manner that the Prince makes known, that the Ordinary does not change his Quality; by ſaying in his *Credential Letter*, N. N. N. *my Embaſſadors Extraordinary*, *with* N. *my Embaſſador in Ordinary*, &c. Secondly, It is requiſite that the Ordinary (to be compris'd in the ſame Commiſſion) have the ſame Character with the Extraordinary, becauſe without that, he cannot pretend to it; neither can the Extraordinary ſuffer a Miniſter of the ſecond Order to be aſſociated with him. *M. de Baugy*, who has been known in the Quality of Embaſſador from *France* in *Holland*, being Reſident at *Vienna* at the Beginning of the *Bohemian* War, made great Intereſt to be compris'd in the Commiſſion of *Mrs. d'Engouleſme*, *de Bethune*, and *de Chaſteauneuf*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary with the Emperor; and he would not have been unſerviceable to them, by Reaſon of the Knowledge he had of the Affairs of *Germany*; but the Court would never conſent thereto. In the Year 1653, the King of *Denmark* ſent an Embaſſador Extraordinary to *Stockholm*, to try to perſwade the Queen of *Sweden* to ſuccour the United Provinces againſt the *Engliſh*; or at leaſt to get Aſſurance that ſhe would not diſturb the Kingdom of *Denmark*, while the King ſhould employ his Forces in Favour of the *Hollanders*. He had already a Miniſter of the ſecond Order at that Court, whom he compris'd in the Commiſſion of the Extraordinary Embaſſy; but he gave him the Character of Embaſſador, and order'd him to remain there in that Quality, after the Extraordinary was return'd home. However, *Harald Appelboom*, Miniſter of the ſecond Order from *Sweden*, ſign'd with Count *de Dona*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from the ſame Crown, the Treaty which was concluded at the *Hague* the 23d of *January* 1668, to ſerve as a Preliminary to the triple Alliance; but it was irregular, and the Count *de Dona* ought not to have ſuffer'd it.

I ſhall farther add to what I have already ſaid, that *Paul Paruta*, in ſpeaking of the four Procurators of St. *Mark*, whom the Republick

of *Venice* ſent to King *Francis* I, ſays, That *Treviſan* was Spokeſman, as being the youngeſt of 'em all: From whence we may infer, that it is the Cuſtom at *Venice*, in Embaſſies compos'd of a Plurality of Embaſſadors, to have the youngeſt make the Harangues.

I might here alſo take Notice, That *the Embaſſador who has Collegues cannot negotiate alone*, nor have particular Conferences without them: But as this properly belongs to the Function of the Embaſſador, we ſhall ſpeak more pertinently thereto in the IIId Chapter of the Second Book of this Treatiſe. Before I finiſh this, I ſhall obſerve, that as on the one ſide a Prince may employ ſeveral Embaſſadors in the ſame Court; ſo on the other, one and the ſame Miniſter may ſerve ſeveral Princes: But this is what admits of a great many Exceptions and Diſtinctions. For two Princes never having all their Intereſts ſo in Common (what Alliance or Union ſoever may be between them) but their Friendſhip will be ſubject to Alterations, and even to Rupture, it is impoſſible for one Miniſter to ſerve them both equally well; more eſpecially if their Intereſts change their Nature. It is then the Evangelical Saying is verify'd, *That no Body can ſerve two Maſters:* And this is the moſt natural Explication of the Paſſage. Several Allies may make Uſe of the ſame Miniſter, as to the Fact and the Intereſt of the Alliance, as the United Provinces make Uſe altogether of one and the ſame Miniſter, in all their Embaſſies in Ordinary, and in the major Part of their Commiſſions; but it is only for the common Intereſts of the whole Union: Without that, we muſt keep to the Saying of Holy Writ. *Nicholas de Bie*, Reſident of *Poland* at the *Hague*, took upon him alſo the Management of the Affairs of the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, while this had none, neither with *Poland* nor the United Provinces: So that there was nothing incompatible in thoſe two Employments. Some Time after, the King of *Sweden*, *Charles Guſtavus*, having broke with the King of *Poland*, the Kings had both an Intereſt to preſerve the Friendſhip of the United Provinces. *De Bie* was oblig'd to ſpeak, not only for the King of *Poland*, but alſo for the Duke of *Holſtein*, who being Father-in-Law to the King of *Sweden*, and having oppoſite Intereſts to thoſe of the King of *Poland*, oblig'd his Miniſter to preſent Memorials, not very conformable to the Service of the King his Maſter; wherein he frequently contradicted himſelf, which did him an Injury, and promoted the Service neither of the one nor the other.

After the Deceaſe of the Cardinal of *Mantua*, one of the Legates of the Council of *Trent*, where he died in the beginning of the Month of *March*, 1563, the Miniſters and Prelates of *France*, and even thoſe of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, caſt their Eyes on *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, to procure him the Quality of Legate. But the Pope, who would have none that did not depend entirely on him, that he might thereby remain abſolute Maſter of the Council; and whom it concern'd, that thoſe who preſided there ſhould have no Dependence on any Body elſe, prevented the Interceſſion he knew the Emperor and the Prelates of the Council intended to make on that Subject, and nominated immediately the Cardinals *Moron* and *Navager*, Legates, to preſide at the Council. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* was at *Trent* on the Part of *France*, and he was continually making Speeches for the Preſervation of the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, for the Superiority of the Council over the Pope, for the Communion in both Kinds, for the Liturgy in the vulgar Tongue, and for ſeveral other Things which were the Averſion of the Court of *Rome*, and very little conformable to the Sentiments of thoſe who ſtickled for the Pope's Authority, as being paid for ſo doing. The Pope conſider'd that it was impoſſible that the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, being in that Poſt, ſhould not fail either in his Duty to *France*, or to the See of *Rome*, and particularly to his Holineſs's ſelf; who, in making him Legate, made him Depoſitary of his Secrets and Intereſts. The Cardinal *de Bourdaiſiere*, who had penetrated into the Pope's Intention, made very preſſing Inſtances in Favour of the Cardinal *de Lorrain*, before the Declaration was made in the Conſiſtory: But the Pope told him plainly, That the Cardinal of *Lorrain* being the Head of a Party at *Trent*, could not officiate in the Poſt of Legate, which was proper only for a neutral and diſintereſted Miniſter, and *that there was no ſerving two Maſters*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* complain'd thereof, but with very little Juſtice.

Charles VIII, and *Ferdinand the Catholick*, both employ'd Brother *John de Manleon*: *Ferdinand*, becauſe he would deceive *Charles*; and *Charles*, becauſe he was willing to be deceiv'd by *Ferdinand*: The one mightily coveted to be reſtor'd to the Poſſeſſion of the *Rouſſillon* which his Father had mortgag'd to *France*; and the other, who had at leaſt as much Paſſion for the Expedition to *Italy*, and for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, was impatient to diſcharge himſelf of that precious Pledge. He kept it a Myſtery to his moſt faithful Servants, and perform'd the Negotiation by this Monk, who in ſerving two Maſters, did the Buſineſs of the one, and ruin'd the Affairs of the other. *Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acugna*, Count *de Gondemar*, being Embaſſador of *Spain* in *England*, had made himſelf ſo agreeable to King *James*, that he not only liv'd with him in a Domeſtick Familiarity, but had alſo his Confidence in Affairs of the greateſt Importance; and, among the reſt, for the Conduct of the Negotiation of the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales*. It had been talk'd of ſeveral Years, and the King did not want Friends, and faithful Servants, who had told him from Time to Time, that the Court of *Madrid* thought of nothing leſs than of this Alliance, no more than of the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, which was to be one of the firſt Conditions thereof. But Count *de Gondemar* had ſo prepoſſeſs'd his Mind with theſe falſe Hopes, that he believ'd no other Oracle than what came out of the Mouth of that common Miniſter. The Count ſpoke of this Marriage as of a thing ſo certain, that the King made no Difficulty to ſend the Prince, his only Son, into *Spain*, and to entruſt him with thoſe who might have made away with him, if they had had ſuch an Intention, as well as they had that to deceive him. The Count *de Gondemar*, who could not be ignorant that the Inquiſition, and politick Intereſt, ſuggeſted invincible Obſtacles

againſt this Alliance, did nevertheleſs amuſe the King therewith, and all the *Engliſh* Court, where he held a ſort of Commerce, and finger'd before-hand Money for the Offices of the future Queen's Houſhold: And the King of *Spain* rewarded the Impoſtor with a Place in the Council of State.

The Cardinals of *Richelieu* and *Mazarin* have frequently made a beneficial Uſe of the Service of the Miniſters of the Princes of *Germany*, who reſided at the Court of *France*, to their own Maſters; and *Priady*, Reſident of *Mantua*, was the only Perſon that went to and fro for ſeveral Years about the Affairs of *Mantua*, notwithſtanding he was the Duke's Miniſter. But, on theſe Occaſions, the Miniſter will do very well not to quit his Poſt without the expreſs Leave of his Maſter, or being well aſſur'd that his Negotiation will be agreeable to the Prince he ſerves, or that he can anſwer for the Succeſs thereof. *Roncaglio* negotiated the Affairs of the King of *Poland*, *Uladiſlas* IV, at the Court of *France*, at the Time that *Caſimir*, Brother to *Uladiſlas*, reſign'd the Cardinals Hat with the ſame Levity with which he had accepted it, and with which he had ſome Time before taken and laid down the Habit of Jeſuit. Cardinal *Mazarin*, who had a Mind to cloath his Brother with the Purple, diſpos'd *Roncaglio* to go to *Rome* to ſolicit the ſame; neither the one nor the other communicating it to the King of *Poland*; who believing that *Roncaglio* manag'd his Affairs at *Paris*, came to be inform'd that he was negotiating thoſe of Cardinal *Mazarin* at *Rome*. This was an Irregularity that had no Example, but deſerv'd very well to be made one.

CHAP. XXVII.

Embaſſadors are inviolable in their Perſons.

THE Neceſſity of Embaſſies makes the Security of Embaſſadors, by the univerſal Conſent of all the Nations of the Earth; and it is this general Conſent that conſtitutes what is call'd the *Law of Nations*. It holds a *Medium* between the *Law of Nature* and the *Civil Law*, and is by ſo much the more conſiderable than the laſt, that it can neither be chang'd nor alter'd, but by the ſame unanimous Approbation of all People. There is no Sovereign that can aſſume the Authority to explain the Laws which compoſe this Right: Neither is there any Judge that can extend his Juriſdiction over thoſe Perſons whom this Law protects, becauſe he would thereby diſturb a Commerce, the Freedom whereof is founded on indiſpenſable Neceſſity, and he would deprive Mankind of the Means of maintaining Society, which could not ſubſiſt without this Principle, which is more than Mathematical.

I ſhall make this Chapter ſerve in ſome Meaſure as a Comment to the Law, *Si quis, ff. of Legation*. It is not without Reluctancy that I mingle a little *Latin* in a Diſcourſe, and in a Work, where I even affect to keep at a Diſtance from any thing that ſavours of ancient *Rome*; but having to do with People who are great Cavillers, and very bad Lawyers, I find my ſelf oblig'd to ſhew the Publick, that thoſe Judges who confine a publick Miniſter without a previous Information, and condemn him contrary to Form, do not leſs offend the Civil Law, of which they make Profeſſion, than the *Law of Nations*, which they are ignorant of.

Pomponius the Civilian ſays, in the Law I juſt quoted, That *he that outrages or beats the Embaſſador of an Enemy, violates the* Law of Nattions, *becauſe the Perſon of an Embaſſador is ſacred. Wherefore thoſe who are with us, when we declare War to the People who ſent them, are nevertheleſs free. Inſomuch that he who injures an Embaſſador, ought to be put into the Hands of him who ſent him.* To this we may add what the *Juriſconſult*, *Ulpian*, ſays in the Law, *Lege Julia. ff. ad Leg. Jul. de vi publica*, of thoſe who beat or injure Embaſſadors, Orators, or thoſe of their Retinue; and what the illuſtrious *Hugh de Groot* ſays on that Head, in his excellent Treatiſe *De Jure Belli & Pacis*, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 18. at the beginning. But there is no Explanation more natural and clear than that which the Illuſtrious, Great, and Puiſſant Eſtates of *Holland* and *Weſtfriſe* give to theſe two Laws, in their Declaration of the 29th of *March*, 1651. They expect it ſhall ſerve for a Regulation and perpetual Edict; for which Reaſon they recommend the Obſervation and Execution thereof to the Court of Judicature of their Province, in the following Terms.

" The Knights, Nobles, and the Cities of " *Holland* and *Weſtfriſe*, repreſenting the E- " ſtates of the ſame Province, To all thoſe " who ſhall ſee or read theſe Preſents, Greet- " ing. Whereas according to the *Law of Na- " tions*, *and even that of the* Barbarians, *the " Perſons of Embaſſadors*, *Reſidents*, *Agents*, *and " of other the like publick Miniſters of Kings*, " *Princes and Republicks*, are every where held " in ſuch high Eſteem, that no Perſon whate- " ver dare offend, injure, or damnify them: " But on the contrary, they are in Poſſeſſion " of being reſpected, highly conſider'd and ho- " nour'd by every Body; nevertheleſs, foraſ- " much as we are inform'd, that ſome *inſolent*, " *outragious*, *and diſſolute Perſons*, have dar'd to " undertake and act the contrary to what is a- " bove recited, in Reference to ſome publick " Miniſters who have been ſent to this Eſtate, " and who reſide in our Province: We being " willing to provide againſt the like Abuſes " for the future, have thought fit to ordain ve- " ry expreſſly by this our Declaration, and to " prohibit and forbid very ſeriouſly, as we do " ordain, prohibit, and forbid, very ſeriouſly " by theſe Preſents, *That no Perſon, of what* " *Nation*,

" *Nation, State, Quality or Condition ſoever, pre-*
" *ſume to offend, endamage, injure by Word,*
" *Deed, or Look, the Embaſſadors, Reſidents, A-*
" *gents, or other Miniſters of Kings, Princes, Re-*
" *publicks, or others, having the Quality of pub-*
" *lick Miniſters, or to offer them any Injury or*
" *Inſult, directly or indirectly, in any manner or*
" *kind whatſoever, in their Perſons, Gentlemen*
" *of their Retinue, Servants, Houſes, Coaches,*
" *and other Things that may belong to them, or*
" *depend on them*, under the Penalty of incur-
" ing our utmoſt Indignation, and of being
" bodily puniſh'd, *as Violators of the Law of*
" *Nations, and Diſturbers of the publick Quiet:*
" The whole, according to the Nature and
" Exigency of the Caſe. Commanding all the
" Inhabitants of this Province, and all thoſe
" who ſhall there be preſent, that on the con-
" trary they ſhew all manner of Honour, and
" pay all Reſpect to this ſort of Miniſters;
" and even to give them, as alſo to their Do-
" meſticks, and to thoſe of their Retinue, all
" Aid and Aſſiſtance, and to contribute what-
" ever may be ſerviceable to their Honour,
" and be aiding to their Service and Conveni-
" ency. *Ordaining and commanding the firſt,*
" *and the other Counſellors of the Court of this*
" *Province*, as alſo all Officers, Juſtices and
" Magiſtrates, and all thoſe to whom it ſhall
" belong, to proceed againſt the Tranſgreſſors
" by the Execution of the Penalties above-
" mention'd, without any manner of Conni-
" vence or Diſſimulation whatever. Done at
" the *Hague*, under our Great Seal, the 29th of
" *March*, 1651.

It is impoſſible to make a more illuſtrious Comment, and at the ſame Time a more authentick and more authoritative Gloſs upon the Law *Si quis*, than that the States of *Holland* give it by their Declaration; wherefore I ſhall make ſome Reflections both on the one and the other, which will ſerve very much to clear the Matter, as well as what I have to ſay on this Subject in the Sequel of this Chapter. And firſt, one may conclude from the Law it ſelf, that thoſe who offend and outrage a publick Miniſter, do not only violate the *Law of Nations*, but that they alſo commit a capital Crime againſt the Civil Laws: And that this Crime is Capital in the moſt proper Signification, that is to ſay, is puniſhable with Death, appears evidently in this, that the Declaration of the States of *Holland* ſays expreſſly, That they ought to be *puniſh'd as Violators of the Law of Nations, and Diſturbers of the publick Quiet*. The *Juriſconſults* ſays, they ought to be put into the Hands of him whoſe Embaſſador has been injur'd.

Secondly we muſt know, That notwithſtanding the Opinion of *Pomponius* is at this Day equivalent to a Law, yet he only expounds the *Law of Nations*. He does not tell what ought to be done, nor does not command and ordain, as the Declaration of the States of *Holland* does; but he only tells what is done, and what is practis'd, conformably to the *Law of Nations*. He moreover adds, That that part of the *Law of Nations* which protects Embaſſadors, is ſuperior to the other, which renders Priſoners of War Slaves; ſince notwithſtanding the Declaration of War, the Embaſſadors of Enemies retain ſtill their Liberty and Freedom: from whence we muſt neceſſarily conclude, that it is alſo ſuperior to all the Civil Law.

It may very well be allow'd me to quote an Example from the *Roman* Hiſtory, to illuſtrate a *Roman* Law. The Conſuls who went with an Army into *Africk* in the third *Punick* War, had Orders from the Senate to demoliſh the City of *Carthage*. As ſoon as the Army was landed, the Inhabitants of the City ſent Embaſſadors to the Conſuls, who told them the Orders they had receiv'd from the Senate. Hereupon the Embaſſadors gave Way to all that Grief and Indignation could dictate to deſperate People. The Conſuls let them make an end, and then *Cenſorinus*, one of the Conſuls told them, *Withdraw; for you are ſtill Legati*; that is to ſay Embaſſadors: becauſe their City was not yet deſtroy'd. The Conſul gave thereby to underſtand, That notwithſtand they were Enemies, and that their Tranſport deſerv'd ſome Reſentment, yet for all that, they were in Safety in the *Roman* Camp, by virtue of their Character, which protected them from all kinds of Inſults: Teaching us by this Example, that ſince the *Law of Nations* requires ſuch Conſideration ſhould be had for the Embaſſador of an Enemy, it is reaſonable to believe, that he who loſes the Reſpect which is due to the Embaſſador of a Prince a Friend, does ſomething worſe than violate the *Law of Nations*.

As for the Declaration of the States of *Holland*, there is hardly a Period in it, upon which ſome Reflection may not be made. It ſays at firſt, That the Perſons of Embaſſadors are privileg'd, even *according to the Sentiment of the* Barbarians; ſo that they who violate them are worſe than *Barbarians*. 2. It extends the Protection of the *Law of Nations* to Miniſters of the ſecond Order, and even to Agents, who are not characteriz'd Miniſters: This is what ought to be taken notice of, againſt the Court of Juſtice of *Holland*, which acting contrary to the Maxims eſtabliſh'd by the univerſal Conſent of all People, was for maintaining in the Year 1644, That the Rule which ſays, no Compulſion can be us'd to a publick Miniſter, ought to be only apply'd to thoſe who have the Character of Embaſſador, and not to Miniſters of the ſecond Order. At leaſt if it was ſtill in that Error at that Time, it ought to be undeceiv'd ſince the Year 1651, and it ought not to have in the Year 1675, proceeded againſt the Reſident of a Sovereign Prince, an Ally to that Eſtate, and confin'd him a Priſoner without a previous Information, and without the other Formalities which are neceſſary, even to the impriſoning a private Perſon. 3. The States ſtyle *Inſolent*, *Outrageous*, and *Diſſolute*, thoſe who dare offend or injure publick Miniſters, directly or indirectly: from whence may be inferr'd, what ought to be ſaid of thoſe, who offend and abuſe directly and indirectly, the publick Miniſter of a Prince who is a Friend and Ally of the State, after an unheard of Manner, and that has no Example in Hiſtory. 4. The States of *Holland* ordain expreſſly, that publick Miniſters be reſpected, not only in their Perſons, but alſo in their Houſe, in their Servants, and in their Coaches. 5. All thoſe who thus act directly contrary to the Declaration of the States of *Holland*, ſhew plainly that they have *the utmoſt Contempt for the higheſt Indigna-*

tion,

tion, with which they threaten the Transgreſſors of their Ordinance. 6. Ought not thoſe to be put into the Number *of the Violators of the Law of Nations*, and of the Diſturbers of the publick Quiet, who under any Pretext whatever, inſult and injure a publick Miniſter, to the Prejudice of their expreſs and rigorous Prohibitions? I ſhall not here obſerve, that the Declaration does not diſtinguiſh between the Miniſter who is born in the Countrey, and a Stranger; altho' the States of *Holland* cannot be ignorant of the Difference *Spiring* had on that Account with the Court of Juſtice. I have treated this Matter ſo amply in Chapter II, that nothing can be added thereto.

The *Turks* ſay, Two Reaſons oblige them to ſuffer the *Chriſtian* Princes to have their Miniſters at the Port: The firſt, That the *Grand Seignior* may have to whom to complain, and whom to come upon for the Infraction of Treaties: And the other, That they may have Hoſtages for the Execution of Treaties. It may be ſaid they act like *Turks*, and in the Averſion their ſavage Natures have for *Chriſtians*, they don't ſcruple to offend the Miniſters of Sovereigns who reſide with them; but then we ought to conſider that it is contrary to their Law, the *Alcoran expreſſly forbidding to offend the Elchi*, that is to ſay the publick Miniſter: and that thoſe among the *Turks*, that do not abandon themſelves altogether to their Brutality, acknowledge that publick Miniſters ought to be in Safety, even in the height of the War; and that they do not injure the Miniſter, till they have laid aſide all Fear and Reſpect for the Maſter. They have given ſufficient Teſtimony that they are not inſenſible in that Part, where the Prince that will not proſtitute his Reputation, ought to be extremely ſenſible; and that they have known how to reſent the Outrage that has been done to their Embaſſadors. *Selim* II, having open'd himſelf a Way to the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, by that of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, found in it at firſt conſiderable Obſtacles enough, becauſe the continual Encounters had ſo thinn'd his Troops, that he was not in a Condition to make any great Progreſs; for which Reaſon he would have been willing to have perſuaded *Tomumbey*, *Soldan* or *Sultan* of *Egypt*, to get rid of the War by a good Accommodation. He therefore ſent Embaſſadors to him; but the *Arabs* who ſerv'd in the Army of *Tomumbey*, believing they ought to be no longer afraid of *Selim*, murder'd them: and *Tomumbey*, who could not puniſh People, who did not ſo much as know what Diſcipline was, was forc'd to diſſemble this horrible Violence. But *Selim* being reinforc'd by a new Supply of other *Arabs*, gave Battel to *Tomumbey*; defeated him; and having taken him Priſoner after the Fight, he reproach'd him with the Murder of his Embaſſadors; and having caus'd him to be ſtrangled by two Executioners, he order'd the Body to be hang'd up at the Gallows. *Tomumbey* did not approve of the Murder of the Embaſſadors; but by not puniſhing it, he became an Accomplice therein, and juſtify'd *Selim*'s Reſentment; ſince according to the Saying of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, They who violate the *Law of Nations* cannot be too ſeverely puniſh'd. He ſpoke it only on the Account of a Drummer or Trumpeter, who had been ſhot at. What would he not have ſaid of thoſe, who loſing all the Reſpect which is due to a Sovereign Prince, and to his Alliance, do to his Miniſter a more cruel Outrage than if they put him to Death?

All Sovereigns underſtand it thus, and have ſeverely puniſh'd the Outrages their Subjects have offer'd to publick Miniſters. In the Year 1601, *Soranzo*, who was returning from his Embaſſy in *Spain*, as he paſs'd through *Barcelona*, where he was to Embark, had a great Diſpute with a Leather Gilder, who had not ſerv'd him to his Mind. The *Spaniſh* Tradeſman wounded the *Venetian* Embaſſador very dangerouſly in the Head, and in the Arm: and being afraid of Juſtice, he flung himſelf into a Church, which is in *Spain* the uſual Retreat of Murderers. He pretended to enjoy the Protection of his Sanctuary, and the *Catalans* ſpoke warmly for the Privileges of the Place, and of the City of *Barcelona*: But the King made them paſs over all thoſe Conſiderations; and caus'd them to drag the Tradeſman out of the Church, and puniſh him as a Violater of the *Law of Nations*, who ought not to find Impunity in the Privileges of a Church. Thoſe Princes who loſe the Reſpect which they owe to the *Law of Nations*, deſtroy the very Principles of Civil Society, and ought no more to be ſuffer'd there, than Wolves in a Sheepfold. *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, King of *Naples*, was the worſt Prince that had been for many Ages. The Hiſtory of his Reign is fill'd with infinite Inhumanities, and ſpeaks of him as of the moſt avaritious, moſt cruel, and moſt violent Man of his Time: and *Philip de Commines*, who makes his *Elogium*, ſays, He was a Glutton, unfaithful and prophane, having neither Religion, Conſcience nor Honour. It ought not therefore to be wonder'd at, that he ſhould ſtain his Hands with the Blood of *James Trivulce*, Embaſſador from *Milan*, and convince the World that there was no Wickedneſs too black for him to perpetrate. He was the Son, but Baſtard, of *Alphonſo* V, King of *Arragon*, ſirnam'd the *Magnanimous*; who was without doubt one of the greateſt and beſt Princes of the Age he liv'd in. The laſt *Greek* Emperors were either Fools or Wicked, and ſometimes both; ſo that as other Hiſtories are read for the ſake of virtuous Examples, we need only read that of *Conſtantinople*, to ſee Vice repreſented on its Throne. The Chriſtians of the other Parts of *Europe* had no greater Enemies than the *Greek* Emperors. Amongſt other Horrors, with which Hiſtory renders their Lives and Reigns abominable, we find that *Henry Dandolo*, a *Venetian* Gentleman, being ſent to *Conſtantinople* by *Vital Michieli*, Doge of *Venice*, to make an end of the Treaty of Peace, which was begun to be negotiated; *Emanuel*, the *Greek* Emperor, led him into a Cloſet, where he compell'd him to look fixedly into a braſs Baſon made red-hot, till thereby he had loſt his Sight. This is what Hiſtory relates; tho' it does not agree with what it afterwards ſays, That *Dandolo* was made Doge of *Venice* in the Year 1194, after the Death of *Orio Malipiero*; and that he was ſo ſtill, when he dy'd at *Conſtantinople* in the Year 1207: So that there is no great likelihood, that he had quite loſt his Sight when he was there Embaſſador.

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Here one is apt to inquire, whether an Embaſſador is ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the Place of his Reſidence? and foraſmuch as ſome maintain the Affirmative, I ſhall here ſet down ſome of their Reaſons. The Court of *Spain* being at *Valladolid* in the Month of *July* 1601, the Servants of the Count *de Rochepot*, Embaſſador of *France*, quarrell'd with ſome *Spaniards*, of whom two were kill'd. Hereupon the Officers of Juſtice enter'd by force into the Embaſſador's Lodgings, where the Sergeants, and the People who enter'd with them, committed ſeveral Inſolences, ſtole the Furniture and Plate, and carry'd off to Priſon ſome of the Domeſticks, among whom were the Embaſſador's Nephew, with a Deſign to have them try'd. Upon the Complaints the Count made at his Court, Orders were ſent him to depart from that of *Madrid*: and the King had not ſtop'd there, if the Pope had not oblig'd the King of *Spain* to ſend the Priſoners to *Rome*, to be there put into the Hands of his Holineſs, and by him into thoſe of the *French* Embaſſador. The Embaſſadors who were at that Time on the Part of *France* and *Spain* at *Venice*, falling into Diſcourſe upon this Subject, he of *Spain* being willing to juſtify what the King his Maſter had done, ſaid to that of *France*, That notwithſtanding he did not make Profeſſion of Letters, yet he thought he might alledge the Law, which lays down, that altho' an Embaſſador may deſire to be remitted to his natural Judge for the Actions he might be liable to before his Embaſſy, yet he is oblig'd to anſwer before the Judge Reſident upon the Place, for what ſhall befall him after his Embaſſy. But *de Freſne Canaye* anſwer'd him thus, That thoſe Laws ſpoke only of ſuch Embaſſadors as the Municipal Towns which were ſubject to the *Roman* Empire ſent to *Rome*, who were Embaſſadors but in a very extenſive Signification, which cannot be apply'd to the modern Character. Which is very true; and the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador was ſo well convinc'd thereof, that he could urge nothing elſe to juſtify what paſt at *Valladolid*, but that the King was forc'd to wink at the Magiſterial Procedure; to prevent thereby a greater Diſorder, and to give ſome Satisfaction to the People, who were ready to riſe againſt the Regal Authority.

The Queſtion was more formally debated at *London* in the Year 1571. The Council in the Trial of the Duke of *Norfolk*, found ſeveral very dangerous Intrigues which *John Leſley*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*, was machinating againſt the Queen's Perſon and the Tranquillity of the Kingdom. He had the Character of Embaſſador from Queen *Mary* of *Scotland*, who was at that Time a Priſoner in *England*: and thinking he was allow'd to do every thing for the Good of the Queen his Miſtreſs, by Reaſon *that his ſacred and inviolable Character protected him from all Proſecutions which the Judicature might intend againſt him*, there was no Conſpiracy of which he was not the Head, or one of the chief Accomplices. He had had private Conferences with the Earl of *Southampton*, and he kept a Correſpondence with the Rebels, who were fled into *Flanders*, with the Duke of *Alva*, with the King of *Spain*, and with the Pope, to facilitate their invading *England*. Upon the Proofs had hereof, even by the Biſhop's own Confeſſion, the Council conſulted the Opinion of *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubry*, and of *Henry Jones*, who were five of the learneſt Civilians of the Kingdom, to whom it propos'd the four following Queſtions.

1. *Whether the Embaſſador who ſtirs up a Rebellion againſt the Prince with whom he reſides, ought to enjoy the Privileges of his Character, and whether he ought not to be puniſhed and treated as an Enemy?*

2. *Whether the Miniſter or Solliciter of a Prince, who has been depos'd by publick Authority, and in the Place of whom another has been crown'd, can enjoy the Privileges and Rights of Embaſſadors?*

3. *Whether a Prince who comes into the Kingdom of another Prince, and is there detained a Priſoner, can have a Miniſter there; and whether this ſhall be conſider'd as an Embaſſador?* And,

4. *Whether if the Prince ſignifies to the Miniſter and his Maſter, who is detain'd a Priſoner, that for the future ſuch Miniſter ſhall be no longer conſider'd as Embaſſador; whether ſuch Miniſter can pretend in Juſtice, to enjoy the Privileges of the Character?*

Theſe Civilians made Anſwer to the firſt Point: That the Law of Nations, as well as the Civil Law of the *Romans*, declare, that ſuch a Miniſter has forfeited the Privileges of his Character, and that he is ſubject to the Penalties of the Laws.

2. That if that Prince be lawfully depos'd, the Miniſter can no longer enjoy the Privileges of the Character; ſince none but Sovereign Princes, and who have the Right of Majeſty, can ſend Embaſſadors.

3. To the third: That if ſuch Prince has not loſt his Sovereignty, he may have a Miniſter: But whether that Miniſter ought to be conſider'd as an Embaſſador or not, depends on the Authority his Commiſſion gives him. And,

4. That a Prince may hinder an Embaſſador from entering into his Kingdom, and may alſo oblige him to depart therefrom, if the Embaſſador does not remain within the Bounds of his Duty: But yet during the Time he is ſuffer'd to be there, he ſhall enjoy the Privileges of the Character.

Upon this Anſwer the Council ſent for the Biſhop, made him a ſevere Reprimand, and told him, that he ſhould no longer be conſider'd as Embaſſador, but ſhould be puniſh'd as his Crimes deſerv'd. The Biſhop made Anſwer, *That he was the Embaſſador of a Sovereign Queen, who had been unjuſtly depos'd: That according to his Duty, he had apply'd all his Endeavours to ſet his Princeſs at Liberty, and to procure the Good of both Kingdoms: That he was come into* England *with a good Paſſport which he had produc'd, and with the Character and Authority of Embaſſador, whoſe ſacred Right neither ought nor can in any manner be violated.* The Lord *Burleigh* reply'd, that there was no Law of Nations, nor any Paſſport or Letters of Safety, that can ſecure it to Embaſſadors who offend againſt the Majeſty of the Prince; but that they are ſubject to the Penalties of the Law; ſince otherwiſe a wicked Embaſſador might with Impunity attempt upon the Life of the Prince. The Biſhop maintain'd, that he had not violated the Law of Nations, and gave them to underſtand, that he hop'd they would not uſe him worſe than *Throgmorton*, *Randolf*, and *Tamworth* had

been us'd in *France* and in *Scotland*, where they had ſtirr'd up and fomented Rebellions: And yet all that had been done to them, was, that they were commanded to depart the Kingdom within a certain Time. He was ſent Priſoner to the *Tower*, where he was again interrogated, but they did not dare to try him. He was ſet at Liberty after a Detention of two Years, and he was oblig'd to depart the Kingdom.

Since at the Expiration of ſome Years, the Queen of *Scots* her ſelf was brought to her Trial, and that the Biſhop was not, by Reaſon of his Character; it is reaſonable to believe, that what the Lord *Burleigh* ſaid to him, was only by the way of Threat, and that the Council was not of the Opinion of the Civilians. And indeed, there is Reaſon to doubt whether they were not miſtaken in their Anſwer to the firſt Article; and whether the *Roman* Laws on which they ground, ought not to be apply'd to thoſe Embaſſadors whom the municipal Towns, or the *Roman* Colonies ſent to the Senate, or to the Emperor. As for the Law of Nations, of which they ſpeak, it ſeems as if it were directly oppoſite to what *Titus Livius* ſays of the Embaſſadors of *Tarquin*, who had contriv'd a Treaſon in the City. Theſe Embaſſadors came from a King who had been driven out and depos'd: It is probable they were *Romans*, and they had carry'd on Intrigues and Cabals, in order to change the Government, and to introduce Tyranny. It was put in Debate, whether they ſhould be proceeded againſt as Traitors and Diſturbers of the publick Quiet, *and it was judg'd, that the Law of Nations protected them from all the Violence which could be offer'd them, under any Pretext whatever.* The great *Hugo Grotius*, who ought not to be ſpoke of without Veneration, in examining the Paſſage where *Salluſtius* ſays, that *Bomilcar* was brought to Trial, who was of the Retinue of *Jugurtha*'s Embaſſador, explains the Words *æquum & bonum* (to which greater Regard was had at *Rome* than to the Law of Nations) to be the Law of Nature in its propereſt Signification. So that *Salluſtius* means thereby, that the Senate follow'd in that the Law of Nature, which permits the Puniſhment of the Crime, where-ever the Criminal is to be found; rather than the Law of Nations, which excepts therefrom Embaſſadors and ſuch like Perſons, who ought to find their Safety in the publick Faith. He farther adds, that it is to b thought that the Law of Nations gives to Embaſſadors ſomething more than what the Common Law gives to private Perſons, who would have the ſame Advantage with publick Miniſters, if the Character of theſe ſecur'd them only againſt Injuſtice: That altho' the Quality of Embaſſador ought not to ſerve for a Cover nor Impunity to his Crimes, yet the common Magiſtrate ought not to take Cognizance thereof. He is to be ſent back to his Prince, who ought to puniſh him, unleſs the Magiſtrate will paſs for an Accomplice in the Outrage that is done him. He at laſt concludes with theſe noble Words: *Quare omnino ita cenſeo: placuiſſe Gentibus, ut Communis mos, qui quemvis in alieno Territorio exiſtentem ejus loci Territorio ſubjicit, exceptionem pateretur in Legatis, ut qui ſicut fictione quadam, habentur pro perſonis mittentium (Senatus faciem ſecum attulerat, faciem Reipublicæ, ait de Legato quodam M. Tullius) ita etiam fictione ſimili conſtituerentur quaſi extra Territorium: unde & Civili Jure populi, apud quem vivunt, non tenentur.* I inſert theſe few *Latin* Words contrary to my Humour and Cuſtom, to inſtruct thoſe who know as much bad *Latin* as good *French*, that they may thereby learn, *that the Embaſſador or publick Miniſter, who ſolicits the Affairs of a foreign Prince, and who is acknowledg'd for ſuch, is exempt from the Juriſdiction of the Place of his Reſidence; becauſe his Actions ought to be conſider'd as if the Prince himſelf had done them, till ſuch time as he diſavows them.*

Indeed, the Reaſon why the Law of Nations exempts the Publick Miniſter from the Juriſdiction of the Place of his Reſidence, is becauſe he repreſents a Sovereign, over whom another Sovereign has no Superiority nor Juriſdiction; for which Reaſon he cannot extend it to his Embaſſador neither. Beſides, that by this Means the Miniſter would be ſubject to two different Juriſdictions at the ſame Time, and ſo would become of no uſe to his Maſter, if any other could make him give an Account of his Actions. *John de Vivonne*, Marquiſs *de Piſani*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, was without doubt; one of the greateſt Men *France* has ever had for this ſort of Employment. He was Embaſſador in Ordinary to *Sixtus* V, when King *Henry* III. ſent to the Pope, *Claudius d'Angennes* Biſhop of *Mans*, to juſtify his murdering the Cardinal *de Guiſe*, who had been kill'd at the Aſſembly of the States at *Blois*. The Pope refus'd to abſolve the King, unleſs he ask'd him Abſolution by Writing, and in Form; and unleſs the Cardinal *de Bourbon* and the Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, who were Priſoners, were put into his Hands. The Biſhop and the Marquiſs had ſeveral Audiences, and amongſt the reſt one, at which the Pope threaten'd the Biſhop to ſend him to Priſon, becauſe he had ſpoke with great Liberty for the Rights of the *Gallican* Church. But the Marquiſs interrupted the Pope, and told him in the Preſence of Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, that they were ready to pay him all the Reſpect and all the Submiſſions which were due to his Dignity; but that they were oblig'd to tell him, *That the Embaſſadors of Sovereigns have ever been in Poſſeſſion of a Right to execute their Princes Orders in all Liberty and Safety, without any Fear of Priſon, or other Outrage:* That they would make no Difficulty of kiſſing the Ground on which the Pope trod; but at the ſame time, he ought to be perſuaded, that neither the Dread of a Priſon, nor of Death it ſelf, ſhould hinder them from ſpeaking to him conformably to their Orders and Inſtructions. This generous Anſwer ſilenc'd the Pope, and ought to ſerve for a Leſſon to thoſe Miniſters, who through a falſe Prudence, and by a cowardly and criminous Complaiſance, betray the Honour and Intereſt of their Maſters.

Certainly if the Canon Law exempts the Clergyman from the Juriſdiction of ordinary Juſtice, as I have made it appear elſewhere: If a Soldier when he enters into Service, ſubjects himſelf to a foreign Juſtice, even in his native Countrey; and if a Student of *Salamanca* who ſhall commit a Murder, or any other Crime at *Madrid*, or elſewhere, may require to be ſent before the Judge of the Univerſity; The *Law*

of

of Nations, which may be call'd the Privilege of Privileges, ought to exempt the publick Miniſter from the Juriſdiction of the Place of his Reſidence. All Sovereigns have underſtood it ſo; and all Princes, who have had the Reputation of being wiſe and prudent, have confirm'd this Truth by their Example.

We have juſt inſtanc'd in one, in the Perſon of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*. He had been convinc'd, as well by unexceptionable Proofs, as by his own Confeſſion, that he had carry'd on Intrigues which might have diſturb'd the Tranquillity of the Kingdom, and the Succeſs whereof might have coſt the Queen of *England* her Life; and yet ſhe was contented with ſending him to *France*, where he continu'd to labour to procure the Liberty of the Queen of *Scotts*. The ſame Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd that *Don Bernardin de Mendoſſe*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, had been concern'd in all the Cabals that *Francis Throgmorton* and other Traytors had contriv'd againſt her Perſon and her State, made him be ſharply reprimanded therefore by the Council, who commanded him in the Queen's Name to depart the Kingdom. He did not make too much haſte; for which Reaſon they ſet him on Board Captain *Hawkins*'s Veſſel, who landed him at *Calais*. It cannot be deny'd but the Embaſſadors, who become Authors or Accomplices of Treaſons which threaten the Life of the Prince with whom they reſide, or the State, with an inevitable or an apparent Revolution, go beyond the Sphere of their Function; and that not being neither ſecret Enemies, nor honourable Spies, but Traitors from whom there is no Fence, they violate the *Law of Nations*, and ought no longer to enjoy the Privilege of their Character. Which is as indubitable as it is uncertain, not how the offended Prince may, but how he ought, to behave himſelf, *viz.* Whether he ought to puniſh the Traitor himſelf, or whether he ought ſtill to conſider, in his Perſon, that of the Prince who employs him. Thoſe Princes, who have a Grain of Honour left, do not ſuffer any Outrage to be done to their Miniſter, on any Account, or under any Pretext whatever; becauſe they look upon it to be a Reſpect due to them, to leave to themſelves the Cognizance and the Puniſhment of the Crimes of their Miniſter; and that Complaint ought to be made to them, to the End that by doing Juſtice upon their Miniſter, they may give Satisfaction to the Prince who may demand it of them. In which there is by ſo much the greater Appearance of Reaſon, that if Princes had the Liberty of Proceeding againſt the Embaſſador who negotiates with them on any Account, or under any Colour whatſoever, the Perſon of the Embaſſador would never be in Safety; becauſe thoſe who ſhould have a Mind to make away with him would never want a Pretext: And by that Mean the Prince, not being able to protect his Miniſter againſt all manner of Inſults, would never be well ſerv'd.

Philip II. was ſo offended at the Violence, which he ſaid had been done to his Embaſſador, that he would not ſee *William Waad*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* had ſent to him to complain of *Mendoſſe*, and to verify the Neceſſity which had oblig'd her to ſend him out of *England*. *Waad* left *Spain* alſo, becauſe the King had remitted him to the Council: He ſaid his Orders were to addreſs himſelf to the King, and ſince he would not admit him, he had nothing more to do in *Spain*.

I cannot tell whether all Hiſtory can furniſh us with one ſingle Prince who had ſo many eminent Qualities as King *Henry* IV. had, and to whom Poſterity has given and preſerv'd the Sirname of *Great*, with more Juſtice. It may be ſaid that the Conqueſt of *France* was not his greateſt Glory; but that the ten or twelve Years Peace, (which reſtor'd to *France* the Luſtre it had loſt ſince the Treaty of *Chaſteau* in *Cambreſis*, and ſince the Death of *Henry* II, which follow'd pretty near) gave ſufficient Teſtimony, that the Virtues which preſerve, are equivalent to thoſe which perform the Conqueſts. He had full as much Clemency, Magnanimity and Prudence, as Courage; and it is what I ſhall give two or three Examples of, ſuitable to the Subject of this Chapter.

After the Death of the Dutcheſs of *Beaufort*, the King fell in Love with *Mademoiſelle d'Entragues*, who was one of the moſt beautiful as well as of the moſt ſubtle Maidens of her Time. She affected to be very preciſe, and finding herſelf much preſs'd by the King, ſhe told him, She did not dare to grant him any thing, unleſs he promis'd her Marriage: That it was not her Intention to make uſe of it, but that it was neceſſary to her to ſatisfy her Father and Relations. The King comply'd with her; but this did not hinder him from getting divorc'd from Queen *Margaret*, by the Intervention and Authority of the Pope, and from marrying again, without *d'Entragues*'s making any Oppoſition: And there was no Diſcourſe of the Promiſe till after the Birth of the *Dauphin*. I ſhall not relate all the Particulars of this Intrigue, but only that the Count *de Taxis*, and after him *Don Balthaſar de Zuninga*, Embaſſadors from *Spain*, got in with the Father of the young Lady, and plotted with him and the Count *d'Auvergne*, or Duke *d'Engouleſme*, to make them paſs with his Children into *Spain*. The Miniſters of *Spain* could have no other Intention than to have it believ'd, that the Marriage which the King had contracted with *Mary de Medicis*, contrary to the Promiſe he had made to *d'Entragues*, was not lawful: And ſo that the Dauphin, and the other Princes which might be born of her, could not ſucceed to the Crown. It was caſting *France* into the utmoſt Confuſion, to diſpute the Birth of the preſumptive Heir of the Kingdom. It was impoſſible to deviſe a more dangerous Treaſon. The Duke *d'Engouleſme* was try'd for it, and ſo was the Father and the Daughter, and there were convincing Proofs of the Treachery of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors: Yet for all that, the King would not ſo much as ſuffer their Maſter to be mention'd.

The ſame *Don Balthaſar de Zuniga*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, tamper'd in the Height of Peace, with *John d'Alagon de Merargues*, to ſurrender the Town of *Marſeilles* to the Catholick King. This Gentleman was originally of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, but his Predeceſſors had eſtabliſh'd themſelves in *Provence*, where he had two Gallies always ready, and he was Procurator *Syndic* of the Province. A

Galley-Slave, to whom he had diſclos'd his Deſign, reveal'd it to the Duke of *Guiſe*, who gave Advice thereof to the Court. He was ſo narrowly watch'd, that he was ſurpris'd with *Bruneau*, Secretary to *Don Balthaſar*, and they were both taken Priſoners. There was found under *Bruneau*'s Garters a Diſcourſe which contain'd the Particulars of the Execution of the Enterprize: So that ſeeing himſelf convicted, and taken in the Fact, he made no Difficulty to confeſs all the Circumſtances of the Treaſon. The Parliament brought *Merargues* to his Tryal, who had his Head cut off at the *Gréve*; and *Bruneau* was ſent to the King, who deliver'd him up to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, cauſing him to be told at the ſame Time to ſend him out of the Kingdom. The Embaſſador had made a great Noiſe, as ſoon as he knew that his Secretary was a Priſoner, and gave himſelf a great deal of Liberty when he ſpoke to the King on that Subject, even to the reproaching him that he violated the Peace, in aſſiſting the *Hollanders* with Men and Money, and attempting to corrupt the Fidelity of ſome Miniſters at *Bruſſels*. The King, who could have reproach'd him with more Juſtice, anſwer'd him reſolutely, and told him, That the *Law of Nations* did not oppoſe the confining a Miniſter, to prevent his doing Miſchief. Almoſt at the ſame Time was diſcover'd the Enterprize which was in Agitation againſt the City of *Metz:* The Authors thereof were puniſh'd. And foraſmuch as among the Accomplices there were two of the Arch-Duke's Subjects, the King would not ſuffer Juſtice to be done upon them, but ſent them to him with the Tryal; no way doubting but he would cauſe them to be puniſh'd, if it were but to clear himſelf of the Suſpicion he would otherwiſe be lyable to. Hiſtory obſerves, that King *Henry* IV. had the Advice of the moſt learned and able Civilians in *Paris*, on the Affair of *Bruneau*, and that thereupon he reſtor'd him to his Maſter.

Alfonſo de la Cueva, Marquiſs of *Bedmar*, form'd with *Peter Giron*, Duke of *Oſſuna*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and *Peter de Toledo*, Marquiſs of *Villefranche*, Governor of *Milan*, a *Triumvirate* for the Direction of the Affairs of *Italy*, under King *Philip* III, and under the Duke of *Lerma*, his firſt Miniſter. The Marquiſs *de Bedmar* was Embaſſador of *Spain* at *Venice*, and there was not any Hoſtility which he did not publickly exereiſe, nor Artifice that he did not underhand employ againſt the Service of the Republick. The Procurator *Nani*, who ſpeaks of it in thoſe Terms, tells the Particulars of a Treaſon which the Marquiſs had been the Contriver of, and which was in it ſelf ſo deteſtable, that it render'd him unworthy of all the Conſiderations which ought to be had for a publick Miniſter. A *French* Man, by Birth a *Norman*, and a Pirate by Profeſſion, whoſe Name was *James la Pierre*, pretending to be diſſatisfy'd with the Duke of *Oſſuna*, retir'd to *Venice*, where he offer'd his Service to the Senate, with another *French* Man nam'd *Langlade*, who underſtood the making of Fire-Works. Theſe Men, who immediately found Employment, were introduc'd into the Arſenal; notwithſtanding which they continu'd a Correſpondence with the Embaſſador of *Spain*, to whom they had promis'd to ſet Fire to the Ammunition, and to ſome of the beſt Houſes in the City. In the mean Time the Duke of *Oſſuna* had contracted with an *Engliſh* Man, nam'd *Halliot*, who had caus'd the Canals of *Venice* to be ſounded, into which he was to bring ſeveral Barks and Brigantins, which the Viceroy was to ſend into the Gulph, while the main Fleet ſhould make towards the Coaſts of *Iſtria*, in Order to augment the Confuſion: During which, Fire was to be ſet to the Mine, and ſome of the chief Noblemen of the Senate were to be kill'd. This Deſign had been executed if *la Pierre* and *Langlade* had not been oblig'd to embark, to ſerve on Board the Fleet of the Republick; which was the Cauſe it was delay'd, and ſo ſav'd the State. For the Secret being in the mean Time communicated to ſeveral others, two *French* Gentlemen, the one whereof was of *Normandy*, and the other of *Dauffiné*, who had been made privy to the Treaſon, were ſtruck with ſo much Horror thereat, that they reveal'd it to the Council of Ten. Some of the Conſpirators were taken and executed, and the Senate ſent Orders to the Admiral, to put to Death *la Pierre* and *Langlade*. *La Cueva*, who had had the whole Direction of the Intrigue, fearing to be inſulted by the People, retir'd to *Milan*, *after the Senate had already written to the King of* Spain, *to deſire him to recall his Embaſſador*. Nothing more horrible nor more deteſtable could enter into the Thoughts of Man; becauſe the Republick was utterly and inevitably ruin'd thereby: And yet ſhe ſhew'd no other Reſentment than to complain thereof to the King, inſtead of abandoning the Embaſſador to the Peoples Fury, which would without doubt have reveng'd it in a cruel Manner. *Capriata* makes great Excuſes for the Embaſſador, and would have it believ'd that he had no Hand in the Treaſon; but I cannot believe that the Procurator *Nani*, who was a Man of Honour, and very wiſe, would have offended the Memory of a Nobleman, who dy'd cloath'd with the Purple; and would have taken Pleaſure to blacken, as one may ſay, a whole Nation by ſo heinous an Accuſation, if he had not had good Proofs thereof, and unleſs he had thought himſelf oblig'd to inſert thoſe Circumſtances as a Debt he ow'd to the Truth of his Hiſtory.

The Marquiſs *d'Inoyoſa* and *Dom Carlos Coloma*, being Embaſſadors at *London*, undertook to ruin the Duke of *Buckingham* in the Mind of King *James*, and to ſow the Seeds of ſo ſtrong a Jealouſy of the Intentions of the Prince of *Wales* his Son, that if they had ſucceeded, the Royal Family would have been ſo divided, that the Kingdom would have broke out into irreconcileable Factions. The Parliament conſider'd the ill Conſequences thereof, and was for having the Heinouſneſs of their Crime repreſented to them: That they ſhould be oblig'd to detect the Author of the Calumny; and that they ſhould be given to underſtand, that, unleſs they did ſo, they ſhould be taken to Task themſelves, and eſteemed as Impoſtors. But the King and the Council, who did not follow the Motions of a paſſionate Aſſembly, were of Opinion that Complaint ought to be made to the King of *Spain*, and Satisfaction requir'd from him. However, they were contented to let

let them be gone, and to signify to them, That their Conduct had not been grateful, by not making the usual Present to them, which is never omitted to Embassadors who have given no Distaste. Nevertheless these Disgraces are often held as very meritorious, by the Masters of the Parties so disgrac'd.

If an Embassador cannot be try'd for a Crime of State, much less can he be so for a common Offence, or the Fault of another, or be arrested for a civil Debt. It is about thirty Years, since a *Spanish* Governor of a Province which borders on that of *Peru*, sent one of his Officers to *Constantinople*, to endeavour to procure to himself the Protection of the *Grand Seignior*, in the Design he had to erect his Government into a Sovereignty, paying such a yearly Tribute to the Port. But the Divan abhorr'd the Governor's Perfidy, and caus'd his Messenger to be fasten'd to the Galley Chain, and did not take him from thence, till the *Spaniard* had renounc'd his Faith, and had promis'd to be Circumcis'd. This was done in the Month of *September* 1646, and about a Month after the Renegade disappear'd; so that it was believ'd he was return'd to his own Countrey, or else was retir'd into some other Part of *Christendom*. But the First Vizir being inform'd that he had been seen to go into the House of *Alexander Grisenbec*, the Emperor's Resident, and that no Body had seen him come out; he sent on the last Day of *October* some Chiaoux, who in visiting all the Lodgings, discover'd the Place where the *Spaniard* had been interr'd. Hereupon the Resident was seiz'd and brought before the Grand Vizir, to whom he confess'd the Murder; but he said he had been provok'd thereto by the Insolence of the Deceas'd, who had spoke disrespectfully of the Emperor his Master. Yet it was found to be a premeditated Assassination; and that the Resident to compass his Ends the more privately, had sent all his Domesticks out of the way, excepting him who cut the Renegade's Throat. The Resident was sent a Prisoner, not to the publick Prison, *as is practis'd elsewhere*, but to the House of one of the Chiaoux, with his Dragoman, and five or six of his Domesticks. The *Turks* judg'd that the Emperor's Minister would not have dar'd to have undertaken so bold an Action, as that of assassinating in cool Blood, a *Mussulman* and a new Proselyte, without the express Orders of his Master, who without doubt had concerted the Matter with the King of *Spain*; they therefore proceeded very leisurely in his Affair, and gave him Time to employ his Friends to get out. The *French* Embassador undertook the Solicitation thereof: and notwithstanding the King his Master, and the Emperor were at War, he nevertheless spoke to the First Vizir about it, and represented to him, "*That the Divan could not* "*decline giving Advice to the Emperor of what* "*had happen'd, before it came to any Resolution* "*against a privileg'd Person, who could acknow-* "*ledge no other Jurisdiction than that of the Em-* "*peror his Master, and who indeed could neither* "*be interrogated nor judg'd but by him:* That "the *Law of Nations requir'd, that in those Ca-* "*ses*, where the publick Minister of a Prince "*who was a Friend or an Ally*, commits a Fault "or fails in his Duty, *Advice should be given* "*thereof to his Prince*, to whom it belongs to "punish him, and that the Emperor would "without doubt do it, if recourse were had "to him". The *Turks* took his Counsel in part, and dispatch'd an Express to *Vienna*: But fearing that at the Return of the Courier they should be oblig'd to set the Resident at Liberty, if the Emperor approv'd of what his Minister had done, as he would without doubt, since it was by his Orders that the *Spaniard* had been kill'd; they chose rather to compound the Matter with him, and draw from him a Sum of Money. His Irons were taken off at the Instance of the *French* Embassador, and of the Internuncio of *Poland*; and four Days after a *Jew* was sent to him, to let him know that he should be set at Liberty, if he would promise to pay within three Days, such a Sum as should be agreed on with him, and that the *French* Embassador would remain Security for the same. The Resident made it his Request to the Embassador that he would; but he signify'd to him, that in his Post he could enter into no Obligation without the King his Master's Permission; more especially to People who have no Regard to the Character, nor to the *Law of Nations*. Upon the Embassador's Refusal, the *Jew* told him, that if the Resident would get out of his Troubles, he must oblige himself formally to procure the Payment of two hundred thousand Crowns, which were requir'd of the Emperor for the Renovation of the Peace, and withall, pay down presently thirty thousand Crowns. The Resident represented, That not only he could not oblige the Emperor his Master, without becoming a Criminal, but besides that it would be to no purpose; because his Master would disown him, and not pay a Penny thereof; and that it was also impossible for him to raise the Sum of thirty thousand Crowns: That all he could propose to raise, within a little Time, would amount at most but to ten thousand Crowns; with which the *Turks* were contented. The *Jews* answer'd for it, and the Resident was set at Liberty. I might add to this Example that of Colonel *Alard*, who having been sent by the Duke of *Savoy* to the Mareschal *Lesdiguieres*, caus'd a Burgess of *Grenoble* to be murder'd as he return'd from his Farm: But as I have enlarg'd very much upon it in my Memoirs, and that after that, I might perhaps alledge several others, I don't think I ought to tire my Reader with a Multiplicity, after what I have remark'd on the Subject of this Example in Chapter II.

After that in the Year 1644, the Gallies of *Malta* had taken the Galleon, wherein was found a Sultaness and her Son, the Divan caus'd the Embassadors of *France*, of *England* and of *Venice*, and the Resident of the United Provinces, to be summon'd before the two *Cadileskers* of *Romelia* and of *Natolia*, to be interrogated concerning this Depredation. The *French* Embassador complain'd to the First Vizir, *Mehemet Bacha*, of so extraordinary a Procedure, and the Vizir own'd to him that it was certain, *That the Law of Nations was violated thereby; and that according to Order and Method, the Embassadors could not be summon'd before the Judges:* but he added at the same Time, That it was the *Grand Seignior's* Will; and that in the

whole *Seraglio*, there was no body that dar'd to contradict it. The two Embaſſadors of *France* and of *Venice* appear'd, and ſaid in their Depoſition, That the Galleon having been taken in Seas very remote from *Conſtantinople*, they knew no other Particulars of it, than what they had learn'd from common Report. The *Engliſh* Embaſſador ſaid, That the *Engliſh* made Profeſſion of a Belief and Religion very contrary to that of the Knights of *Malta*, and that none of them were ſeen to wear the Croſs; and that they had no Communication with them, nor any Concern with their Depredations. The Reſident of *Holland* made anſwer, That the Iſland of *Malta* belong'd to the King of *Spain*, againſt whom the Eſtates his Maſters had made War for theſe fourſcore Years paſt; ſo that they could not be Reſponſible for the Actions of the Knights of that Order, nor oblig'd to make Reparation for a Violence in which they had no Hand, and of which they had not ſo much as heard any thing. The *Turks* who had eſcap'd out of the Hands of the *Malteſe*, had reported, that moſt of the Knights concern'd in this Exploit were *French*; ſo that when the *French* Embaſſador was for juſtifying his Nation by a long Memorial, the *Cadilesker* told his *Dragoman*, that what the Embaſſador ſaid ſignify'd no more than a Song: That he was willing to ſpeak to him freely after his uſual way, and declare, that the Emperor had reſolv'd to go in Perſon to the Siege of *Malta*; and that if he diſcover'd that any Prince was ſo audacious, as to ſuccour the Iſland either with Men, Proviſions, Ammunition or Money, *he would lay hold of his Embaſſador, and would not be contented to put him to Death, but would make him expire in the cruelleſt and moſt exquiſite Torments.* The Embaſſador gave an Account to his Court of the Procedure of the *Turk:* But the King, who was at War with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, ſent him Orders to mingle ſo much Prudence with his Courage and Firmneſs, that no worſe Diſorder might enſue, ſince no Remedy could be apply'd thereto in the preſent State of Affairs: and gave him to underſtand, that as he could not come to a Rupture with the Port, he, the Embaſſador, would do well to diſſemble what was paſt, and not to ſhew any Reſentment, as if he had been offended in his Character. He was oblig'd to drink this Cup; but this Patience, inſtead of moderating the Fury of the *Turks*, made them quite inſolent; inſomuch that they afterwards treated the Embaſſador himſelf after a ſtrange Manner. *M. de la Haye Vantelay*, Embaſſador of *France*, had reſided five and twenty Years at *Conſtantinople*; and had done very good Offices to the Bailo of *Venice* ſince the Opening of the *Candian* War, tho' they had not always been very well acknowledg'd. *Soranzo*, (which was the Bailo's Name) thinking he did a very important Service to the Republick, by obliging *France* to break with the Port, endeavour'd to render all the Actions of the Embaſſador ſuſpected to the Miniſters of that Court. This made *France* eaſily believe that it was by the Addreſs of the Bailo, that a Letter in Cypher fell into the Hands of the *Turks*, whereby were diſcover'd ſeveral Intrigues which were carrying on againſt the Service of the *Grand Seignior*. The Letter being carry'd to *Adrianople*, where the Court was, Orders were diſpatch'd immediately to *la Haye* to repair thither in all Diligence; but his Age, the Gout, and his other Indiſpoſitions, hindering him from being able to perform the Journey, he ſent thither his Son, aſſiſted by the Secretary of the *French* Merchants. As ſoon as they were arriv'd, the Firſt Vizir ſent for them to come to him, and ſpoke to 'em about the Letter in ſuch haughty and offenſive Terms, that the young *la Haye*, loſing both Patience and Reſpect, told him he did not fear his Menaces: That he had a Maſter, who if he could not prevent the Effects thereof, would not fail to take ample Revenge for them. This ſo incens'd the Firſt Vizier, who was very bruſh, and an Enemy to the *French*, that he commanded one of the Chiaoux to ſtrike him on the Face; and this Command was ſo well executed, that *la Haye* had two of his Teeth broke; and afterwards was dragg'd with the Secretary into a Dungeon. The Vizir's Cruelty not being ſatisfy'd herewith, would needs have the Embaſſador make the Journey in Perſon, and flung him alſo into Priſon. He and his Son were ſet at Liberty at the End of two Months, by the Help of Money and Submiſſions; but it was only to receive other ill Treatments, which oblig'd him at laſt to quit that Poſt, and to repair to *France* with the King his Maſter's Leave.

The Emperor's Reſident had committed a Murder on the Perſon of a Proſelyte, which is one of the greateſt Crimes that can be committed againſt the Alcoran. The Loſs of the Galleon, the Outrage done to the Sultaneſs, and the carrying off her Son, diſturb'd the Reaſon of the *Grand Seignior:* And it was not altogether without Cauſe, that the Vizir was ſo tranſported againſt *la Haye*; becauſe it was very certain, that he held an Intelligence with ſome *Greek* Biſhops, to ſtir up an Inſurrection in the *Morea:* and yet it muſt be own'd, that the Vizir's Behaviour was *Turkiſh*. We ſhall ſee how they behave themſelves elſewhere, when I ſhall have ſhewn, that the *Engliſh* would not violate the *Law of Nations* in this Reſpect; even at a Time when no other Laws were acknowleg'd, than thoſe that might be ſerviceable to the Eſtabliſhment of Uſurpation and Tyranny. In the Year 1654, *M. de Bas*, Envoy from *France* to *England*, was accus'd to have been concern'd in a Conſpiracy, which had been contriv'd againſt the Perſon of *Cromwell*. One *Naudin*, a Phyſician of *Paris*, had put him in the Number of the Accomplices: and there were otherwiſe ſuch ſtrong Proofs againſt *de Bas*, that the Council having ſent for him, to hear what he had to ſay, read to him the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes. But when the Counſellors were for interrogating him, in order to know the Truth from his own Mouth; he told them, That he could ſafely anſwer them, and declare he had no Knowledge of the Affair, in which he had no Hand: That he would make no Difficulty neither to inform *Cromwell* privately, by the way of giving him an Inſight, as far as he knew; but *that he was not oblig'd to undergo an Interrogatory before a Judge, nor to anſwer in a Courſe of Juſtice; becauſe being a publick Miniſter, he ſhould thereby Sin againſt the Dignity of the King his Maſter,*

Maſter, to whom alone he was oblig'd to give an Account of his Actions. Whereupon *Cromwell*, and five of the ſeven Counſellors which compos'd the Council, withdrawing into another Chamber; and returning ſome time after, they ask'd *de Bas* if he perſiſted in his Reſolution not to anſwer; and becauſe he ſaid *he would not anſwer*, he was order'd to depart the Kingdom in twice four and twenty Hours. He was ſufficiently convicted to have conſpir'd againſt *Cromwell*, yet for all that, this Uſurper, who had plainly ſhewn on other Occaſions, that he did not much regard Embaſſadors; and who at that time had not more need of *France* than *France* had of him, judg'd that all that could be done to *de Bas*, without violating the *Law of Nations*, was to make him depart the Iſland.

In the Year 1618, one *la Cheſnaye*, who had been Domeſtick to *M. des Maretz* the *French* Embaſſador, and who was ſo then to *M. le Clerc*, who had remain'd at *London* in the Quality of Agent for that Crown, had confeſs'd that there was a Deſign to ſend Sir *Walter Raleigh* into *France*, and that the Deſign had been communicated to the Agent. The Service of the King of *England* was concern'd therein; for which Reaſon *le Clerc* was ſent for, to hear what he had to ſay. *Le Clerc* ſaid, he would not ſpeak unleſs he was ſeated and cover'd; becauſe *la Berchere* was treated ſo, who did the Buſineſs of *England* in *France*. The Counſellors made anſwer, That each Countrey had its Cuſtoms, and that in *England* they were not oblig'd to follow thoſe of *France*. Nevertheleſs *le Clerc* remain'd ſo obſtinate, that it was reſolv'd they ſhould all go into another Room, which not being appropriated to the Council, they ſhould be ſtanding, and that it ſhould not paſs for a judicial Action; but that the Affair of *Raleigh* ſhould be talk'd of by the way of Diſcourſe and Converſation. *Le Clerc* at firſt ſwore bitterly that he knew nothing of the Matter: till being convicted by the Confeſſion and Confronting of *la Cheſnaye*, he likewiſe confeſs'd it with the utmoſt Confuſion. Hereupon the Council told him, that the King would not permit him to meddle any more with the Management of Affairs, not to preſent himſelf before him, till it ſhould be known, at the Return of the Courrier who had been ſent into *France*, whether the King his Maſter would own him or not. The Court of *France* would have been willing to maintain its Miniſter, and to that end, ſent him a Packet, with Orders to deliver it into the Hands of the King of *England*, to ſee if it was poſſible to regain him Acceſs to the Court: but the King would not admit him; ſo that he was forc'd to retire into *France*, where he was not much conſider'd ſince.

Now if an Embaſſador cannot be brought to Tryal for a Crime, and particularly for a common Offence, much leſs can he be ſubject to the Juſtice of the Place of his Reſidence in a Civil Action, or arreſted for Debt. Some Years ago the Court of Juſtice in *Holland* caus'd the Reſident of *Portugal* to be arreſted for Debt; becauſe they had been contracted during his Miniſtry. It grounded on thoſe Laws, which as I ſaid before, can be only apply'd to that kind of Embaſſadors, which at preſent are call'd Deputies, which the Towns ſubject to the Empire ſent to *Rome*; and not at all to thoſe who have the true Character, or the Quality of a publick Miniſter, who repreſents the Perſon of a Sovereign Prince: For if the Deputies of a Town in *Holland* cannot be arreſted for Debt, while they are Members of the Aſſembly, with much more Reaſon ought that Reſpect to be had to the Repreſentative of a foreign Sovereign Prince, who ought to be inviolable; becauſe he cannot be hinder'd from acting, but his Maſter's Service muſt ſuffer thereby. *Don Franciſco de Melos*, Embaſſador from *Portugal*, did not do any great Offices for the Liberty of the Reſident; becauſe in the Procedure of this, there was ſomething ſo very infamous, that they were cautious of making a Noiſe about the Matter, for fear the Miniſter's Roguery ſhould injure the Dignity of the Prince that employ'd him.

I am not afraid of ſaying after *M. de Groot*, that ſince the Judicature cannot ſeize the Furniture of a publick Miniſter for Debt, much leſs can it impriſon his Perſon, becauſe he ought to be free from all Conſtraint; as well in reference to his Perſon, as to his Goods; for without that he cannot maintain the Dignity of his Character. Thoſe who give him Credit, ought to take their Security before they do it, and blame themſelves if they do not do ſo. Tradeſmen truſt every Day, and hazard their Goods, in hope of gaining thereby. They know that it is not without the Riſque of Bankrupcy, which they have as much Reaſon to fear in an Embaſſador, as in a private Perſon. Sovereigns every Day ruin thoſe who give them Credit, and the Miniſter is not better than his Maſter.

In the Year 1646, the Divan ſent a Summons by a Chiaoux to the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, at the Requeſt of ſome *Engliſh* Merchants of *Conſtantinople*, to ſee himſelf condemn'd to the Reſtitution of ſome Money, which they ſaid had been unjuſtly exacted from them. The Embaſſador to gain a little Time pretended to be ſick; and in the mean while deſir'd that of *France*, to repreſent to the Firſt Vizir the Incongruity of the Divan's Procedure, and the Impertinency of the *Engliſh* Merchants, in cauſing an Embaſſador to be cited before a *Turkiſh* Judge, where the *French*, who have there peculiar Judges, are not oblig'd to appear. The Vizir agreed herein, and ſaid, *That he knew it was an unheard of Thing to ſummon an Embaſſador before the Divan: and that not only the Privileges of Embaſſadors were thereby deſtroy'd, but alſo the Law of Nations:* That the *Engliſh* Merchants had gain'd the two Cadileskers: That the Embaſſador's irregular Procedure deſerv'd very well ſome Correction, and that he would do wiſely to make up the Matter with the Parties, and to get clear of the Affair without Noiſe: That he had a Conſideration for the Interceſſion of the *French* Embaſſador, who might take it upon himſelf, and be *Arbitrator* in the Caſe if he pleas'd, and the Parties concern'd were willing; becauſe the *Turkiſh* Judges never refer any Cauſes that are brought before them. The Embaſſador reply'd, That if the Vizir thought fit to uſe his Authority with the *Engliſh* Merchants, there would be no Difficulty in adjuſting the reſt, ſince it was in Effect but a Sequel of their Diſobedience. The Vizir went

about

about it, and ſucceeded, by reconciling the Embaſſador with the Merchants; but this Peace laſted no longer than till the Arrival of the firſt News from *London*. The *Engliſh* at *Conſtantinople*, being animated by the ſame Spirit of Rebellion which had ſet all *England* almoſt in an Uproar, gave themſelves no Reſt till they had driven away the Embaſſador; after ſuch a Manner that ſufficiently demonſtrates, there are ſome Chriſtians capable of exceeding the Uncircumcis'd in Brutality, who would not have been ſo inhuman without the Inſtigation of the *Engliſh*. The Parliament ſent another Embaſſador to *Conſtantinople*: and the Firſt Vizir, by taking Cognizance of the Difference that was between the two *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, erected himſelf as a competent Judge; and by cauſing the one to be taken away, he violated the publick Faith, his Word, which he had given to the *French* Embaſſador, and whatever there is moſt Sacred in the Commerce of Men. He even loſt the Reſpect which he ow'd to the Sex, by compelling the Embaſſadrix to embark in a ſorry little Veſſel; and he order'd the Embaſſador to be put on board an *Engliſh* Ship at *Smyrna*, that he might be deliver'd into the Hands of the Parliament.

The Declaration of the States of *Holland* ſays, That they who offend Embaſſadors or publick Miniſters, by Look or by Word, *violate alſo the Law of Nations*. In the Year 1472, the Conſtable *de St. Pol* went to *Roye*, from King *Lewis* XI, to confer there with the Chancellor of *Burgundy*, and with the Lord *d'Imbercourt*, Embaſſadors from the Duke of *Burgundy*, with whom *Lewis* had conſtantly ſome Difference. The Conſtable, who was a haughty Man, being tranſported in the Heat of the Conteſt, gave the Lye to *Imbercourt*. *Philip de Commines*, in ſpeaking of this Nobleman, ſays, that he was the diſcreeteſt Gentleman he ever knew: and moſt certainly he gave good Proof thereof on this Occaſion. He made no other Anſwer to the Conſtable, than *that he did not take the Lye from him as Conſtable, but as from the proper Perſon of the King of* France, *whom the Conſtable repreſented, and who had promis'd him Security in all Reſpects; as he on his ſide, did not look upon this Affront as given to* Imbercourt, *but as done to the Duke of* Burgundy *himſelf, whom he repreſented, and to whom he would report the ſame.* This Spurt of a Gendarm, unworthy of a Miniſter, had a very ill Effect, and was the chief Cauſe of the Loſs of the Conſtable; who being ſome time after deliver'd into the Hands of *d'Imbercourt*, and by him into thoſe of the King of *France*, had his Head cut off. This Gentleman in his wiſe and prudent Anſwer, gives a neceſſary Leſſon to *Princes*, *who ought to learn thereby, that no Outrage can be done to the Miniſter, but is done at the ſame time to the Maſter himſelf, whoſe Perſon he repreſents: That it belongs to the Prince to reſent it, if he has any Honour, and that he ought not to be either eaſie or inſenſible on theſe Occaſions, if he has any Regard to his Reputation in the World.* A private Countrey Gentleman protects his Domeſtick, and does not ſuffer even his Dog to be injur'd.

In the Year 1627, *Paul Roſencrants*, Embaſſador from *Denmark* at *London*, being oblig'd to take a Journey to the Court of *France* about the Affairs of the King his Maſter, and to make ſome Stay there, made an Agreement with a *German* who liv'd at *London*, and who made it his Buſineſs to conduct Perſons of Quality from *London* to *Paris*, and from *Paris* to *London*: He agreed to give him a hundred and fifty Crowns *per* Month, as alſo for the Conveyance and Food for himſelf and his People, after the Rate of five and twenty Crowns *per* Head, which he accordingly paid him at his Return to *London*. Two Days after, the *German* ſeeming not to be ſatisfy'd, form'd new Pretenſions, which were impertinent enough; and addreſſing himſelf to the Embaſſador in Perſon, ſaid ſeveral very offenſive things, and had even the Impudence to leave them with him in Writing. The Embaſſador hereupon complain'd to the High Chamberlain, and the King being inform'd thereof, order'd the Lord Preſident of the Council, the High Chamberlain, and the Vice Chamberlain, to hear the Perſon who brought the Complaint from the Embaſſador, as well as the *German*, and to take Cognizance of the Affair. They did ſo, *and condemn'd* Philip Weiſman (that was the *German*'s Name) *to be impriſon'd till he had given Satisfaction and made Reparation; unleſs the Embaſſador had rather conveigh him to the King his Maſter, that he might puniſh him. Philip* remain'd five or ſix Days confin'd in the Houſe of a Sergeant: but foraſmuch as he was obſtinate in the Point of not giving Satisfaction, an Inſtrument was deliver'd to the Embaſſador, by which *Leave was given him to transfer his Man into a publick Priſon, and to cauſe him to be kept there, till he had a Conveniency to Ship him off for* Hamburg, *and from thence to* Denmark. The *German* ſeeing the Embaſſador intended he ſhould make the Voyage, and that he might poſſibly be ill us'd, reſolv'd to make Reparation, both by Word of Mouth and in Writing.

General *Spar*, and *Giles de Haſe*, whom the laſt Wars in *Germany* have made ſufficiently known, hated one the other mortally: ſo that as ſoon as the laſt put himſelf in the Service of the Republick of *Venice*, the other went and ſerv'd the Pope and the *Barberins* during the War of *Caſtro*, towards the End of the Year 1643. *Spar* ſeeing his Enemy in the Protection of the Republick, wrote a very impertinent Letter to the Embaſſador of *Venice* at *Vienna*. Upon the Complaint this Miniſter made thereof to the Emperor, Spar *was taken up, and guarded by fifteen Muſqueteers at his own Expence; and the Doctor who had adviſ'd him to write the Letter was put in Irons.* Moreover, the Emperor order'd him to ſend two Perſons of Quality to the Embaſſador, to ask him Pardon, and to offer him the Satisfaction which was due to him. He ſignify'd to the Embaſſador at the ſame time, that if he was not ſatisfy'd with the Reparation which *Spar* ſhould make him, he would oblige him to make ſuch a one as ſhould ſerve for a convincing Proof of the Eſteem he had for the Republick, and for the Perſon of the Embaſſador. *Spar* ſent to ask him Pardon by the Counts *Magnus* and *Montecuculi*, accompany'd by the Baron *de Roqueendolf*: but foraſmuch as the Embaſſador ſeem'd not to be ſatisfy'd with this forc'd Reparation, the Emperor put it into Deliberation, what was fitting to be done more to ſatisfy him. The Council declar'd,

declar'd, *That the Reparation* Spar *had made being very great, by Reaſon of his Quality, of his Merit, and of the great Employments he had had, the Embaſſador might be contented therewith; and that the Emperor could not well enjoyn a greater Penalty, after he had been ſeven Weeks confin'd, if his Majeſty intended there ſhould be any Proportion betwixt the Puniſhment and the Offence; and that the ſame might be ſaid in Reference to the Doctor.* But the Emperor going in Perſon to the Council, and having caus'd the Affair to be put in Deliberation in his Preſence, *condemn'd* Spar *to be conducted to* Neuſtadt, *and there to be confin'd with two Servants, till ſuch Time as the Embaſſador was ſatisfy'd; and the Doctor to be baniſh'd from Court and all the hereditary Provinces.* *Spar* was enrag'd that he was going to be ſhut up in a Place that he ſaid was a Priſon only for Traytors; and the whole Court indeed was mov'd with Indignation thereat: Inſomuch that the Embaſſador, fearing leſt his too great Rigour ſhould render him odious to the Nation, came one Day to the Emperor's Maſs, and going from thence he thank'd his Imperial Majeſty for the Conſideration he had been pleas'd to have, as well for the Dignity of his Character, as for the Reputation of the Republick. He farther added, That he might venture to aſſure his Majeſty, that the Senate would not eſteem her ſelf leſs oblig'd to him for his gracious Pardon to General *Spar*, than for the Mortification he had given him, intreating him to accept of his Interceſſion. The Emperor having anſwer'd the Embaſſador's Complement, told him, *He was very glad he was ſatisfy'd. That as he was willing to puniſh* Spar *in Conſideration of him, ſo likewiſe was he ready to pardon him for his Sake: That* Spar *had committed a great Fault, and that he was willing he ſhould ſerve for an Example to thoſe who ſhould be wanting in the Reſpect that is due to publick Miniſters.* When the Embaſſador went from Audience, every Body careſs'd him, and expreſs'd Civility to him; the Court never tiring in the Praiſe of his Generoſity. In the Evening the Count *de Kevenhuller*, one of the Council of State, and firſt Steward of the Empreſs *Mary*, came with a great Cortege of *Traineaux*, or Sleds, fill'd with Ladies, to renew the Complements of the whole Court to the Embaſſador; and two Days after, *Spar, accompany'd by the Count* de Wolkeſtein *Maſter of the Horſe to the Emperor, came to pay him his Devoirs.* The Doctor was not ſo ſoon ſet at Liberty; becauſe being inform'd that the Council of State had not approv'd the Emperor's great Severity, he had preſented a Petition to the *Aulick* Council, which had been taken ill.

There is to be obſerv'd in theſe two laſt Examples, That it is not the ordinary Juſtice that takes Cognizance of the Injury which has been done to an Embaſſador, but in *England* the King refers the Cognizance thereof to his Privy Council; and at *Vienna*, the Emperor not being ſatisfy'd with the Sentiments of his Council of State, ſits as Judge himſelf, and pronounces the Sentence. From whence we may conclude, That it is great Temerity and Preſumption in a ſubaltern or preſidial Court, to undertake to try the publick and characteriz'd Miniſter of a Sovereign Prince, and an Ally to the State where he reſides. We muſt moreover obſerve, and particularly in the Example of *Roſencrantz*, that the Council of *England* ordain'd, That the *German*, who had offended him, ſhould be put into the Hands of the King of *Denmark*; conformably to the Law of which I ſpoke in the beginning of this Chapter.

Imbercourt tells the Conſtable *de St. Pol*, That it belongs to the King of *France* to make him enjoy the Safety which is due to his Character; and gives thereby to underſtand, that it is the Prince's Duty with whom the publick Miniſter reſides, or with whom he negotiates, to protect him againſt all Injuries, Inſults, and Violences; as in Effect the King of *England* and the Emperor highly protected the Embaſſadors of *Denmark* and of *Venice*. This is what the States of *Holland* are very ſenſible of, when they take the Embaſſadors and publick Miniſters into their particular Protection, by their illuſtrious Declaration in the Year 1651. *M. Hugues de Groot* ſays, on this Subject, *That as ſoon as the Prince admits and acknowledges a publick Miniſter, he obliges himſelf to protect him, and to ſecure him the Enjoyment of the Benefit of the Law of Nations, by a kind of Agreement or tacit Contract.* So that one cannot make any very favourable Judgment of thoſe Princes, who, inſtead of protecting the Embaſſadors and Miniſters who reſide with them, perſecute and injure them. Pope *Julius* II. caus'd the Embaſſador of *Charles* III, Duke of *Savoy, to be put in Priſon, and made him be tortur'd, becauſe he had told him, That the Duke his Maſter would be willing to uſe his Endeavours to reconcile him and the King of* France. The Pope treated him like a Spy and a Traytor: But *Julius* was the proudeſt and moſt inſolent Man in the World, and when the Fumes of the Wine had diſturb'd his Brain, which happen'd pretty often, he did not know what he did. His violent and outrageous Behaviour oblig'd *Lewis* XII. to convene a Council againſt him at *Piſa*, and to coin thoſe *Eſcus d'Ors*, which we ſtill ſee with this Inſcription, *Nomen Babylonis perdam*. The Marquiſs *de Piſani*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, ſaid of Pope *Sixtus* V, That he was the worſt Monk he had ever ſeen. He would not have ſaid ſo if he had known *Sixtus* IV, who was a Monk alſo, and a much worſe Man than *Sixtus* V. If in his whole Life he had done no other ill Action than to conſpire againſt the Life of *Laurence*, and of *Julian de Medicis*, and to conſent that they ſhould be kill'd in the Church, and that the Elevation of the Hoſt ſhould ſerve for a Signal to the Conſpirators, it muſt be own'd, that he was not only a very bad Monk, but alſo a moſt deteſtable Pope. The Count *Jerome de Riairio* his Nephew, or his Son, who ſeconded theſe Violences, had the Inſolence to tell ſome Embaſſadors, That the Pope would cauſe them to be flung into the *Tiber*. A Catholick Author ſays of *Julius* II, That he was born for the Ruin of the Church: And the judicious Author of the Hiſtory of *Florence*, in giving the Character of *Sixtus* IV, has left a ſtrange Idea of him to Poſterity.

The unhappy and tragical End of the *Caraffa*'s is a manifeſt Proof of their diſorderly Government. The *Spaniards*, who could not be ignorant of the Negotiations Pope *Paul* IV.

carry'd on in *France*, were for preventing the Effect thereof by the Means of the Duke of *Alva*, Viceroy of *Naples*. The Duke, who knew that the *Caraffa*'s had an Eye upon the Kingdom, had Couriers conſtantly on the Road, and held a very cloſe Correſpondence with the Miniſters of *Spain* who were at *Rome*. It happen'd one Day, that the Courier whom the Count *de Taxis*, the Emperor's Poſt-Maſter, had ſent to *Naples*, was diſcover'd at *Terracina*; and was the more narrowly obſerv'd, becauſe having quitted the Marks of his Function, his Journey became very much ſuſpected by the Governor, who took him up and ſent him to *Rome*. A great many Letters were found about him, which being almoſt all written in Cypher, increas'd the Suſpicion that was already conceiv'd of him. The Pope having a Mind to dive into the Myſtery, *caus'd the Count* de Taxis *to be taken up*. As ſoon as the Marquiſs *de Sarria*, the Emperor's Embaſſador, was inform'd thereof, he demanded Audience, with a Deſign to complain of the Violence that was done to one of the Emperor's Officers. The Marquiſs had brought along with him *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, *who did the Affairs of* Philip, *King of* Naples, *with the Pope, and was he that had made the Diſpatches which were found upon the Courier; for which Reaſon the Cardinal* Caraffa *had him taken out of the Pope's Antichamber, and ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of St.* Angelo. The Embaſſador underſtanding, at his coming from Audience, that a ſecond Affront had been offer'd him, deſir'd to go in again, and to ſpeak to the Pope: But he was deny'd Admittance. The Letters being decypher'd, it appear'd that the Duke of *Alva* was invited to come and invade the State of the Church, while the Pope was without an Army, and the Towns were without Defence. The Pope being willing to juſtify his Procedure, held a Conſiſtory on the 27th of *July*, 1555, to which he ſummon'd the Advocate and Attorney Generals, who ſaid in the Preſence of ſeveral Officers of Juſtice, That the Miniſters of the Emperor, and of King *Philip*, and particularly the Viceroy of *Naples*, were forming very dangerous Deſigns againſt the State of the Church; and deſir'd that ſome Cardinals might be appointed to examine into the ſame, and that afterwards the Princes and their Miniſters might be excommunicated: That the Fiefs they held of the Church might be declar'd Eſcheats, and themſelves depriv'd of their Eſtates, Honours, and Dignities; which was reſoly'd upon in the Conſiſtory. The Duke of *Alva*, fearing leſt the Pope, whoſe exceſſive Tranſports drew near to Fury and Rage, ſhould ſhould put *Garcilaſſo* to Death, *ſince he had order'd him to be try'd*, ſent the Count *de la Tolfe, to complain of the Violence that was offer'd to publick Miniſters*. The Marquiſs *de Sarria*, on the other ſide, having demanded his Audience of Leave, in Purſuance of the Order he had receiv'd to retire, the Pope, who conſider'd that it would be no eaſy Matter to renew the Negotiation when the Embaſſador was gone, delay'd giving it him; and at laſt bethought himſelf to make a Feaſt, to which he invited twelve Cardinals of thoſe he moſt confided in, the Duke *de Palliano* his Nephew, and the Emperor's Embaſſador. Dinner being over, the Pope told him, That underſtanding he had a Mind to be gone, and that it was in Order thereunto he had deſir'd Audience, he pray'd him to tell before the Company what he had to propoſe to him. The Marquiſs did ſo: And after he had complain'd in very ſtrong Terms, of the Violences that were offer'd to his Princes and their Miniſters, he added that he had poſitive Orders to take his Leave and depart. The Cardinals repreſented to the Marquiſs, That altho' he could not be hinder'd from going away, without Violation of the *Law of Nations*, yet they conceiv'd he would do well to delay his Journey for ſome Days, if he could do it without Prejudice to the Obedience he ow'd to the Orders of the Emperor his Maſter. The Embaſſador reply'd, They were too expreſs for that, and that he was oblig'd to obey. Hereupon he was ſent into another Room, with the Duke *de Palliano*, to the end the Pope and the Cardinals might concert among themſelves with the greater Freedom the Anſwer they were to make him. The Opinion of the Cardinals was, That according to the *Law of Nations* he could not be hinder'd from going away; however freſh Inſtances ought to be made to him to prolong his Stay. After the Embaſſador was call'd in, the Pope told him the Sentiments of the Company, with ſo much Civility, that the Embaſſador thought himſelf oblig'd to anſwer, That upon his Return to his Lodgings he would examine his Orders again, and ſee what he could poſſibly do, without offending the Emperor his Maſter. But he ſet out the next Day, and went to *Naples*, that he might not ſeem to conſent, in ſome Meaſure, to the Proceeding of the Pope's Officers, and of the Attorney General. The King of *Spain* reſented the Outrage which had been done to his Miniſters, and caus'd Reparation to be made him.

That Juſtice which extends its Juriſdiction over the ſacred Perſon of a publick Miniſter; and that Violence which is deſtitute of all Formality are equally criminous, and deſtructive of the *Law of Nations*, as well the one as the other. The Court of Juſtice, that threatens to torture the publick Miniſter of a Prince, who is an Ally, to compel him (not to name the Accomplices of a Conſpiracy which had been contriv'd againſt the Repoſe of the State, or to diſcover the Secret of a criminous Correſpondence;) but to force him to declare the Intelligence he might hold in the State it ſelf, to procure that Inſight which was neceſſary to him for the Service of the Prince his Maſter, commits an abominable Crime, which cannot be expiated but by the ſevereſt Puniſhment of thoſe incompetent and unjuſt Judges.

None but a *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, a *Ceſar Borgia*, a *Jerome de Riario*, and ſuch like other Monſters, are capable of offering Violence to publick Miniſters; but neither they, nor the *Turks* themſelves, do not exerciſe their Brutiſhneſs, but on the Embaſſadors of their Enemies: Whereas a few Judges of a Preſidial (yet I muſt except thoſe who would have no Hand in the Injuſtice and irregular Proceedings of the reſt) were ſo audacious, as to treat with the utmoſt Ignominy the Miniſter of the moſt faithful, and moſt diſintereſted Ally the State had. The whole Hiſtory thereof ſhall be given in a particular Treatiſe.

In

In the Year 1672, after the Biſhop of *Munſter* had rais'd the Siege of *Groninguen*, the Magiſtrate of the Town took up a Gentleman of the Countrey, brought him to his Tryal, and condemn'd him to perpetual Impriſonment. The States of the Province of *Groninguen* are compos'd of the Magiſtrate of the Town on the one part, and of the Gentry and Proprietors of the circumjacent Countrey on the other, which make the two Branches thereof. This Province is as Sovereign, as are all the Reſt that compoſe the Union; but then the Aſſembly of the States General is Judge of the Differences which may ariſe between the Members of the ſaid Province.

For which Reaſon thoſe of the circumjacent Countrey, after they had given another Turn to the Affair, by the Means of their Syndic, brought the Matter in the Year 1677, before the Aſſembly of the States General, where they maintain'd, that the Town could not alone try a Gentleman; but that the Deputies of the other Branch ought to have been preſent, without whom the Judges of the Town were neither Competent nor Lawful. The States General in the Year 1678, annull'd the Sentence of the Town, and ſet the Gentleman at Liberty, and reſtor'd him to his Eſtate, Honours, and Dignities. But this was not done till the Affair had been diſcuſs'd with great Warmth, particularly in the Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*; where after a ſharp Conteſtation, it was judg'd, that they ought to eſpouſe the Intereſt of the circumjacent Countrey, againſt the Sentiments of the Town, and that it might bear its own Blame, it was declar'd that the *Law of Nations* had been violated in the Perſon of the Gentleman, Priſoner. It was no ſmall Surpriſe to the Reſt, the Thought of thoſe, who back'd their Opinion with the *Law of Nations*, to which on other Occaſions ſo little Regard has been ſhewn.

The ſpeaking in the Behalf of the *Sieur Renguers*, was no great Juſtification of the Procedure of a ſubaltern Court of Judicature, againſt a publick Miniſter, who had the repreſenting Character from a ſovereign Prince, who was an Ally of the State. One would think alſo, that the *Law of Nations* was not very properly apply'd to an Affair purely Domeſtick, wherein the other United Provinces had no other Concern, than what they thought they ought to have for the Quiet of their Neighbours and Allies, out of a Reaſon of State, and not out of Regard to the common Intereſt of all People. To ſpeak the Truth, they forgot themſelves, in not diſtinguiſhing betwen the *publick Faith*, and the *Law of Nations*. The one gives Safety to the Deputy, and the other to the Miniſter. A Paſſport or Safeconduct may, and indeed ought to entitle one to the publick Safety, as ought alſo a Contract, an Alliance, and an Union; but a publick Miniſter enjoys it, on Account of his Character, by virtue of the *Law of Nations*. The Deputies whom the United Provinces ſend to the Aſſembly of the States, ought there to enjoy the publick Safety; not by virtue of the *Law of Nations*, which has no room but among Strangers; but by virtue of their Union, becauſe they altogether make but one Body of a State. The Reaſon is ſtill ſtronger why the Deputies of the ſame Province, whether it have two or more Members, cannot pretend to enjoy the publick Safety by virtue of the *Law of Nations*; but only by virtue of the Treaties which the Members have made among themſelves, and of the Union they have together. In the ſame Manner the Sovereign who convenes the States of his Kingdom or Province, is oblig'd to ſecure Safety to the Deputies; and yet I don't think it can be ſaid, that the Deputies have a Right to it by virtue of the *Law of Nations*. King *Henry* III, in cauſing the Duke and Cardinal *de Guiſe* to be kill'd at the States of *Blois*, violated the publick Faith: but he could not be ſaid to violate the *Law of Nations* by putting his Subjects to Death, as I ſaid in Chapter III.

The Deputies whom the Princes and States of the Empire ſend to the Diets, or to the Emperor's Court, are of another ſort. The Emperor, as Emperor, is not Sovereign, and yet there is not a Prince of the Empire but is ſo; provided he be in Poſſeſſion of a Principality that gives him a Vote and Seat in the Diets: and nevertheleſs there are fundamental Laws of the Empire; which make theſe Princes be conſider'd as Members of the ſame Body in the Empire it ſelf. For which Reaſon their Miniſters are only conſider'd as Deputies, and not as Embaſſadors at the Diets, where they enjoy an entire Safety, by virtue of the *publick Faith*, and not by virtue of the *Law of Nations*. In the Year 1529, the Elector of *Saxony*, *George* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, *Erneſt* and *Francis* Dukes of *Lunenburg*, the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, and ſome other Princes and Towns having proteſted againſt the Decree of the Aſſembly at *Spire*, ſent three Deputies to the Emperor *Charles* V, to repreſent the Grievances which oblig'd them to oppoſe the Execution of the Decree, and to appeal. The Deputies found the Emperor at *Placentia* in *Lombardie*, where they preſented the Proteſtation and Appeal of the Princes, and ſpoke to him with ſo much Firmneſs and Liberty, as well by Word of Mouth as in Writing, that the Emperor being offended thereat, caus'd them to be taken up at their Inn; and forbid them on pain of Death, to write to the Princes, or to notify to them by any indirect way, that they were under Confinement. In the Relation theſe Miniſters give of what paſs'd on this Occaſion, they ſay, That the Emperor, who had ſworn at his Coronation that he would preſerve the Rights and Liberties of the Princes of the Empire, was oblig'd to hearken to their Remonſtrances, and to admit their Miniſters, whom he could not put under Arreſt, without infringing his Oath, and violating the *Law of Nations*. They alſo proteſted formally againſt it, before one of their Collegues, who was a Notary, and they made a ſolemn Appeal. The Emperor himſelf conſidering that this Violence would be ill taken in the Empire, caus'd them to be ſet at Liberty at the End of a Fortnight, and ſent them back into *Germany*. He had violated his Oath, and the publick Faith, but he did not violate the *Law of Nations*, to which theſe Deputies give too great an Extent.

It is not to ſay but the *Law of Nations* may be ſometimes violated in the Perſon of thoſe who have not the Character; but then they muſt be Foreigners: and notwithſtanding they have

have not a publick Character, they muſt have ſome particular Quality, that intitles them to the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. *Calatagironne*, who was concern'd in the Treaty of *Vervins*, and who had before made ſeveral Journeys to and fro, had not the Quality of Embaſſador, nor was not compris'd in the Pope's Commiſſion. Father *John Neyen*, who had ſo great a Share in the Negotiation of the Truce of the Low Countries, and Father *Joſeph* who help'd to make the Treaty of *Ratisbone*, had no Quality; yet that did not hinder them from enjoying all the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. At the Aſſembly of *Creſpy* in *Valois*, there was a *Jacobin* Fryar, who negotiated thereby the Conſent of *Charles*, and of *Francis* I. *Stephen de Nueilly*, Maſter of the Requeſts, entering into Diſpute with the Fryar, gave him a Box on the Ear. *Nueilly* violated thereby the *Law of Nations*, and did himſelf ſo much harm by this Action, that when ſome time after there was a Diſcourſe of making him Chancellor of *France*, the Cardinal of *Tournon* oppos'd it; and ſaid, That ſo violent a Spirit was not fit for the firſt Dignity of the Gown, nor to be a Miniſter, who (as he was at the Head of Affairs) ought to ſerve for an Example of Moderation to the Reſt. The Maxim of Cardinal *de Tournon* is not well founded every where. There are ſome Miniſters who recommend themſelves no other way than by their Violence, who being rebuk'd by the Affairs of which they are not capable, domineer over every Body, and cauſe that to be done by Force, which they cannot attempt by Reaſon. But as they are not Embaſſadors, we ſhall not ſpeak of them in this Treatiſe.

At the beginning of the Negotiation of *Munſter*, the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, in examining the Powers of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, obſerv'd amongſt other Defects therein, that theſe had not caus'd the Quality of Embaſſador to be given them; and preſs'd them very much to get it added to that of Plenipotentiary. The Counts of *Naſſaw* and *Volmar*, ſaid, That that did not depend on them, and that the *French* might if they pleas'd, get the Quality of Embaſſador taken away. *D'Avaux* and *Servien* judg'd on the contrary, That they ought not to get it remov'd; as well becauſe they were not oblig'd to have any Complaiſance for thoſe who had none for them, as becauſe it was the ordinary Style of *France*. They farther ſaid, That being in an Enemy's Countrey, where they might receive Orders to treat of Alliances with ſome of the Princes of *Germany*, and to carry on Negotiations that would have nothing in common with thoſe of *Munſter*, and which perhaps would not be very conformable to the Emperor's Intention, the Character of Embaſſador was very neceſſary to them; as well to give the greater Authority to what they ſhould treat about, *as for the greater Security of their Perſons, if they were diſcover'd to carry on Negotiations which had no Relation with thoſe of the Aſſembly; becauſe the Character of Embaſſador being venerable amongſt all Nations, it was reſpected*, &c. Upon which it might be ſaid, That ſuppoſing the Character of Embaſſador gives an entire Security to him that is cloth'd therewith, it ſeems as if the *French* Miniſters would make it be believ'd, that that of Plenipotentiary does not, and that the Miniſters of the ſecond Order, ought not to enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*; which nevertheleſs is contrary to the Intention, and Conſent of all People. The Declaration of the States of *Holland* is expreſs thereupon: and I make the Obſervation the more willingly, becauſe it is reaſonable to think they were ſurpriz'd by ſome ſtrange Artifice, to make them conſent to the ſcandalous Outrage, their Court of Judicature did to a publick Miniſter in their very Sight. So that to give a true Explication to this Paſſage, we muſt neceſſarily ſay, that the Embaſſadors of *France* had therein a Regard, not to thoſe Princes nor Miniſters who know what the *Law of Nations* is; and what is due to all thoſe that repreſent a Sovereign Prince, whatever their Character or Quality may be; but that they had then in their Thoughts, thoſe People, who know no other Repreſentative than the Embaſſador; it being very certain, that where the Quality of Plenipotentiary would not ſecure them from Violence and Inſults, the Character of Embaſſador would not protect them neither. I have ſpoken in the firſt Chapter of this Book, of the Inſtance the United Provinces made, that the *French* Miniſters would raſe the Quality of Embaſſador out of their Powers. They would not do it; but they don't alledge the Reaſon that is mention'd here.

It was much about the time that the States of *Holland* publiſh'd their Declaration, that they made it plain, they knew how to practiſe themſelves what they ordain'd to others, and cauſe their Intention to be executed by the Court of Juſtice. *Don Antonio de Souſa, de Macedo*, Embaſſador from *John* King of *Portugal*, making ſome Propoſitions which the State did not think very reaſonable, they gave him to underſtand, that they would have no more Conferences with him, and that for the future, *they would not conſider him as an Embaſſador, but as a private Perſon. Don Antonio* made anſwer, *That it depended on the States to continue the Conferences, or to break 'em off; but as for the Quality of Embaſſador, that he did not hold it of them, and ſo they could not deprive him of it neither: That Faculty being reſerv'd to the King his Maſter, excluſively of all other Sovereigns; that the* Law of Nations *oblig'd the States to acknowlege him for ſuch, notwithſtanding he was not acceptable to them:* That he own'd, that the ſame *Law of Nations* permitted them to compel him to leave the Countrey, if they had a mind to come to a Rupture with the King his Maſter; but that he hop'd for quite the contrary from their Prudence: That even in ſuch caſe, *They ought to give him leiſure to depart, and acknowledge him for Embaſſador, till he was arriv'd at* Lisbon. And indeed, when his Creditors and thoſe of his Predeceſſor, for whom he ſtood engag'd, preſented a Petition to put him under Arreſt as a private Perſon; the Court of Juſtice, which at that time was fill'd with People of Worth, and grave Perſons, refus'd to do it till it knew firſt the Sentiments of the States of *Holland* in ſo important an Affair. They declar'd, that the Judicature ought not to regard the Reſolution of the States General; becauſe that had only in view the Negotiation of the Embaſſador of *Portugal, and could not hinder the* Law of Nations *from being*

being conſider'd and preſerv'd in his Perſon, nor his Character from being reſpected.

Mrs. Slingelant, de Maſdam, de Hubert and *Yibrants*, Embaſſadors from the United Provinces, being in the Month of *April*, 1656, arriv'd at *Loüenburg*, a Town belonging either to *Caſſubia* or *Pomerania*, the Governor of the Place, who was a *Swede*, hindering them from purſuing their Journey, they proteſted *That the* Law of Nations *was violated in their Perſons.* The Governor ſaid, He did not put them under Arreſt, but that he could not ſuffer them to paſs, becauſe of the general Prohibition he had not to let any Body paſs. They ſent to make their Complaints to the Chancellor of *Sweden*, who ſignify'd to them, That it was not the Intention of the King his Maſter to arreſt them; but he only deſir'd the Embaſſadors would let him ſee them, before they went to *Dantzig*; yet nevertheleſs he left them the Liberty of taking what Road they pleas'd. They took that of *Dantzig*, according to their Orders, and arriv'd there the 24th of the ſame Month. The *Dutch* Embaſſadors ſaid, That by hindring them from paſſing, the *Law of Nations was violated, Quia omnis Coactio debet abeſſe a Legato*; and the Court of Juſtice in *Holland* ſhall not be ſaid to violate the ſaid *Law of Nations* in putting a publick Miniſter in Priſon! A publick Miniſter who had been admitted by the States General, by the Conſent of the States of all the United Provinces, and by Conſequence there was a formal Obligation to protect him: Whereas the *Dutch* Embaſſadors, whom I juſt mention'd, had not as yet preſented their *Letters of Credence*, and had not been yet admitted by the King of *Sweden*; who, if he reſpected their Character, it was becauſe he would not break with the States, and not out of Deference to the *Law of Nations*, which was not violated by what he did, but in a very extenſive and improper Signification.

The ſame King of *Sweden* might rather be ſaid to violate the *Law of Nations*, in an Encounter he had with the ſame *Dutch* Embaſſadors in the following Month of *May*. *Sidney*, *Honywood*, and *Bond*, Embaſſadors from *England*, who were to labour in Conjunction with them, at a Peace in the *North*, had demanded Audience for them all: And after *Sidney*, who was Spokeſman, had finiſh'd his Diſcourſe, and deliver'd to the King the Project on which *France*, *England*, and the States pretended to conclude the Accommodation, the King ſaid, I know very well what this Paper contains, but I wonder that you *Engliſh*, who are my Friends, ſhould think it fitting to give me the Law: I accept of you, not as Arbitrators but as Mediators, provided you do not do any thing that is againſt the Rules of Friendſhip. Then turning himſelf towards the *Hollanders*, he told them, And for your Parts, *I refuſe you for Mediators, becauſe you are my Enemies. I might have us'd you as the King of* Denmark *us'd my Embaſſador, the Baron* Bielke. This Baron had been detain'd a Priſoner at *Copenhaguen*; ſo that the King of *Sweden*, by threatening to impriſon Embaſſadors, to whom he could not refuſe the publick Safety, loſt the Reſpect he ow'd to the *Law of Nations*, and violated it in Effect. The Pope *Sixtus* V. told the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, who deſir'd him to accommodate the King his Maſter with part of his Treaſures, to make War againſt the Hereticks of *France*, That if he ſpoke to him any more on that Matter, he would cauſe his Head to be cut off. He knew not how to jeſt, and as he mortally hated the *Spaniards*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador ought not to have jeſted with him: But it muſt be own'd, that (if it is allowable to ſpeak ſo of a Pope) he was guilty of a Brutality which would not have remain'd unpuniſh'd, if his Paſſion had proceeded to the Effect of his Menaces. As for the King of *Sweden*, who was not in a Condition to offend the United Provinces, by arreſting their Embaſſadors, he might very well have ſpar'd threatening them. When Princes, who are Conquerors, are merely Soldiers, they are very ſubject to theſe Tranſports.

Sixtus IV, not being able to brook the Liberty with which the Biſhop of *Oſma*, Embaſſador from *Ferdinand the Catholick* ſpoke to him, ſent him to Priſon: But *Ferdinand* ſignify'd to the Pope by *Diego de Vadillo*, one of the Gentlemen of his Houſhold, That if he did not ſet his Embaſſador at Liberty, he would come himſelf and releaſe him. This was ſpeaking and acting like a Prince, who was ſenſible how much it concern'd his Reputation to protect his Miniſter.

I ſhould think it were giving too great an Extent to the *Law of Nations*, to maintain that it was violated by a lowring Look at an Embaſſador. Yet one may be wanting in the Reſpect that is due to his Character, without injuring his Perſon. The Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, had ſeiz'd upon the Inheritance of a Judge, who being a *French* Man, was dead without leaving any Iſſue; and the Count *de Chaſteauvillain*, who had retir'd to *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Urban* VIII, to whom he was related, protected a Man, who ſaid he was one of the Deceaſed's Creditors. The Mareſchal took it ill, inſomuch that they came to ſuch Words as the Embaſſador thought himſelf obliged to reſent. It happen'd on the 25th of *March*, 1641, that the Count going to ſee the Count *de Fieſque*, this laſt told him, that he expected the *French* Embaſſador, who had ſent him Notice of his coming; this oblig'd the Count *de Chaſteauvillain* to take his Leave, and to order his Coachman to go directly Home, but he could not avoid meeting the Embaſſador's Coach. And notwithſtanding, according to the Cuſtom of *Rome*, he ſtopp'd, and even ſtood up, with his Hat in his Hand, to ſalute the Embaſſador; this laſt paſs'd on, and even threaten'd him. The Count was ſo enrag'd thereat, that being come Home, altho' he was of the Church, he put it into Deliberation whether he ſhould not ſend a Challenge to the Mareſchal, or whether his Son ſhould not challenge the other's. However taking into Conſideration what he ow'd to the Character, he reſolv'd to wait for another Opportunity; and in the mean Time, he never went about the Town without a good Number of arm'd Men, always avoiding nevertheleſs paſſing before the Embaſſador's Palace. The Embaſſador complain'd to the Pope, who, to give him ſome Satisfaction, ſent the Count a Priſoner to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*; but he was ſoon taken from thence, and ſent to *Viterbo*, rather to protect him from the Violence

of that Miniſter, than by the way of Puniſhment.

Steno Bielke, of whom the King of *Sweden* made mention, was ſent by him to *Copenhaguen*, with *Peter Julius Coyet*, to look after the Intereſt of the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, the King's Father-in-Law, conformably to the 21ſt Article of the Treaty of *Roſchild*. They were ſtill there, when the ſaid King reſolv'd to complete the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Denmark*. *Coyet*, who knew his Perſon would not be ſafe after this ſecond Rupture, went away, under the Pretext to go and facilitate the Execution of the Treaty with the King his Maſter, promiſing to return in a Fortnight. In the mean Time the *Swediſh* Army being enter'd again into the Iſle of *Zeeland*, and *Bielke* fearing leſt the People of *Copenhaguen* ſhould inſult him, bought up Arms, and augmented the Number of his Domeſticks, with a Deſign to oppoſe any Violence that might be offer'd him. However, ſeeing that this weak Reſiſtance would only haſten his Ruin, he had Recourſe to the King's Protection againſt the Fury of the People, and was glad to find his Safety in one of the Apartments of the Royal Garden, where he had Guards appointed him, and where he remain'd a Priſoner till the Month of *Auguſt*, 1659. It is a great Queſtion, whether the King of *Denmark*, in confining *Steno Bielke*, violated the *Law of Nations* or not; and whether he was oblig'd to ſecure him the publick Safety, as well during the Time of his Reſidence, as in his going and coming, ſince he had admitted him; or whether he could uſe him as an Enemy, ſince the King his Maſter broke the Treaty which he had juſt concluded, and invaded the Kingdom, without any previous Declaration. But it may be ſaid, that the King of *Sweden* alledg'd *Steno Bielke* improperly; becauſe if the King of *Denmark* was in the right to confine him, the King of *Sweden* was in the wrong to complain thereof: And if the King of *Denmark*, in ſo doing, offended the *Law of Nations*, the King of *Sweden* injur'd himſelf in diſcovering that he was capable of making an Arreſt, which he look'd upon himſelf to be unjuſt and violent. He could not arreſt the *Dutch* Embaſſadors without violating the *Law of Nations*, becauſe he had admitted them, and acknowledg'd them, as the Embaſſadors of a State in Friendſhip with him. Their Maſters had done no Act of Hoſtility againſt him; and if any thing had otherwiſe happen'd, with which he had Reaſon to be diſſatisfy'd, he might oblige them to retire.

The ill Uſage that is offer'd to an Embaſſador in a popular Commotion, it is true, violates the *Law of Nations*; but as in thoſe Caſes the Protection of the Prince is uſeleſs to him, this ought not to fail to revenge him, if it be in his Power; or at leaſt he ought to ſhew, that it does not ſtick at him that it is not repair'd. When *Francis Sforza*, General of the Army of the City of *Milan*, made himſelf Prince of the whole Dutchy, by the Favour of the People, *Leonard Veneto*, Embaſſador of *Venice*, was kill'd with ſome other Perſons of Quality who oppos'd the Peoples Fury. After the Sticklers for Liberty were taken off, the Sovereignty was offer'd to *Sforza*, who was far from puniſhing the Authors of the Murder of the Embaſſador, ſince the ſame Raſcals were the Authors of his Fortune, which his accurs'd Poſterity did not enjoy long.

In Republicks, where the Magiſtrate makes a part of the People, both the one and the other are anſwerable for the Violence which is done to the publick Miniſter. The *Switzers*, who invaded *France* in the Year 1513, at the ſame time that the Emperor *Maximilian* and *Henry* VIII. King of *England* were upon the Frontiers with powerful Armies, had beſieg'd *Dijon*, and in taking that Town there was nothing could hinder them from penetrating into the Heart of the Kingdom. The Lord *de la Trimouille* ſav'd himſelf, in all likelihood, by the Treaty he made with them, promiſing them ſix hundred thouſand Ducats: That the King ſhould no longer protect the Council he had conven'd at *Piſa*; and ſhould renounce his Pretenſions to the Dutchy of *Milan*. *Lewis* XII. was not at all ſatisfy'd with this Treaty, and particularly with the laſt Article; ſo that he refus'd to ratify it. The *Switzers* enrag'd at this Refuſal, and to ſee themſelves fruſtrated of ſo conſiderable a Sum, becauſe the Hoſtages, which had been given as Pledges for the Execution of the Treaty, had made their Eſcape; rejected with Diſdain all the Propoſals the King made them: Tho' excepting the Renunciation of his Right to the Duchy of *Milan*, he offer'd them incomparably greater Advantages than thoſe they had ſtipulated by the Treaty. In their Fury they compell'd thoſe of *Geneva* to deliver into their Hands the Preſident of *Grenoble*, whom the King ſent to treat with them; and having caus'd him to be brought to them, they put him on the Rack, to extort from his own Mouth who they were the King his Maſter gave Penſions to, or had any ſecret Correſpondence with him. All the *Switzers* were guilty of the Outrage that was done to a publick Miniſter. All the *Griſons*, as well the Magiſtrates as the People, were anſwerable for the Diſorders which happen'd in the Year 1617, to *John Baptiſta Padavin*, Secretary to the Republick of *Venice* in the *Agnedine*. The People riſing againſt him, employ'd the Arms of the Publick to compel him to ſave himſelf at *Morbegno*, and from thence in the State of *Venice*.

Even in the Year 1513, the ſame Senate had ſent to the Cantons *Peter Stella*, Secretary of the Council of the *Pregadi*, to endeavour to bring them into the League the Republick had made with *France* againſt the Emperor *Maximilian*, and againſt the other Princes, who had a Deſign upon the Liberty of *Italy*. But as ſoon as *Stella* began to mention at *Zurich* the renewing Friendſhip with *France*, the People enter'd into a perfect Fury; and loſing the Reſpect that reaſonable Perſons have for the *Law of Nations*, it fell upon this publick Miniſter, who had much ado to ſave himſelf from the Hand of theſe Furies, by the Means of ſome of the Magiſtrates, who order'd him a Guard. The Council was ſummon'd at the ſame time, wherein it was reſolv'd to make War with *France*; which was done with ſo much Precipitation, that the raiſing of the Troops, their confus'd March, the Defeat of the *French* who were beaten at *Novarra*, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Francis Sforza*, had hardly any Interval. The Reſolutions that are taken in this ſort of

Aſſemblies, reſemble the Diſorders and Irregularities, which are caus'd by popular Inſurrections, where the *Law of Nations* is not more conſider'd than the Common Law. An Embaſſador is not ſecur'd by his Character againſt the Inſolence of a People in Rebellion, and a publick Miniſter has in vain Recourſe to the Protection of the Magiſtracy which has loſt its Authority.

It is an Offence againſt the Civil Laws, and is a Crime to intercept the Letters of a private Perſon, becauſe the publick Safety is diſturb'd thereby; but there is no intercepting thoſe of an Embaſſador without violating the *Law of Nations*. The Preſident *Richardot* going from the *Hague*, where he had negotiated as a publick Miniſter on the part of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, left in the Drawer of his Table the original Inſtruction which his Maſter had given him. The Landlord of the Houſe having found it, gave it to the Count *John de Naſſaw:* and this having caus'd it to fall into the Hands of Prince *Maurice*, who communicated it to the States, it was immediately ſent to the Provinces, and made publick. *Richardot* being adviſ'd thereof, wrote to Preſident *Jeannin* on the 7th of *October*, 1608, in theſe Terms. *It is violating both the* Jus Hoſpitii, *and the religious Reſpect which is due to Embaſſadors, whoſe Perſons and Goods ought to be in an entire Safety; and Reaſon would have requir'd, they ſhould have ſent 'em to me, inſtead of making a Trophy of them.* No Body ever doubted, that the Security which is due to publick Perſons, extends it ſelf alſo to their Letters. The Preſident *Jeannin*, Embaſſador from *France* in *Holland*, had intruſted his Diſpatches to a Man of his Acquaintance, to carry them to the Poſthouſe. This Man had the Confidence to open the Letter, and to make an Extract of it, the Copy of which being communicated to ſeveral Perſons, fell at laſt into the Hands of the Embaſſador. He complain'd thereof to the States, who offer'd to puniſh exemplarily the Infidelity of a Man, *who had violated the* Law of Nations, *by unſealing the Letters of a publick Miniſter*; but *M. Jeannin* would not name him, for fear of expoſing him to the Scandal of a Scaffold.

Aloiſio Contarini, being Embaſſador from *Venice* in *England* in the Year 1625, ſent a Packet of Letters to *Dover*, to the two Embaſſadors of *Denmark*, who were going into *France*, and who had promiſs'd to deliver it to the Embaſſador, who was on the Part of the Republick at *Paris*. The Lieutenant of *Dover* Caſtle being inform'd thereof, ſent to the Embaſſadors to deſire they would tranſmit the Packet to him, that he might only ſee it; becauſe, as he ſaid, it was a Deference that was due to his Office; but as ſoon as their Secretary had deliver'd it to him, he told him he would himſelf take care it ſhould come to hand; and inſtead of ſending it into *France*, he ſent it back to *London*. After the Packet had been open'd at Court, and thoſe Letters had been taken out which it had a mind to ſee, it was reſtor'd to the Embaſſador of *Venice*. He complain'd thereof to the King, and told him, He would abſent from the Court, till he ſhould receive the Directions of the Senate on ſo extraordinary an Occaſion. However he remain'd there, the King having given him ſome Satisfaction, and caus'd his Letters to be reſtor'd to him: but for all that, he acquainted the Senate therewith; which ſome time after ſent him Orders *to forbear taking Audience of the King or the Council, till he ſhould effectually have receiv'd a publick Reparation.*

In the Year 1646, in the Height of the Commotions of *England*, ſome Letters (which an extraordinary Courrier was carrying to *Sabran*, Reſident from *France* at *London*) were intercepted at *Rocheſter*. This Miniſter having Advice thereof ſent to demand his Letters, and made preſſing Inſtances to have Reparation made for the Inſult, which had been offer'd to a publick Miniſter, by intercepting his Letters. Upon the Information the *French* had, that the Courier had been carry'd to the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Houſe, as were alſo the Letters; *Monſtrueil* (who did there the Affairs of *France*, but chiefly with the King and the *Scots*) immediately went thither: and going up into a Room above Stairs, he found upon the Table, amongſt a great many other Packets, that, in which the Courier ſaid, the Letters which were taken from him had been incloſ'd. *Monſtreuil* took it up, and having open'd the Packet, put the Letters into his Pocket, with ſome others which were addreſs'd to *Sabran* and himſelf. The Earl's Domeſticks being ſurpris'd at ſo bold an Action, ſaid nothing; but the Earl himſelf coming into the Room ſoon after, *Monſtrevil* in his Tranſport of Paſſion made him bitter Reproaches, for *having, contrary to the* Law of Nations, *ſtop'd his Courier, and taking from him the Letters which the King his Maſter had ſent him, for which Action he demanded Reparation.* The Earl made anſwer, That it was not his Fault, and that the Letters had been brought to his Houſe, in order to be convey'd to the Deputies of the two Nations, to whom he was oblig'd to be anſwerable for the ſame: That he would communicate his Complaints to them; but that he would not conceal from him, that he thought it very ſtrange, that in his own Houſe, he, *Monſtrevil*, had taken and open'd a Packet that was not directed to him. *Monſtrevil* reply'd, That he thought it much ſtranger, that the *Engliſh* ſhould detain a whole Day, the Letters of the King of *France*, and that his Miniſter ſhould not have the Liberty to open a Paper in which they were wrapp'd up, to retake them. The Earl deſir'd him to reſtore them to him. But *Monſtruvil* told him, *That the Affront the Earl offer'd him, in thinking him capable of ſo infamous an Action; and in believing him to have ſo mean a Soul, as to betray the Secrets and Intereſts of the King his Maſter, as he ſhould do if he gave to any other, the Letters which were directed to himſelf, was ſtill more offenſive than that he had offer'd him, in arreſting his Courier, and intercepting his Letters: That he was ſo far from any ſuch Thought, that there was no Peril to which he would not expoſe himſelf, to hinder them from being taken from him, or to go and take them out of the Hands of him, that ſhould offer to detain them. Sabran*, on his part, being inform'd of what was doing at *Northumberland* Houſe, preſently ran thither; and there told the Earl, That if his Letters were in the Hands of a Sovereign, he would not ſcruple to wreſt them from him. The Earl was againſt *Monſtrevil*'s taking the Courier along him, unleſs

Sabran

Sabran remain'd a Pledge for his forth coming, whenever it ſhould be requir'd. But the two *French* Miniſters, far from giving him this Satisfaction, ſaid, They expected Reparation, and that they would cauſe it to be made them. During the Diſpute, which was pretty warm, the Earl's Domeſticks had taken care to ſhut the Street-Door; ſo that when the *French* were for going out they found themſelves ſtop'd; but the Earl caus'd it to be open'd to them. On the ſame Day he ſent to the Deputies of the two Nations, an Account of the Conteſt: and as in the Confuſion and Change of Government, great Violences are Things of Courſe, there were ſome of the Deputies, who were for having *Monſtrevil* brought before a Council of War, in order to be try'd. Others were for having an Enquiry made into the Cauſe of his Stay at *London*, and that no doubt there would be found ſufficient Matter to make him a Criminal. But the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who was there alone on the Part of the *Scots*, ſaid, He could not conſent to the being wanting in Reſpect to the Miniſter of ſo great a King as was that of *France*. He repreſented alone the whole Nation, as I juſt now ſaid; ſo that his ſingle Opinion making a Diviſion, the Deputies could come to no Reſolution, but remitted the Affair to the Parliament, who was glad not to meddle therewith; and judg'd it proper not to make any farther Mention thereof. He that collected the Particulars I have here ſet down, out of the very Diſpatches of thoſe Miniſters, farther adds, *That perhaps it might not be thought to be to the Purpoſe, to ſwell a regular Hiſtory with all theſe minute Particulars: but that he gives this Detail with a Deſign, that this Action may ſerve for an Example and Rule to Miniſters; who may thereby learn, with what Courage and Intrepidity they ought to act, to maintain the Dignity of their Employment, by conſerving the Honour, the Grandeur and the Reputation of their Maſter: as Princes may therein learn, to what the* Law of Nations *obliges them, in reference to the Miniſters of foreign Princes.*

The Miniſter who will preſerve himſelf inviolate, ought to make known his Character, as I ſhall take notice in Chapter XXIX. To conclude this, which is already too long, I ſhall add, That all ſorts of ill Treatment to a publick Miniſter, do not violate the *Law of Nations*. The Deputies whom the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Glaris* ſent to the *Griſons* at the beginning of this Century, were very ill receiv'd. No Civility at all was done them; nay it was forbid to have any manner of Communication with them: and when they were ſent away, no other Anſwer was made them, except that nothing of what they deſir'd ſhould be comply'd with. Hereupon the *Switzers* ſaid, That the *Griſons* violated the *Law of Nations* by this Manner of Procedure. They were miſtaken. It was indeed a Ruſticity, and an odd Behaviour enough, towards the Deputies of a State, which forms almoſt one Republick with them. But the Matter of Civilities is not a part of the *Law of Nations*.

I here compriſe under the Name of publick Miniſter, not only thoſe who have a publick Quality, as Embaſſadors, Envoys, Reſidents, *&c.* but alſo thoſe who negotiate without a Character; provided the Prince admits them, and negotiates with them. *Merveille* ought to have enjoy'd the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, which extends it ſelf to the Monks, as I ſaid before. In the Year 1579, *Simié* was employ'd in *England*, to proſecute on the Part of the Duke of *Alençon* his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*. He was at *London*, not in the Behalf of a Sovereign, but of the Brother of a Sovereign: and yet as ſoon as the Queen was inform'd that ſome of the Nobility had a Deſign upon his Life, ſhe gave them to underſtand, that her Intention was, *That beſides the particular Protection which ſhe gave him, he ſhould alſo enjoy that of the* Law of Nations; and thus it is that all Princes ought to act.

It is not neceſſary to add here, that Princes have always been extremely ſenſible of the Injuries done to their Miniſters; becauſe they know they are done to their Perſons: but I cannot forbear ſaying, That thoſe who have no Senſe thereof do not deſerve the Name of Prince. All who have written concerning the publick Right, agree, that a Sovereign cannot have a more lawful Cauſe to make War: ſo that there is Reaſon to wonder at the Ignorance and Stupidity of a Miniſter, whoſe Hiſtory I think my ſelf oblig'd to give. He was a pretended Excellency, but it did not go beyond his own Domeſticks, becauſe he was not acknowledg'd in the Quality of Embaſſador. It was repreſented to him, the Injury the Prince his Maſter did himſelf, in ſuffering a thouſand Indignities to be done him, in the Perſon of his Miniſter, and in ſhewing ſo much Indifferency in an Affair, where his Reputation was ſo much concern'd. He reply'd, That it muſt not be imagin'd, that his Prince would put on his Armour, or make War for the Quarrel of his Miniſter. It is certain, this impertinent and ignorant Embaſſador, did not do his Maſter any great Honour, nor himſelf. He ought to have ſtifl'd in his abject and mean Soul, ſo vile a Thought, and pity'd thoſe Miniſters, who are unhappy enough to ſerve ſuch Princes as abandon them, and make it publickly known, that they have neither the Heart, nor the Power, nor perhaps the Will, to protect them againſt Violations, which have no Example in Hiſtory.

See what *Cicero* ſays of the War the *Romans* made with *Mithridates*: but particularly the Reparation, which the moſt Chriſtian King caus'd to be made him in the Year 1663, by Pope *Alexander* VII, for the Inſolence the *Corſican* Guards had been guilty of the Year before, to the Duke *de Crequey*, Embaſſador of *France*. That Miniſter was Haughty, and the Pope's Miniſters were Inſolent; inſomuch that with theſe Diſpoſitions, they ſoon paſs'd, from Coolneſs and Indifferency for each other, to great Enmity, of which the *Ghigy*, Relations of the Pope, gave a Proof on the 20th of *Auguſt*, 1662. The Embaſſadors Domeſticks had had a Difference with the *Corſican* Guards, who fir'd ſeveral Shot into the Coach of the Embaſſadrix, kill'd one of her Pages, and purſu'd her with their Arms to her very Palace, where ſhe had much adoe to ſave her ſelf, in great Diſorder and Precipitation. The Duke being angry to ſee himſelf ſo unworthily treated by theſe People, laid the Blame on the Pope's Relations; and after he had conferr'd with the *French* Cardinals,

nals, he left *Rome*, and retir'd into the Territories of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*: Notwithſtanding the Offices the Pope caus'd to be done to him and to his Lady, to hinder him from going. The Pope himſelf wrote to the King about it, and offer'd to puniſh ſeverely the Authors of the Diſorder. But the Satisfaction the Pope offer'd, bearing no Proportion with that the King requir'd, the Nuncio felt the firſt Effects of the King's Reſentment. He was order'd to go to *Meaux*, and there to wait the King's Pleaſure; who being inform'd that the Nuncio, inſtead of taking the Road to *Meaux*, was gone to St. *Denis*, ſent thither forty Muſqueteers of his Guards on Horſeback, who poſſeſs'd themſelves of all the Avenues of the Convent, to which the Nuncio was retir'd; they accompany'd him every where, and watch'd him ſo narrowly, that excepting his Domeſticks no body could ſpeak to him. This was the firſt Treatment he had, upon Advice of what had happen'd on the 20th of *Auguſt*. But as ſoon as it was known in *France*, that the Duke was gone out of the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, ten more Muſqueteers were added to the firſt, who made the Nuncio ſet forward, and in their March took his Coach in the middle of them; ſo that one half of them were before the Horſes, and the other half behind the Coach; they conducted him in this manner to the Entrance into *Savoy*. The Nuncio arriv'd at *Rome*, almoſt at the ſame time that the Duke of *Crequy* return'd to *France*. Some Overtures of an Accommodation were made indeed, but the King taking the uſual Slowneſs of the Court of *Rome*, as a Mark of the evil Diſpoſition of the Pope's Relations, caus'd ſome Troops to file off towards *Italy*, ſeiz'd upon *Avignon* and its Dependencies, and gave out that he was going to paſs the *Alpes* in Perſon. *Alexander* VII, who had done Honour to his Poſt while he was Nuncio at *Munſter*, and who had acquir'd Reputation being Cardinal, had loſt it all ſince he was Pope; inſomuch that finding no Friends to ſtand by him againſt *France*, he was forc'd to an Accommodation. The firſt thing the King ſtipulated, was, that the Treaty ſhould not be at *Rome*: But *Piſa* was pitch'd upon, whither the Pope ſent *Cæſar Raſponi*, Referendary of both the one and the other Signatures: And the King employ'd there the Abbot *de Bourlemont*, Auditor of the *Rota*, who concluded the Treaty on the 22d of *February*, 1664. It was indeed a Treaty, but upon very unequal Terms. The Pope thereby oblig'd himſelf to a Reparation, which might be call'd *amende honorable*; ſince he promiſes to ſend the Cardinal his Nephew in the Quality of Legate, who ſhould proteſt that it was not his Intention to offend the King, nor his Embaſſador: That neither himſelf, nor any of his Family, had any Concern in the Outrage; and that for the future they would give the King Proofs of their Zeal, of their Obedience, and of their Fidelity: That *Don Mario Ghigy* ſhould make the ſame Proteſtation, and ſhould depart from *Rome*, till the Legate had given the King this Satisfaction; and that the whole Nation of *Corſica* ſhould be declar'd incapable of ſerving for the time to come, not only at *Rome*, but alſo throughout the whole Eccleſiaſtical State: And *that a Pyramid ſhould be erected right againſt their ancient Guard-Room, with an Inſcription which ſhould contain this Declaration.* Since the King paſs'd over all the Conſideration, which all the Catholick Potentates us'd to have for the Pope; and that he reveng'd ſo ſeverely the Outrage which had been done to his Embaſſador, we muſt believe that Princes (who ought to conſider their Miniſters as their own Image) ought to employ all the Courage and Strength they have to revenge the Injury which is done them in the Perſon of their Miniſter.

Give me leave to make here one ſingle Reflection upon the carrying off of Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg*, and to obſerve that among thoſe who undertake to juſtify that Action, there are two ſorts of Advocates: The ones defend the Emperor's Right, and maintain that he could with Juſtice cauſe his Subject and Vaſſal to be ſeiz'd and carry'd off, even in a Place where he was employ'd with the Character of a publick Miniſter by a foreign Sovereign: The others will not enter into an Examination of this Queſtion, but keep within the Bounds of the Fact; and ſuppoſe as a thing certain that he had no Character, or at leaſt that he did not make it known; ſo that the Emperor was not oblig'd to reſpect him. It is moſt certain that the Prince, to enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, ought to have produc'd his Credentials, or elſe to have communicated his Powers to the whole Aſſembly; and it is alſo as certain that he did not do it. So that it ought to be acknowledg'd, that even with this Advantage it was not neceſſary to render problematical an uncontеſted Maxim, which declares that there is no violating the Perſon of an Embaſſador, or publick Miniſter, who is acknowledg'd for ſuch, (wherever he may be) without Violation of the *Law of Nations*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Houſe and Domeſticks of an Embaſſador are inviolable.

William Peliſſier, Biſhop of *Montpellier*, Embaſſador at *Venice*, in the Reign of King *Francis* I, making uſe of the Mediation of *Cæſar Fregoſe*, (he that was kill'd ſome time after with *Anthony Rincon*) had won over to his Intereſt *Conſtantin* and *Nicholas Cavazza*, of whom the one was Secretary of the Council of Ten, and the other of the Council of the *Pregadi*; *Maffée Leone*, Sage of *Terra firma*; *Auguſtin Abondio*, and *John Francis Valerio*; who diſcover'd to him all they could learn of the Secrets of the Republick. *Girolamo Marteloſſo*;

teloſſo, a *Venetian* Gentleman, who kept Company with the Wife of *Aboudio*, having one Day found in the Cloſet of this laſt ſome Letters from *Nicholas Cavazza*, which run upon Affairs of the State, communicated them to the Council of Ten; where the Hand of *Cavazza* being known, they had no great Difficulty to trace the Treaſon up to its Source. *Maffée Leone* and *Conſtantin Cavazza* had time enough to make their Eſcape, and the three others took Sanctuary in the Houſe of the *French* Embaſſador. The Senate ſent thither *Bernard Georgio*, one of the Avogadors of the Commons, (which is a very conſiderable Magiſtrate at *Venice*) to deſire the Embaſſador to deliver up the Traitors into the Hands of Juſtice. But the Domeſticks hinder'd him from ſpeaking to him, and even offer'd ſome Violence to thoſe the Council of Ten had ſent along with the Avogador to aid and aſſiſt him. This Reſiſtance oblig'd him to go out of the Houſe; but Guards were immediately poſted at all the Avenues thereof; and two little Pieces of Canon were brought thither in a Boat, in Order to batter and beat down the Gate. The Embaſſador ſeeing theſe Preparations, and fearing leſt this Violence ſhould be follow'd by a greater, yielded, and ſurrender'd the Criminals. The King ſaid, They had violated the *Law of Nations*, in forcing the Houſe of his Miniſter: And expreſs'd his Reſentment therefore, by refuſing for ſome Months to admit to his Preſence *Anthony Venier*, Embaſſador from the Republick. But ſome time after, the King having beſieg'd *Perpignan*, whither *Venier* had follow'd him, he ſent for him, and ſaid nothing that was harſh to him; but only ask'd him, What he would ſay if he was treated after the ſame manner his Embaſſador had been treated at *Venice*? *Venier* made anſwer, That if the Traytors and Rebels to his Majeſty took Shelter in his Houſe, he would take them himſelf by the Arm to deliver them into the Hands of Juſtice; becauſe if he did not do it the Senate would not fail to puniſh him ſeverely. The Anſwer was worthy of an Embaſſador and a Senator of *Venice*, and could not be more diſcreet; becauſe they referr'd to the Words, and not to the Intention of the King: Since it is reaſonable to think, that the Senate would not puniſh its Embaſſador for having harbour'd, or even favour'd the Eſcape of Traitors who had ſerv'd it.

It may be ſaid, upon this Example, that according to the *Law of Nations* the Houſe of an Embaſſador can afford Safety to none but himſelf and his Domeſticks, and cannot ſerve as an *Aſylum* to Strangers, but with the Conſent of the Sovereign of the Place, who may extend or reſtrain that Privilege as he pleaſes, becauſe it does not make part of the *Law of Nations*. The Auditor of the Legate *Barberin* ſaid indeed to the King's Attorney at *Lions*, (who ask'd him for the Seal and the Regiſter of his Legation a little uncivilly) That at *Rome* an Officer of Juſtice dares not ſo much as approach the Palace of the *French* Embaſſador: Which is true. And it is well known, that in *Spain* the Houſes of publick Miniſters did enjoy very conſiderable Liberties and Immunities. But foraſmuch as they abus'd what they poſſeſs'd without a Title, and by the Indulgence of the Kings only, it was reaſonable to deprive them thereof, and to make them be contented with ſome other Advantages, more proportionate to thoſe they enjoy in other Courts. The preſent Pope is in the right alſo to try to take away that enormous Licence which the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads give themſelves, to extend their Protection to whole Quarters, to make them ſerve for a Retreat, to all kinds of profligate Wretches, from Juſtice. There are ſome, however, who think that the Embaſſadors on their part have Reaſon to maintain themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of a Right which they have enjoy'd a long Time, eſpecially under a Prince who has no other Title to his Sovereignty than a bare Poſſeſſion.

To ſpeak in general: The Houſe of the Embaſſador ought not to protect thoſe Perſons, who by their Crimes diſturb and overthrow Civil Society, which the Publick Right endeavours to protect and preſerve; ſince even according to the Law of *Moſes*, the moſt ſacred Places ought to be Sanctuaries and Aſylums to none but the Unfortunate. It is Superſtition that has open'd them to all ſorts of Criminals without Diſtinction, who are there protected by an incompetent and unlawful Power. So that I think I may ſay, that if the *French* Embaſſador could not handſomely abandon thoſe Perſons he had corrupted, neither could he protect, againſt the Juſtice of the Place, the Subjects of the Republick, amongſt whom there were ſome who ow'd a more particular Fidelity to the State by Reaſon of their Offices. As a Sovereign cannot ſubſtract the Embaſſador from the Juſtice of his own Prince, ſo neither can the Embaſſadors ſubſtract the Subjects from the Juſtice of their Sovereign, nor hinder him from executing his Juſtice upon them, without doing him Wrong, and infringing the Rights of his Crown. On other Occaſions, the Houſe of the Embaſſador ought to be reſpected, as if it were the Palace of the Prince himſelf. For it is ſo in Effect, or at leaſt it is in his particular Protection, as well as his Perſon. It is on this Account, that in ſeveral Courts of *Europe* the Embaſſadors ſet up the Arms of their Maſter over the Gate of their Palace: And almoſt every where they have a Chair of State, which denotes the Preſence of the Maſter of the Houſe. At the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*, the Houſes of the Embaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries were known by the Arms of the Sovereigns whom they repreſented; not only thoſe of crown'd Heads, of Republicks, and of the Electors, but alſo thoſe of the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*. The Embaſſadors of the United Provinces, writing to the States General, do not fail to date their Letters, *From the Houſe of their High Mightineſſes*, not ſo much becauſe they defray the Expences of the Embaſſy, and pay the Rent of the Houſe, as chiefly becauſe it is their Repreſentative that lodges there.

In fine, the Embaſſador ought to enjoy in his Houſe ſo great a Liberty, that no body can there controul his Actions, nor even hinder him from exerciſing the Religion of his Prince, notwithſtanding it be prohibited by the Laws of the Countrey where he is employ'd. In the Year 1644, the Parliament of *London* ſent ſome Deputies to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, with Orders to ſearch his Houſe for two *Iriſh* Friars

or

or Prieſts, to whom it was ſaid the Embaſſador gave Shelter. The Embaſſador told 'em, He would not ſuffer his Houſe to be ſearch'd, and that he had rather loſe his Life in oppoſing the ſame, than to have his Head cut off in *Spain*, for not knowing how to ſupport the Dignity of his Character, nor the Honour of *the King, to whom the Houſe belong'd, and not to him.* As for the Prieſts he entertain'd for his Service, that he would give an Account of them to the Parliament. It was believ'd he had been aſſiſting to the Evaſion of two *Iriſh* Lords, who had made their Eſcape out of the *Tower* of *London:* or at leaſt that the *Iriſh* Prieſts, to whom the Embaſſador gave a Retreat, were aiding thereto, which was the Cauſe that the People threaten'd to plunder the Houſe: It would have been almoſt impoſſible to ſave it, had not the *Iriſh* Noblemen chanc'd to be retaken at the ſame time.

It was in the ſame Year, that the Parliament having taken up the Landlady of *Sabran*, Reſident of *France*, and committed her to Priſon, ſent a Garriſon into her Houſe. *Sabran* complain'd thereof; but the Parliament ſaid, That the Gentlewoman was *Engliſh:* that the Houſe did not belong to the Reſident, but to her; and that her Crime was prov'd: ſo that the Reſident, who had only ſome Chambers there, could not hinder the Law from proceeding againſt her. Nevertheleſs as it made a Noiſe, and that the other publick Miniſters concern'd themſelves in the Affair, the Parliament thought fit to juſtify it ſelf to *France:* and it was on this Account chiefly, that it ſent thither that Player on the Lute, whom we have mention'd elſewhere.

The States of *Sweden* being aſſembl'd at *Stockholm* in the Year 1648, the Biſhops and Miniſters, who are there to a great Number, and have Credit with the People, as they have every where elſe, made great Complaints againſt the Foreigners, who were every Day ſeen to go to Maſs at *M. Chanut*'s Houſe, who then was only Reſident of *France*. The Queen, who was oblig'd to have ſome Complaiſance for thoſe People, ſignify'd to *Chanut*, *That ſhe would not take from him the Exerciſe of his Religion in his Houſe, but ſhe deſir'd him not to admit there ſo many Strangers, becauſe the People were ſcandaliz'd thereat.* The Secretary *Guldenclau*, who had deliver'd the Meſſage, having ſpoke in ſomewhat a lofty Tone, *Chanut* made anſwer, *That he was not oblig'd to the Queen for the Liberty he had to exerciſe his Religion in his own Houſe, and for his Family; but that he held it from the King that employ'd him, and from the* Law of Nations; *and therefore he would not ſhut the Door upon thoſe Catholicks, who ſhould repair thither: That the Law of* Sweden *could not aboliſh the* Law of Nations, (which muſt be well obſerv'd, againſt the new Politicians) *nor the Privileges it gives to the Houſe and Perſon of the Embaſſador, or publick Miniſter; and that it could not extend ſo far as to Strangers, who were come into the Kingdom on the publick Faith: That he ſaw no* Swedes *in his Chapel; whereas in* Paris *all ſorts of People repair'd to the* Lutheran *Miniſter, who was tolerated there for the Queen's ſake: That the Baron* de Rorté, *his Predeceſſor, had given the ſame Anſwer to thoſe who had held him the ſame Diſcourſe on the Part of the Directors of the Kingdom: That the Houſe was the King's and not his: And that he would not hinder the Foreigners, and particularly the* French *from coming there.* The Secretary reply'd, That if the Reſident did not take ſome Courſe therein, there was Reaſon to apprehend that the People, who were ſcandaliz'd at it, would proceed to ſome Violence. *Chanut* rejoyn'd, That the Queen was ſo well obey'd in her Kingdom, and the King his Maſter ſo much conſider'd there, that he could not apprehend any Diſorder therefrom. He complain'd to the Queen, who told him, That the Secretary had exceeded his Orders, and had done more than he had been commanded: That ſhe was oblig'd to have ſome Complaiſance for the States of the Kingdom, and that ſhe deſir'd him to have a little for her, while they were aſſembled; and that after they broke up, he might do as he was us'd to do, and with the ſame Liberty as before.

In the Year 1603, the Nuncio who was at *Venice*, complain'd of the Liberty the *Engliſh* Embaſſador took, to have publick Preaching in his Houſe. The Nuncio ſaid, That the Sermons were in *Engliſh*, but it might one Day happen, that they might be preach'd in *Italian*, and that all ſorts of Perſons might repair to them: That the Embaſſador ought to be oblig'd to go and reſide at *Muran*, or in ſome other By-place, to avoid the Scandal. Theſe Complaints being carry'd to the Senate, it was there ſaid, *That the King of* England *was ſo great a Prince, that the Republick not being able to be without his Friendſhip, it could not hinder his Miniſter from exerciſing at home the Religion of his Maſter*; but that he ſhould be deſir'd not to admit Foreigners there. It is certain that amongſt the other Rights which the publick Miniſter ought to enjoy, is compris'd that of exerciſing in his own Houſe the Religion which he profeſſes, or rather that of the Prince that employs him. As therein the Sovereign is conſider'd whom the Miniſter repreſents; ſo likewiſe is it to his Religion, that this Reſpect is ſhewn: So that there is room to doubt, whether the Embaſſador, who ſhould profeſs a Religion that ſhould have no Analogy to that of his Maſter, nor to the prevailing Religion of the Countrey where he reſides, could exerciſe it publickly in his own Houſe. But one would think it might be here ſaid, That if the Prince (who would not have his Miniſter an Atheiſt, and who would rather he ſhould be of any Religion, than of none at all) permits him to exerciſe it in his Houſe; the Sovereign with whom he reſides ought not to oppoſe him in it. Princes ſeldom employ Miniſters that make Profeſſion of a Religion different from their own; but when they do, they commonly make Choice of ſuch as profeſs the Religion of the Prince to whom they ſend them. *Mirembeau*, whom *Henry* III, King of *France*, employ'd to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, was of their Religion. *Segur*, *Calignon*, *le* Duke *de Bouillon*, *le* Marquiſs *de Roſny*; *Buzenval*, *la Place*, *du Maurier*, whom *Henry* IV, and *Lewis* XIII, have employ'd in *Germany*, *England* and *Holland:* as alſo the Counts *de Zinzendorf* and *de Windiſchgrats*; whom the Emperor employ'd for ſome Years, were Proteſtants; ſo that it was not neceſſary they ſhould have Preaching

in their own Houſes; yet nevertheleſs, if the Princes who employ'd them, and who were Catholicks, had deſir'd they ſhould cauſe Maſs to be ſaid at their own Homes, it would not have been oppos'd.

The Miniſters of the ſecond Order enjoy this Right, as well as many others, equally with Embaſſadors. The Reſidents of the King of *Great Britain*, have enjoy'd it every where without Contradiction: and the Reſidents of the United Provinces, have the free Liberty of having Preachings in their own Houſes, not only at the Courts of *Lutheran* Princes, where the Exerciſe of that Religion that is call'd the Reform'd, is not leſs ſeverely prohibited, than that of the *Roman* Catholicks, but alſo at *Conſtantinople*, at *Bruſſels*, and even at *Lisbon* and at *Madrid*, in the very face of the Inquiſition.

But this is a Privilege which in reality ought not to extend it ſelf beyond the Perſon of the Embaſſador and his Domeſticks. For notwithſtanding he cannot be hinder'd from admitting all the Foreigners that ſhall preſent themſelves at his Gate, yet the Sovereign may forbid his Subjects, and even all thoſe Foreigners who are oblig'd to reſpect the Laws of his State, to repair to the Embaſſadors, or to have any Communication with them, as well in the Matter of Religion as otherwiſe. Thoſe Princes therefore who are not willing the Laws of their Countrey ſhould be alter'd, do not ſuffer their Subjects to frequent thoſe Aſſemblies, nor the Embaſſadors to have the Service perform'd in any other Tongue, than in that of their Maſter. The Inquiſition has made Proviſion in this Caſe, in *France* and *Spain*, as well as in the United Provinces: and notwithſtanding the reform'd Religion is eſtabliſh'd by Edict in the one, and that in the others there is a great Indulgence ſhewn to thoſe of the *Roman* Profeſſion, yet the Subjects are ſeverely forbidden to frequent ſuch unlawful Aſſemblies. *Philip* II, of *Spain*, would not permit the Embaſſador of Queen *Elizabeth* to ſerve God after his own Way in his own Houſe, and compell'd his Domeſticks to go to Maſs; but his Succeſſors have made it ſufficiently known, that the Devotion of Princes, how Religious ſoever they may be, is never ſo ſincere, as not to have a Mixture of State Intereſt in it, and that this very often prevails over the other.

Suppoſing then that the Houſe of the Embaſſador be alſo in the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, it ought to be inviolable: ſo that it cannot be ſubject to be ſearch'd, unleſs he makes it ſerve for a Sanctuary to profligate wicked People; for the *Law of Nations* does not protect it ſo far as that. Upon this Foundation *M. de Bye*, Reſident of *Poland*, ought not to have ſuffer'd the States of the United Provinces, or thoſe of *Holland*, to cauſe his Houſe to be ſearch'd for a Gentleman, Subject to the King of *Poland*, his Maſter: neither is it probable he would have ſuffer'd it, if they had not come in arm'd, and us'd Violence. This *Poliſh* Gentleman having been oblig'd to go out of his Countrey, on the Account of a Diſgrace which had there happen'd to him, had retir'd into *Moſcovy*, and had put himſelf in the Retinue of two Embaſſadors whom the Czar ſent into *Holland:* but his Deſign was, not to return into a Countrey where all are Slaves. He therefore ſtole away from the Embaſſadors, and retir'd to the Reſident's of *Poland*; who apprehending what afterwards follow'd, conveigh'd him away. The *Muſcovites* made ſo much Noiſe about it, that the States of *Holland*, having ſet a Guard at all the Avenues of his Houſe, ſent ſome Officers and Soldiers into the ſame to ſearch for the Fugitive. They found no ſuch Perſon there, and yet they offer'd this Affront to the publick Miniſter of the King of *Poland*. The *Pole* was not born a Slave to the Czar; and if he was become ſuch, by going to reſide in *Muſcovy*, he recover'd his natural Liberty the Moment he ſet Foot in a Countrey which does not nouriſh any Slaves; and where it ought not to be ſo much as known, what Servitude and Slavery is. The *French* Lawyers ſay, *That the Air of* France *is ſo good and ſo benign, that as ſoon as a Slave enters into the Kingdom, tho' it be in the Retinue of an Embaſſador, he breaths nothing but Liberty, and recovers it immediately.* There is ſtill a ſtronger Reaſon why the State of the United Provinces (which ought to ſubſiſt but by Liberty and Juſtice, and which ought to protect thoſe whom Tyranny would perſecute and oppreſs) cannot excuſe it ſelf for this Treatment to the Houſe of the Reſident of *Poland*.

In the Year 1642, *Franciſco Andrada Leitao*, Embaſſador from *Portugal* at the *Hague*, having been cheated by a Horſe Coarſer, detain'd him a Priſoner in his Houſe. The Horſe Coarſer's Wife hereupon made a great Clamour, at which the Rabble getting together, at firſt broke the Windows with Stones; then broke open the Door next the Street; afterwards forc'd all the other Doors, and rifl'd all the Boxes and Trunks, taking away all the Plate and pretious Furniture; with ſo much Diſorder and Confuſion, that all that the Embaſſador and his Domeſticks could do, was to ſave themſelves through the Garden to the neighbouring Houſes. The Burghers took to their Arms, and the Court of Juſtice, with the Magiſtracy of the *Hague*, repair'd to the Place, to ſtop the Progreſs of the Tumult. The Embaſſador having complain'd of this Outrage to the States General, ſome of the Deputies were of Opinion, that they ought to indemnify and ſave him harmleſs, that thereby the State might be diſcharg'd of the otherwiſe juſt Reproach which might be made it, for having ſuffer'd the *Law of Nations* to be violated in his Perſon, and in his Houſe. But the *Law of Nations* was again neglected in this Point, and the Embaſſador was forc'd to be contented with the bad Excuſe, the States made him by three of its Deputies. The Embaſſador who had publickly taught the Law, ought to have known, that he was not allow'd to make a Priſon of his Houſe: and it was a great Piece of Imprudence in him, to expoſe himſelf to a Rabble, that knows no Medium between the moſt diſſolute Licence, and the moſt ignominious Servitude. But for all that, the State was oblig'd of Right to make Reparation for a Violence which it could not puniſh, and to indemnify him, for what he had loſt in that popular Inſurrection.

There happen'd ſomething like this in the Year 1601, to *Anthony de Silly*, Count *de Rochepot*, Embaſſador of *France* in *Spain*. The Court was at *Valladolid*, where the Inhabitants not being

being much accuſtom'd to the Sight of *French* Men, committed ſeveral Inſolences to thoſe of the Embaſſador's Retinue; even to that Degree as to oblige the Embaſſador to get out of his Coach, and draw his Sword againſt thoſe who abus'd his People, and who had kill'd one of his Footmen behind his Coach, without his being able to get Satisfaction therefore. After this ſome of his Gentlemen going one Night to take the Air, the People began to call them Names, and among the reſt, *Vellacos*, *Borachos*, and *Lutheranos*; ſo that the *French* drawing their Swords, kill'd two of them upon the Spot. But they were no ſooner got home, than they found themſelves inveſted by the People, aſſiſted by a good Number of Officers of Juſtice, who under the Pretext of preventing a greater Diſorder, forc'd the Houſe in ſeveral Places; broke open the Chamber Doors; plunder'd and carry'd off the Plate and other Furniture; beat and abus'd the Domeſticks, and took away the Gentlemen Priſoners, and with them the Embaſſador's Nephew. Some Days after they reſtor'd to him what could be recover'd of what had been taken from him; but the Gentlemen were detain'd Priſoners. Upon the Advice the Embaſſador gave the King his Maſter thereof, he was order'd to retire from the Court of *Spain:* The King forbad all Commerce with that Kingdom, and the two Crowns in all likelihood were upon the Point of coming to a Rupture, had not the Pope interceded, and caus'd the Priſoners to be brought and deliver'd up to him, who put them into the Hands of the *French* Embaſſador, who was then at *Rome*. *Du Fargis*, while he was Embaſſador from *France* at the Court of *Madrid*, had almoſt the like Encounter in the Year 1621, and it would have produc'd the like Effect, if the Mareſchal *de Baſſompierre*, who arriv'd there at that Juncture of Time, in the Quality of Extraordinary, had not accommodated the Difference.

The Judicature of *Valladolid* violated the *Law of Nations* two Ways, by forcing the Houſe of the Embaſſador, and by carrying off his Domeſticks; and the King of *Spain* in conſenting to the one and to the other, was not altogether Innocent. His Miniſters flung the Fault upon the People, which being got together in a tumultuary Manner, there was a Neceſſity to give them ſome Satisfaction; and this would have been ſomewhat plauſible, if the Gentlemen had not remain'd Priſoners, and in Irons, till they were taken off at *Rome*. The King's Buſineſs was to have demanded of the Embaſſador, thoſe who had kill'd the *Spaniards*, or elſe to have urg'd him to have done Juſtice upon them himſelf; and for Default of both theſe, to have requir'd Satisfaction of the King of *France*. Some time after, and even before the Priſoners were deliver'd into the Hands of the Pope, which was not done till ten Months were expir'd, the Servants of the *Venetian* Embaſſador kill'd two *Spaniards* at *Madrid:* but the King of *Spain* forbad taking them either in the Houſe, or while they attended the Embaſſador in any Place whatſoever, either in the Town or Countrey. Theſe Prohibitions were agreeable to the *Law of Nations*, and it was thus that they acted in *Holland*, while they had any Reſpect there for the ſaid *Law*. On the ſame Day that *M. de Thou*, Embaſſador from *France*, arriv'd at the *Hague* towards the latter End of *April*, 1657, one of his Domeſticks was for offering Violence to a Woman that he met in the Street. The Patrole prevented him, and carry'd him away to the Guard Houſe, with a Deſign, in the Morning, to put him into the Hands of Juſtice. The Embaſſador being inform'd thereof, reclaim'd his Domeſtick: and the Counſellors Deputies of *Holland*, who repreſent the Sovereign of the Province in the Abſence of the States, caus'd him to be ſurrender'd to him, that he might puniſh him himſelf. *De Thou* was in the Right to ſpeak in the Behalf of his Domeſtick, and to ſhew at his Entrance upon his Employment, that he was not unworthy of the Character with which the King had honour'd him, ſince he knew how to ſupport the Dignity thereof: And the States of *Holland* on their Part, made it plain that they had a Reſpect for the *Law of Nations*.

Wherefore no Precedent ought to be made of *Oliver Cromwell*'s Action, who in the Year 1654, took up *Pantaleon de Sa & Menſes*, out of the Houſe of the Count *de Penagion*, Embaſſador of *Portugal*, his Brother, and made him be publickly executed at *London*. It is true that *Pantaleon* had committed a great Crime, in killing wrongfully an *Engliſhman* who was walking with his future Bride, in a Place they call the *New Exchange*. It is alſo true, that the *Engliſh* were extremely irritated at this Action, which was capable of raiſing the whole Town; and that it was neceſſary to give them ſome Satisfaction. But then it is alſo true, that *Cromwell* might have ſatisfy'd them with Appearances; and that he ought to have done any thing rather than violate the *Law of Nations*. However he was willing to ſacrifice it with this Gentleman to his Ambition: and after he had committed a Parricide, he did not ſcruple the committing a Sacriledge.

The Offer *M. de Thou* made to puniſh his Domeſtick, and the Acquieſcence of the States of *Holland* therein, confirm what is ſaid of the Right an Embaſſador has to do Juſtice in his own Houſe, upon thoſe who depend on him. In the Year 1603, *Henry* IV. ſent the Marquiſs *de Roſny* to King *James*, to Complement him on his Acceſſion to the Crown of *England*. The ſame Day that the Embaſſador arriv'd at *London*, ſome of his Gentlemen went to a diſſolute Houſe, where they quarrell'd with ſome *Engliſh*, and kill'd one of them. The People clamour'd thereat, and threaten'd the *French* to come and attack them at home; ſo that they all made their Eſcape to the Embaſſador's Palace, who was lodg'd at *Arundel* Houſe. Theſe Commotions could not be made with ſo little Diſorder, but the Embaſſador muſt be ſenſible of them, and at the ſame time be inform'd of the Cauſe thereof. He therefore immediately ſecur'd the Author of the Murder, and retiring into a Room with ſome *French* Noblemen, who had accompany'd him in his Embaſſy, he condemn'd the Party to ſuffer Death, on the Confeſſion he drew from his own Mouth. The Criminal was the Son of one of the great Auditors of the Chancery, and of one of the beſt Families of *Paris:* yet nevertheleſs the Embaſſador, who was otherwiſe of a ſevere Temper enough, being willing to oblige the People

of *London*, ſent word to the Mayor that he had try'd the Murderer, and had condemn'd him to ſuffer Death, and that the Officers might come and take him away, in order to ſee the Sentence executed.

The Mayor accordingly ſent for him, and had him away: But the Count *de Beaumont-Harlay*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, who had ſtrongly oppos'd the Reſolution *M. de Roſny* had taken, to deliver this young Gentleman up to the *Engliſh*, went in the mean time to the King of *England*, obtain'd the Criminal's Pardon, and caus'd him to be ſet at Liberty. *Henry* IV, who approv'd of all the Marquiſs *de Rhoſny*'s Actions, commended this alſo, tho' contrary to the Sentiment of the Council, and of all *France*, which maintain'd that none but the natural Sovereign of the Criminal could give him a Pardon; and that the King of *England*, who had no Juriſdiction over the Domeſtick of the Embaſſador, could much leſs diſpoſe of the Life of the ſaid Domeſtick. All that the King of *Great Britain* could do, was to ſuperſede the Execution, and to give Advice to the King of *France*, of the State of the Affair, and to leave to him the Diſpoſal of his Subject, who was come into *England* with his Embaſſador; or elſe to ſend him back to the Embaſſador, that he might himſelf cauſe his Sentence to be executed, for which the King of *England* was not oblig'd to lend his Officers, who ought to ſerve no other Judges than thoſe to whom they had ſworn.

The Embaſſador is by ſo much the more particularly oblig'd to protect his Domeſticks, becauſe they cannot be injur'd, but his own Perſon muſt be injur'd at the ſame time. One of the Pages of *Francis Miqueli*, Embaſſador from *Venice* at *Turin*, having drawn his Sword in the Duke's Antichamber, againſt *Don Antonio* of *Savoy*; the Duke was for having the Embaſſador put the Page into his Hands, that he might cauſe him to be puniſh'd; but *Miqueli* refus'd to do it, notwithſtanding the Diſpleaſure the Duke ſhew'd thereat. The Senate of *Venice*, which fear'd leſt the Duke ſhould proceed to ſome violent Reſentment, there not being a perfect good Underſtanding at that time between the Republick and the Court of *Savoy*, recall'd its Embaſſador; and by that means the Correſpondence between the Republick and the Duke was quite at an end. The Count *de Bigliore*, who was on the part of the Duke of *Savoy* at *Venice*, took alſo his Audience of Leave at the College, and ſet out the next Day, that he might not be oblig'd to take the uſual Preſent which is made to Embaſſadors. The Count was not otherwiſe very well ſatisfy'd with the *Venetians*, who had forc'd him to take down from over his Gate the Arms of the Prince his Maſter, becauſe he had quarter'd them with thoſe of *Cyprus*.

In the Year 1626, the Coachman of *M. d'Eſpaſſes*, Embaſſador from *France* at the *Hague*, having affronted a *French* Captain, this laſt obtain'd no other Reparation, upon the Complaints he made to the Embaſſador, but this impertinent Anſwer, That the Coachman of an Embaſſador of *France* was as good as the Captain of a *French* Company in *Holland*. The other Captains, who were moſt of 'em Perſons of Birth, reſented it by caning the Coachman before the Embaſſador's Face, who, as he was making a Viſit, had the Mortification to ſee through the Window the Affront that was offer'd to himſelf in the Perſon of his Domeſtick. He complain'd thereof to the King his Maſter, who wrote to the States, and gave them to underſtand by an Expreſs, that he would have thoſe Officers ſent Priſoners to him, who had committed this Outrage to his Embaſſador; and that the Refuſal the States ſhould make to comply with him herein, would hinder him from ſending them any Embaſſadors for the future, and even from continuing the Subſidies. The *Captains were the King's Subjects*, and had Penſions from him, yet all the Satisfaction he received was, that they ſuſpended them for ſome time. The Embaſſador was not contented therewith, but ſhew'd his Reſentment now and then, and did not even ſpare the State in an offenſive and ſcandalous Memorial, which the States ſent to the Extraordinary Embaſſadors who were on their Part in *France*, and deſir'd the King to order his Embaſſador to treat with more Civility, a State which his Majeſty honour'd with his Alliance; and to keep within the Bounds of the Reſpect which Allies uſually pay one to another, inſtead of importuning them with his Memorials fill'd with Injuries and Reproaches. They likewiſe ſignify'd their Reſentment to the Embaſſador himſelf, who, being recover'd from his firſt Tranſport, was for excuſing himſelf; but he had been too violent, and he had made himſelf ſo many Enemies, that it prov'd no hard Matter to have him recall'd.

Spiring, Reſident of *Sweden* at the *Hague*, that is to ſay, in his native Countrey, maintain'd that the Court of Juſtice had no Juriſdiction over his Perſon, and that it ought to leave to himſelf, that over his Domeſticks. It would not explain it ſelf then in Reference to the Queſtion which was propos'd, *viz.* Whether a publick Miniſter could be oblig'd to anſwer for any Crime before the Judge of the Place of his Reſidence. However, it has ſince explain'd it ſelf in the Caſe of the Reſident of *Lunenburg*, contrary to the unanimous Opinion of all thoſe who have written concerning the publick Right: But it ſeems as if it had Reaſon to make Difficulty concerning the Right the Reſident arrogated to himſelf, to exerciſe a Juriſdiction over his Domeſticks. The Sovereign himſelf is but a private Perſon, and has no Juriſdiction in the Territories of another, ſo that one would think his Repreſentative cannot pretend to it neither. There ſeems alſo to be a great Incongruity, to allow an Embaſſador, or a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, to exerciſe a Juriſdiction over his Domeſticks; becauſe not being accompany'd with a ſufficient Number of Judges, he cannot proceed againſt them in Form; and after he ſhall have condemn'd them he has no Miniſters of Juſtice to execute his Sentence. But foraſmuch as the Embaſſador's Houſe is the Houſe of the Prince whom he repreſents, there is no doubt but he has a Juriſdiction within his own Walls, and may diſpoſe of his Domeſticks, within the Extent of the Authority his Maſter has given him for that Purpoſe. The Formalities of Juſtice are not of the *Law of Nature*, which the Embaſſador may follow; and he is not oblig'd to conform to the Civil Law. Or if he have any Scruple in

in the Matter, he may ſend the Criminal into his Countrey, and there have him judg'd by the Judicature of his Prince.

It might again be doubted, whether the Embaſſador can extend his Juriſdiction over thoſe of his Domeſticks, who are Subjects of the Sovereign with whom he reſides: But it ſeems it ought to be determin'd in the Affirmative. For if the Sovereign permits his Subject to put himſelf in the Service of a Prince, or other Perſon, who has Power of Juriſdiction over all thoſe that are in his Service, he abandons them alſo to that foreign Juriſdiction. *Spiring* uſes the Court of Juſtice of *Holland* very ill in his Proteſtations; tho' he is in the wrong in the main, becauſe the Court of Juſtice might and ought to take into its Protection and ſpecial Safeguard the Inhabitants of the *Hague*, to ſcreen 'em from the Inſolences with which the Domeſticks of the Reſident threaten'd them.

From whence I ſhall take Occaſion to ſay, That as the Embaſſador ought to protect his Domeſticks, ſo is he oblig'd in ſome meaſure to anſwer for their Actions: For which reaſon he ought to be very difficult in his Choice of them; not only on account of the Diſorders, which diſſolute and irregular Perſons are lyable to cauſe, but alſo becauſe that under the Name of Domeſticks, Spies may creep in, and even diſguis'd Enemies, who may thwart his Negotiations under-hand, and betray his own Intereſts, as well as thoſe of his Maſter. In the Year 1567, the Emperor *Maximilian* II. ſent into *England* the Count *de Stolberg*, to propoſe a Match betwixt the Arch-Duke *Charles*, his Son, and Queen *Elizabeth*. The Queen being willing to return the Civility, (altho' her Intentions were very contrary to the Marriage) ſent the Earl of *Suſſex* to carry the Garter to the Emperor, and to acquaint him with the many Difficulties which occur'd in this Propoſal. The Earl, who had an Inclination for this Match, would fain have put it in Negotiation, and have brought it to a Concluſion: But the Earl of *Leiceſter*, who had himſelf ſome Hopes of marrying the Queen, and was for breaking off the Negotiation with *Vienna*, introduc'd the Baron *North* (who was an ingenious Man, and a great Confident of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s) into the Embaſſador's Family. The Baron's Birth eaſily procur'd him the Familiarity of the Earl of *Suſſex*, which afforded him the Means to penetrate into all the Intrigues, and all the Secrets of the Negotiation, which he did not fail to communicate to his Friend in *England*.

The Domeſticks of Embaſſadors do but too often make their juſt Liberty degenerate into Licentiouſneſs, the Conſequences whereof may be very dangerous. In the beginning of the Year 1563, there happen'd a very great Diſorder at *Trent*, on account of a Quarrel between the Domeſticks of two Biſhops (the one of which was a *French* Man, and the other a *Spaniard*) in which the *French* Biſhop's Domeſtick receiv'd his Death's Wound. Some *Italians*, who were preſent at the Encounter, judging there had been ſome foul Play, becauſe ſeveral *Spaniards* had drawn their Swords againſt one ſingle *French* Man, eſpous'd the Matter; by which Means the Quarrel became national, betwixt the *French* and *Italians* on one Side, and the *Spaniards* on the other. It went ſo far, that they never met, but thoſe, who thought they had an Advantage over the others, attack'd the weakeſt; it not being in the Power of the Legates, notwithſtanding their utmoſt Care, to hinder the Maſſacre. So that on the 12th of *March* there was an Engagement, in which ſeveral were kill'd and wounded on both Sides. The Governor and Garriſon of the Town had much ado to part them, and the Legates were ſo alarm'd thereat that they did not dare to ſtir out of their Houſes. They were for having the Cardinal of *Lorrain* (who had the greateſt Authority among the *French* Miniſters) to diſarm his Domeſticks; but he told them, That as his Perſon was not in Safety, it was requiſite his Servants ſhould be arm'd. And *Lanſac*, one of the *French* Embaſſadors, maintain'd, That his Quality allow'd him to be accompany'd by what Number of Domeſticks he thought fit. The *Spaniards*, who were proud and haughty, would not diſarm neither; ſo that for ſix Days together there was no Aſſembly, the Prelates not daring to appear in the Streets for fear of being ill us'd. The Legates, ſeeing there was no other Remedy, ſent for the Embaſſadors, and repreſented to 'em, *That it was impoſſible to continue the Council, unleſs Peace could be maintain'd within the Town; and that that was not to be hop'd for, in ſuch great Animoſities, unleſs they all diſarm'd: That in another Conjuncture the Embaſſadors might enjoy their Privileges, which were intended rather to give a Luſtre to their Character, than to ſhed Blood.* The Embaſſadors had a Deference to this Remonſtrance, and agreed, *That none but themſelves, and a certain Number of their Retinue (a Liſt of whoſe Names ſhould be given to the Magiſtrate of the Town) ſhould go arm'd: That the Number ſhould not be reduc'd to ſo few Perſons, in Reference to the Cardinal of* Lorrain, *but that however it ſhould be regulated; and that he ſhould be alſo oblig'd to give in their Names to the Magiſtrate; with a Prohibition to all the others, to go arm'd.* The Legates, to ſhew Example to the reſt, diſarm'd firſt.

The Legates were in the right to give the Term of Privilege to the Permiſſion the Domeſticks of Embaſſadors have to go arm'd; becauſe they have it not by virtue of the *Law of Nations*. Since it protects them, as well as their Maſters, againſt all Inſults and Violences, it ought to diſarm them inſtead of giving them Arms, which can only ſerve to offend others, and not to defend thoſe who are in the Protection of the publick Faith. In *France* the Footmen have been frequently forbid wearing of Swords; and yet we have ſeen heretofore, that Embaſſadors caus'd theirs to be diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt: Becauſe theſe Ordinances were ſlighted, and almoſt as ſoon aboliſh'd as publiſh'd. But ſince *Lewis* XIV. has found the Means to be obey'd, and to diſarm this Rabble, Embaſſadors no longer pretend to a Privilege for their Footmen. If all the reſt were allow'd to wear Swords, the Domeſticks of Embaſſadors ought to ſeek their Security in nothing but the Dignity and Character of their Maſter.

All the Miniſters agreed at *Munſter*, that the Cognizance of the Crimes of their Domeſticks, ſhould belong to the Juriſdiction of the Magiſtrate

ſtrate of the Town: which being done by a voluntary Submiſſion, could not prejudice their Character, nor the Dignity of their Maſters, and at the ſame time it ſerv'd for a Curb to the Inſolence of their Domeſticks. The Count of *Naſſau*, Chief of the Emperor's Embaſſy, and *Contarini*, who was one of the Mediators, put ſome of their People into the Hands of the Magiſtrate, having firſt taken away their Liveries, to ſhew that they no longer belong'd to them. The ſame Method is obſerv'd at *Nimeguen*. At *Breda*, where the Garriſon might be apt to have Quarrels with the Domeſticks, all the Embaſſadors made a Regulation with the Governor, and ordain'd that the Livery Men ſhould carry no ſhort Arms that might be hid, and that it ſhould not be lawful for them to oppoſe the Patrole: That this, when it found in the Night any of the Domeſticks of an Embaſſador, making a Noiſe or Diſturbance, ſhould conduct them mildly to their reſpective Homes; and in Caſe of Reſiſtance, ſhould carry them to the main Guard, where they ſhould be kept till the next Day, to be deliver'd up to their Maſters, to the End he might puniſh them himſelf. There was not here the ſame Reaſon to apprehend Inconveniencies as in other Places; as well becauſe the Aſſembly was not ſo numerous, as becauſe it did not laſt ſo long as thoſe of *Munſter* and *Nimeguen*.

The Dragomans or Interpreters whom the Embaſſadors of Chriſtian Princes make uſe of at *Conſtantinople*, enjoy alſo the Privileges of their other Domeſticks; ſo that if the *Turks* do not always reſpect 'em as they ought, it is an Effect of their Brutality, which has no great Conſideration for the Embaſſadors themſelves. The Firſt Vizir commonly employs a Chiaoux, when he ſends any Meſſage to an Embaſſador: But in the Year 1647, *Salis Bacha* took a Fancy to ſend a Janizary to that of *France*, to deſire of him certain Machines of Glaſs, with which the Candles were cover'd to prevent the Agitation of the Wind. But becauſe the Embaſſador's Interpreter did not come ſoon enough to receive his Meſſage, and alſo becauſe he had not what he came for, he committed ſeveral Inſolences there; and at his going from thence, he went and complain'd firſt, as if he had been very ill us'd. The Dragoman going afterwards to the Vizir from the Embaſſador to complain of the Janizary's Inſolence, was very ill receiv'd and put in Priſon. The Embaſſador was no ſooner acquainted therewith, than he ſent his Secretary to him; but he had not time allow'd him to juſtify the Dragoman: They put him away, and threaten'd to Cudgel him, and ſend him to the Gallies, which is the uſual Complement of theſe Gentlemen. The Embaſſador complain'd thereof to the Aga Ali, who promis'd him his Domeſtick ſhould be ſurrender'd to him; and told him, he would even do it in ſpight of the Vizir, if he were not afraid this laſt would on other Occaſions revenge himſelf upon the *French*. Some Days after the Dragoman ſent Word to the Embaſſador, that the Chiaoux Baſſi being come to ſee him, had told him, that the Vizir, who was recover'd from his firſt Precipitation, would conſent to his having his Liberty, if a Memorial were preſented to him to that Effect. The Embaſſador, who did not think it adviſeable to break with the Firſt Miniſter, took that Method, and obtain'd the Liberty of his Interpreter; but the Vizir forbad this laſt ever ſetting Foot into the Divan for the future. *This is a Copy drawn from the Original of the* Turk's *Humour*, (ſays the Author of this Hiſtory) *and the Character of a barbarous Nation, which tranſported by the firſt Motions of its Paſſion, tho' it ſometimes repents it, yet will never confeſs it; and inſtead of making Reparation, ſeeks always bad Pretexts to Cloak it with, and endeavours to juſtify it by freſh Injuſtices.* Theſe Outrages were formerly peculiar to the *Turks*; but within ſome time they have ſo infected *Chriſtendom*, that the Circumcis'd might come thither, to learn ſomething more than what they know.

The Declaration of the States of *Holland*, mentions moreover the Coach of the Embaſſador and publick Miniſter, as if that were alſo in the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, with the other Dependencies of the Embaſſy. It ought to be inviolable in Effect; whether it be empty, or that the Embaſſador has a Mind to ſecure thereby ſome Perſon who is under his Protection. The Marquiſs *de Fontenay Marueil*, Embaſſador from *France* at *Rome*, gave a Retreat to the Exiles and Rebels of *Naples*, during the laſt Commotions in that Kingdom. But foraſmuch as he found it hard to be reimburs'd the Expences he was at on that Account, he was willing to get rid of them, by ſending them back to *Naples*, where they would be more Serviceable than at *Rome*; and for that Purpoſe he made uſe of ſome Ships and Galleys that had brought Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* to the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*. The Embaſſador's Coaches, and thoſe of Cardinal *Barberin*, guarded by ſome of the Embaſſador's Domeſticks, under the Conduct of the Chief Gentleman of his Chamber, were to carry them to the Place of their Imbarcation. But as they were going out of the Town, they found themſelves attack'd by a great Number of the Corſi belonging to the Pope's Guard, who had hid themſelves in ſome of the neighbouring Houſes; ſo with all the Reſiſtance they could make, they could not hinder *Hippolytus Paſlena*, one of the Chief Rebels of *Naples*, and ſixteen others, from being hurry'd away to Priſon. *The Embaſſador was grievouſly offended at the Inſult had been offer'd to his Coach*; and having deliberated with the Cardinals *Barberin* and *Urſin*, gave out, that he was going to imbark on Prince *Thomas*'s Ships; and order'd his Daughter to prepare her ſelf for the Voyage: and ſent to deſire Audience of the Pope, that he might acquaint him with the Subject of his Diſcontent, and Retreat. Being admitted to Audience, he declaim'd warmly againſt the Violence which had been offer'd to his People and Coach. He told the Pope that it was an unheard of thing, which offended not only the Dignity of the King his Maſter, but alſo the *Law of Nations*, and was capable of extinguiſhing all Commerce between Princes: and that he could not think it could be done by Order from his Holineſs, but at the Inſtigation of ſome of his Miniſters over-devoted to the *Spaniſh* Party. *He therefore demanded of him, the Liberty of the Priſoners, and Reparation for the Affront.* The Pope own'd, that it was by his Order that this Execu-

Execution had been made; and that he meant thereby to ſeize thoſe Perſons, whom the Embaſſador had help'd to eſcape out of Priſon: That ſince the Embaſſador gave himſelf the Liberty to protect Profligates, and whatever was Criminal within the Eccleſiaſtical State, it ought at leaſt to be allow'd him, as Sovereign thereof, to cauſe them to be retaken where-ever they could be found; *it not being reaſonable the Rights and Privileges of Embaſſadors ſhould extend ſo far*; more eſpecially ſince he had warn'd him thereof. The Embaſſador reply'd, That it would not appear he had harbour'd any of the Pope's Subjects; but only ſome *Neapolitans*, whom he might lawfully protect againſt the Perſecution of the *Spaniards*. After ſome Diſpute upon the Matter, the Pope conſented that thoſe whom the Embaſſador ſhould name, ſhould be ſet at Liberty: But *M. de Fontenay* was not ſatisfy'd therewith; but ſtill inſiſted, That exemplary Puniſhment ſhould be made on thoſe *who had done that Outrage to the King, to violate the Coach of his Embaſſador*. The Pope maintain'd, That it was the Embaſſador himſelf, that had furniſh'd the Occaſion *of loſing the Reſpect which was due to his Coach*, by making it inſtrumental to the Evaſion of Priſoners. After great Conteſtations, which proceeded even to Threats on both ſides, *M. de Fontenay* (whoſe Intereſt it was to ſend back the *Neapolitans*, and who was afraid leſt Pope *Innocent*, who was extremely obſtinate, and more a *Spaniard* than a *Frenchman*, ſhould become reſolute at laſt;) accepted the Terms that all the Priſoners ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and that the Nuncio who was at *Paris*, ſhould regulate with the King the Reparation the Embaſſador demanded *on account of the Violence that had been done to his Coach*. Here all the Advantage was on the Embaſſador's ſide; ſince the Pope, by ſurrendering the Priſoners, tacitely own'd he had done better not to have arreſted them; and that he had made a Noiſe for nothing.

In *Holland* the Embaſſadors enjoy an Exemption from all Duties, that are rais'd on all Commodities that are conſum'd; but they are oblig'd to pay thoſe of Entry, and Exportation, from which none are exempt. In *France*, where the King himſelf is oblig'd to diſcount with the Farmer of the Cuſtoms, thoſe Duties that are payable for all thoſe Things which he Imports for his own Uſe; the Embaſſador can pretend to no more, than that the King will do him the Favour to ſatisfy the Farmer for him; but then he is oblig'd to declare what he Imports, or what he Exports on his own Account. In the Year 1561, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent *Thomas Chaloner* her Embaſſador into *Spain*, who not being able to brook the Affront the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms had put upon him, in opening his Cheſts and Boxes to ſearch them, complain'd thereof to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and deſir'd to be recall'd from a Place where Embaſſadors were treated with ſo much Incivility. But the Queen wrote to him, *That an Embaſſador was oblig'd to wink at whatever did not directly offend the Dignity of his Sovereign.* The *Law of Nations* was not violated thereby; for which Reaſon he could not complain, but only of an Incivility, which the Queen could reſent if ſhe thought it proper.

The Embaſſador that obliges himſelf in a Contract before a Publick Notary in the Place where he reſides, obliges himſelf likewiſe to the Execution of the Contract, becauſe he ſubjects himſelf alſo to the Juriſdiction of the Sovereign of the Place. But as he cannot do it without the Conſent of the Prince his Maſter, whoſe Dignity is concern'd, at leaſt for what regards his Perſon, one might here make a *Quære*, whether in ſome particular Caſes his Goods and Furniture are not liable to an Execution: as for Inſtance, for the Rent of his Houſe, or otherwiſe. The Embaſſador that has hir'd a Houſe, is oblig'd to leave it when his Leaſe is out, if he will not renew it; and if he refuſes to do it, he is compellable thereto by the Juſtice of the Place; becauſe the Proprietor who has let his Houſe to another, or has a mind to come and live in it himſelf, being oblig'd to fulfil what he has promis'd to another, or not being able to lie in the Streets himſelf, the Embaſſador ought to comply with the Contract, and may even be forc'd to it. But notwithſtanding in the foregoing Caſe no Violence is done to the *Law of Nations*, yet as theſe Executions are never ſerv'd without offending the Maſter of the Embaſſador, the ſureſt way is not to contract with the Embaſſador, without the Security of ſome Citizen, on whom an Execution may be ſerv'd without offending the *Law of Nations* directly or indirectly.

The Pope was in the Right to ſay, That the Privilege of Embaſſadors does not warrant their giving Protection to all ſorts of People without Diſtinction: Becauſe *they do not hold it of the* Law of Nations, *but only of the Indulgence of Princes, who cannot be thought to have made them any Grant to the Prejudice of their Sovereignty*. For which Reaſon the Embaſſador ought to be very Cautious therein, unleſs he will run the Riſque of being affronted, and of cauſing his Maſter to be ſo too. He ought to be as reſerv'd in this Point as in that of Paſſports. *Montaigne*, who was a truſty Miniſter of the late Queen of *England*, had croſs'd the Sea with the Count *de Harcourt*, Embaſſador of *France*. In landing at *Dover*, he had no Difficulty to mingle with the Count's Domeſticks; but when he was ſetting out from thence, in order to go to *London*, and from thence to the King at *Oxford*, he was known, taken up, and ſent to the *Tower*. The Count *de Harcourt* reclaim'd him, and made preſſing Inſtances to have him reſtor'd to him, but to no purpoſe. He could not protect him who was not his Domeſtick, no more than a publick Miniſter can give Safety to another publick Miniſter, nor even to a Foreigner, who ſhould pretend to enjoy the Benefit of his Paſſport; neither was he taken in the Embaſſador's Retinue, nor found to have any of his Diſpatches about him: but he had indeed ſome Letters that the Queen wrote to the King, with whom the Party that caus'd *Mountaigne* to be taken up, was at War.

CHAP. XXIX.

Embaſſadors are not always inviolable.

THE Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries of *France*, being arriv'd at *Munſter* in the Month of *April*, 1644, wrote a Circular Letter to all the Princes of *Germany*, and another to the Deputies of the Aſſembly of *Franckfort*, to exhort the States of the Empire to ſend their Miniſters to the Congreſs; in order to labour, as they ſaid, in the Recovery of that Liberty, which the Emperor had wreſted from them. The Court at *Vienna* was mightily offended at this Procedure, and ſaid, *That the* French *turn'd all* Germany *topſy-turvy*; *that their Miniſters overthrew the very Principles of the Government eſtabliſh'd in the Empire, and that they debauch'd the Subjects from the Obedience they ow'd their Sovereign. It maintain'd that the* Law of Nations *would not be violated, if having taken their Paſſports from them, they were puniſh'd according to the Rigour of the Laws: That the Paſſports had not been granted them, that they ſhould make uſe thereof to the Prejudice of the Repoſe of the Empire, and to ſtir up a Rebellion, by cauſing an Inſurrection of the Subjects againſt their Magiſtrate; but to the End they might labour at a General Peace.* If this Reſentment of the Court of *Vienna* was juſt, we muſt ſay, that the Perſon of the Embaſſador is not always inviolable. This is what is very certain; but it is not ſo eaſy a Matter to determine, to what Degree it is ſo, or to ſay in what Caſes it is not: nor alſo by whom, and after what manner the Embaſſador ought to be puniſh'd, when having violated the *Law of Nations*, he in vain reclaims its Protection.

He that has given the Publick a Treatiſe, under the Title of *The Idea of a perfect Embaſſador*, ſays, *That the Embaſſador of one of the firſt Potentates of* Italy, *having at* Madrid *given Shelter to a Criminal, whom the Officers of Juſtice purſu'd, and having invited the Prevoſt or Sheriff to come into his Palace, caus'd him to be beaten and ill us'd by his Domeſticks: That upon the Complaints of the Prevoſt, the Preſident of* Caſtile *ſent thither other Officers of Juſtice, who finding the Embaſſador in his Court, with his Sword in his Hand, and his Shield upon his Arm, they ſeiz'd him gently, and carry'd him into a neighbouring Houſe, while they took up ſome of his Domeſticks: That they were brought to a Tryal: That the Embaſſador's Gentleman who had broke the Prevoſt's Wand, was condemn'd to have his Head cut off: That ſome of his Footmen were ſentenc'd to be hang'd, and others to be ſent to the Gallies: That the King of* Spain *having communicated this Proceſs to the Maſter of the Embaſſador, would not ſuffer the Sentence to be executed; being contented to expel the Guilty out of the Kingdom: That he wrote afterwards to that Prince, and to all the other Potentates; That he expected, if any of his Embaſſadors committed Actions unworthy of their Quality and Employment, that they ſhould not enjoy the Benefit of the* Law of Nations, *nor the Privileges of their Character; but that they ſhould be try'd, according to the Laws of the Countrey where they reſided.* I muſt own I know no more of this Hiſtory, than what the Author relates of it. Indeed there is ſomething like it, in the Violence which was done at *Valladolid* to the *French* Embaſſador in the Year 1601, and which we mention'd in the foregoing Chapter; tho' at the ſame Time the Iſſue was very different: becauſe the King of *Spain* made Reparation to the King of *France*, and was oblig'd to ſend the Priſoners to *Rome*, where the Pope put them into the Hands of the Count *de Bethune*. Publick Miniſters ought to reſpect the Juſtice of the Place where they reſide; but the Officers of Juſtice are alſo oblig'd to have a Veneration for the Character; and theſe laſt ought not always to follow their Zeal, which is not at all Times inſeparable from Prudence and Moderation. On the contrary, theſe People are the more liable to be hurry'd away with Tranſport and Paſſion, becauſe they look upon themſelves to be above the Laws, and that no Body can judge them. Wherefore it cannot be deny'd, that if it be true the King of *Spain* explain'd himſelf after this manner, it was a very ſtrange Expreſſion. For if a Sovereign be ſuffer'd to proceed againſt the Miniſter whom another Sovereign ſends to him, and that even in the Caſe of common Offences; not only the *Law of Nations* is thereby deſtroy'd, which exempts the publick Miniſter from the Juriſdiction of the ordinary Juſtice of the Place of his Reſidence, but he that permits it acts alſo againſt his own Dignity. If this Leave be given to Princes, not one Embaſſador nor publick Miniſter will be in Safety, and not one Sovereign will be able to protect his Miniſter, nor to aſſure himſelf of his Fidelity. How is it poſſible for an Embaſſador to penetrate into the Secret of Affairs, which however is one of the principal Parts of his Function, if his Intrigues are made Crimes of State, and if the Judge of the Place be allow'd to take Cognizance thereof, and to proceed againſt him? We know there is no ſuch thing as Friendſhip among Princes, and that the Appearances thereof being often more dangerous than declar'd Enmities, it would be impoſſible for the Embaſſador who ſtood in fear of the Inquiry of one of the Princes, to avoid the Reproaches of the other. What would have become of ſo many Embaſſadors, who have caus'd the Subjects to revolt againſt their Prince; who have furniſh'd the Money and Arms with which they made War againſt their Sovereign; who have carry'd on Intrigues to ſurpriſe Places in a profound Peace; who have form'd and fomented Treaſons, the bare Remembrance of which ſtrikes one with Horror, and who have even attempted the Life of the Princes with whom they reſided? Nevertheleſs after Queen *Elizabeth* had ſent away *Bernardin de Mendoſſe*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, for having been concern'd in *Throgmorton*'s Conſpiracy, *Philip* II. took it ſo ill, that he would not ſee *William Waad*,

Waad, whom the Queen ſent to him to juſtify her Procedure, and to make Complaints againſt *Mendoſſe*. *Philip* was of Opinion, That the Queen was oblig'd to ſignify to him the Cauſe ſhe had not to be ſatisfy'd with the Conduct of his Embaſſador, before ſhe diſmiſs'd him. It is true, in an ordinary Affair ſhe ought to have done ſo, and it is what Princes uſually do; but then it muſt be conſider'd, that there are Occurrences, where not only there is no Obligation to obſerve theſe Meaſures, but where alſo it would be very dangerous to take all theſe Precautions. *Francis Throgmorton* had conſpir'd againſt the Queen's Perſon, whoſe Life was very precious, and of great Importance to the State. *Mendoſſe* had had a Hand therein, and it was under his Name that the Treaſon had been form'd; and his Preſence might have fomented the Conſpiracy, and animated the Plotters. So that it cannot be deny'd but it had been the utmoſt Imprudence to ſuffer him in the Kingdom till ſhe had written into *Spain*, and receiv'd *Philip*'s Anſwer. Beſides, by making him retire he was skreen'd from the Violence of the People, of whom the Magiſtrate is not always the Maſter. It was the ſame *Bernardin de Mendoſſe*, who treated with *Henry* IV, (while he was yet but King of *Navarr*) on the part of *Philip* II, who promis'd him four hundred thouſand Crowns if he would take up Arms againſt *Henry* III, and who, after the Death of this, was one of the greateſt Incendiaries of the War which the League continu'd to make with his Succeſſor. The Republick of *Venice* did not ſend away *Alfonſo de la Cueva* after the Treaſon, which would have overturn'd its very Foundations: It was contented to deſire the King of *Spain* to recall him, but it was when there was nothing more to fear. And this Moderation is peculiar to the wiſeſt and graveſt Senate in the World. *Don Alfonſo* knew that the *Law of Nations* could not protect him, at leaſt not againſt a People juſtly provok'd, for which Reaſon he retir'd to *Milan* without taking of Leave.

That Embaſſador, who violates firſt the *Law of Nations*, is in the wrong to deſire its Protection. I do not willingly make uſe of Examples out of ancient Hiſtory; but there is one in *Titus Livius*, that is ſo remarkable, that it may very well find a Place among the moſt eminent in modern Hiſtory. The *Gauls* having penetrated as far as *Tuſcany*, where they had beſieg'd the Town of *Chiuſy*; the Senate of *Rome* ſent *Fabius* thither, with two Collegues of the ſame Family, to deſire the *Gauls* to draw off their Army, and not to moleſt the Republick's Allies. The Embaſſadors, inſtead of acquitting themſelves of the Office of Peace-Makers, ſided with thoſe of *Chiuſy*, and were preſent at ſeveral Engagements they had with the Beſiegers. The *Gauls* ſent to complain at *Rome* of the Violence their Embaſſadors had done to the *Law of Nations*; but the *Romans*, far from delivering them up to the *Gauls*, who requir'd them in order to puniſh them, conferr'd upon them the Year following the firſt Dignities of the City, under the Name of Military Tribunes with the Conſular Power; which ſo provok'd the *Gauls*, that they march'd directly to *Rome*, took the Town, and would have deſtroy'd it ſo entirely; that the Name of it would not have been known at this Day, had it not been for the Reſiſtance they met with at the Capitol. All Embaſſadors, that take a Side, loſe the Privilege of their Character, as well as the Eccleſiaſticks that are taken in Arms. I have ſpoken elſewhere of the Biſhop of *Beauvais*.

Francis, the laſt Duke of *Burgundy*, held an Intelligence with *Richard* III, King of *England*, ſo that there was a very intimate Correſpondence between them. *Lewis* XI, who had good Information thereof, and who had found the Means to intercept ſeveral of his Letters, with *Richard*'s Anſwers, ſeeing that the Duke, and *Peter Landais*, a Miniſter he confided in, deceiv'd him, and carry'd on in *England* very dangerous Intrigues againſt him; he caus'd the Chancellor of *Britain*, and ſix other Counſellors whom the Duke ſent to him, to be put *into ſo many ſeparate Priſons, where he kept them twelve Days*. After that, he ſhew'd the original Letters to the Chancellor, and ſuffer'd him to take them away with him; that the Duke might ſee, the King was very well inform'd of his evil Intentions, and of the Artifices of his Miniſter; juſtifying thereby the Violence he had done to his Deputies, in treating them as Spies, and not as Embaſſadors. Yet as they were come under the publick Faith, they ought to have been conſider'd and treated as Miniſters. The King might have ſent them back, or elſe not have ſuffer'd them to come into the Kingdom. But *Lewis* XI, who was not very regular in all his Actions, was not ſo neither in this; and was willing to affront the Miniſters, becauſe he did not fear the Reſentment of the Prince their Maſter. *Selim* II. ſent in the Year 1570, to *Venice*, *Cubat Chiaoux*, to demand the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and in caſe of Refuſal to declare War againſt the Republick. *Selim* had arreſted the *Venetian* Embaſſador, *Mark Anthony Barbaro*, ſo that *Cubat* himſelf did not think he was ſafe in the Town, and apprehended ſome Violence from the People: But the Senate perceiving his Uneaſineſs, were ſo far from confining him, that they encourag'd him, and told him, *That the Republick had never ſuffer'd its Subjects to violate the* Law of Nations, *by injuring or offending an Embaſſador; ſo that he had nothing to fear on that part, and that he ſhould be reconducted in all Safety the ſame way that he came*. It were to be wiſh'd that all Republicks would take Example from the juſt, prudent, and generous Procedure of the Senate, who would not do to the Miniſter of a *Turk* and an Enemy, what was done in *Holland* to the Miniſter of a Prince who was an Ally, and ſuccour'd the States with his Arms.

The *Law of Nations* does not protect thoſe Crimes which Nature abhors; becauſe it is not its Intention to deſtroy it, nor to lend its Authority to Wretches who ought to have no Share in Civil Society. Nevertheleſs it ſeems as if Sovereigns ow'd that Reſpect one to the other, that not believing themſelves capable of ſuch Thoughts as are always diſavow'd, more eſpecially when they don't ſucceed, they may take Satisfaction of the Miniſters; yet they do ſtill better to complain to the Maſters; to the end they may puniſh them, ſince they are oblig'd to anſwer for their Actions. But as theſe Complaints are not commonly made by Prin-

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ces that have any great Kindneſs one for the other, and that thoſe Princes who have oppoſite Intereſts are always Enemies diſguis'd, and do not much perplex themſelves whether they are ſatisfy'd one with the other or not; the Prince that is offended, not caring to make fruitleſs Complaints, and being willing at the ſame time to preſerve ſome Reſpect for the *Law of Nations*, diſmiſſes the Miniſter, without giving his Maſter time to recall him.

King *Henry* IV, in taking up *Bruneau*, Secretary to *Don Balthaſar de Zuniga*, and putting him into the Hands of the Parliament, did not offend the *Law of Nations*. *Bruneau* was taken in the Fact, bargaining with one of the King's Subjects, in a profound Peace, for one of the moſt important Towns in the Kingdom. It behov'd the King to know the Truth of the Matter, and to convict *Merargues*, which could not be done but from the Mouth of *Bruneau:* And he comply'd with the *Law of Nations*, by hindering the Parliament from condemning him. He contented himſelf with proving the Crime, and diſcovering the Authors thereof.

It is obſerv'd, and more particularly in the Hiſtory of *England*, becauſe thoſe Crimes have been more frequent, and leſs diſſembl'd in that Kingdom than elſewhere, that it has been the Council of State for the moſt part, that has taken Cognizance of that kind of Affairs, and not the ordinary Juſtice: The Reaſon is, becauſe publick Miniſters neither can nor ought to acknowledge it: As alſo becauſe theſe Differences, wherein the Sovereigns are directly concern'd, cannot be regulated but by themſelves, or by their Privy Council. The Lawyers, of whom the Courts of Juſtice are generally compos'd, may probably know, what Penalties are appointed for Criminals of State; but yet I very much doubt whether they know how to diſtinguiſh betwixt a Criminal of State and a common Delinquent. The Court of *Holland* maintain'd that the *Sieur Sois*, heretofore Advocate for the *Engliſh* Nation at the *Hague*, had, by wounding a Man in the Streets, violated the *Law of Nations*. Nothing more impertinent could be ſaid. It ought to have ſaid, That he had violated the publick Safety: But in ſaying that he had violated the *Law of Nations*, it plainly ſhew'd, that it had not much ſtudy'd a Law, which does not make a part of its Profeſſion. Thoſe who rob upon the High Way, or that break open Houſes in the Night, tho' they are not ſo dangerous as another ſort of People that I know, *violate indeed the publick Safety:* But hitherto not one of thoſe who have written of the publick Right, has rank'd theſe Crimes amongſt thoſe that are committed againſt the *Law of Nations:* As on the contrary there is not one, that does not place amongſt the Violators of the *Law of Nations*, thoſe who are guilty of what the States of *Holland* prohibit ſo rigorouſly in their Declaration.

The Marquiſs of *Sarria*, Embaſſador from the Emperor *Charles* V, at *Rome*, had obtain'd of the Count *de Montorio*, Pope *Paul* IV's Nephew, the Permiſſion to go out of the Town at what Hour of the Night he pleas'd. He frequently went a Hunting, and being come one Day to the Gate very early, the Captain of the Guard, who knew nothing of the Count's Order, would not open the Gate: So that the Embaſſador, who was well attended, caus'd the Soldiers to be driven away, and the Gate to be open'd *per* Force. It was a treaſonable Crime, for which

Fraterno primum maduerunt ſanguine Muri;

but it was not a Crime againſt the *Law of Nations*. The Pope and his Nephews made great Complaints thereof; and the Embaſſador, to juſtify himſelf, demanded Audience with great Earneſtneſs: But Cardinal *Caraffa* ſignify'd to him, That he would do well not to be ſo urgent in the Matter, becauſe it was the Pope's Intention to have him taken up, and perhaps to do ſomething ſtill worſe to him. The Pope could not do it without violating the *Law of Nations*, which would not have been violated if the Embaſſador had been confin'd, or even kill'd in the Action, *while he was driving away the Guards, and forcing the Gates of the City.* According to the *Law of Nature*, *Violence may be oppos'd by Violence*, and it does not conſider the Embaſſador that goes out of the Bounds of his Function to diſturb the publick Quiet, but as a private Perſon in the Heat of Action; as I ſhall more particularly take notice by and by. *Diego de Mendoſſe* caus'd the *Barrizel*, or Prevoſt of *Rome*, to be beaten. The Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée* caus'd the Regiſter of the Conſiſtory to be cudgell'd in the middle of the Day, and his Gentleman of the Horſe broke the Galley-Slaves Chain. And yet of all thoſe that mention theſe Actions, there is not one that ſays the *Law of Nations* was violated thereby; on the contrary the Regiſter of *Como* was baniſh'd, becauſe in the Sentence of *M. d'Eſtrée*'s Gentleman of the Horſe, he had ſpoken of him as of a Domeſtick of the Embaſſador of *France*.

I ſay ſtill more: That unleſs the Danger be apparent, or that the Prince, with whom the publick Miniſter reſides, has a Deſign to break with the Maſter; Sovereigns owe one another this Reſpect, that he, who is not ſatisfy'd with the Conduct of a Miniſter, ought to complain to his Maſter before he diſmiſſes the Miniſter; reſerving to himſelf to ſhew his Reſentment againſt him who refuſes to do him Juſtice. In the Year 1563, Queen *Elizabeth* being inform'd that *Alvaro de Quadra*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, carry'd on very dangerous Cabals in her Kingdom, deſir'd *Philip* II. to recall him. *Philip* told the Queen's Embaſſador (who made preſſing Inſtances to that Purpoſe) that he could not gratify her in that Point: That the Condition of Princes would be very unhappy, if they were oblig'd to recall their Miniſter, whenever his Conduct ſhall not ſquare with the Humour or Intereſt of thoſe with whom he negotiates. Hereupon the Queen, who had not otherwiſe any great Reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with the King of *Spain*, not reliſhing at all this Anſwer, ſet a Guard upon *Don Alvaro, and caus'd him to be interrogated by the Lords of the Council.* This Embaſſador had treated the Queen with little Reſpect; for which Reaſon ſhe, on her part, had not much for his Character; but caus'd him to be us'd ſo roughly that he ſicken'd upon it, and dy'd with Grief. He muſt of Neceſſity have offended her highly, ſince theſe Severities

verities were not natural to her; and that ſince that Time ſhe would not violate the *Law of Nations*, in the Perſon of the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, who had done full as much Miſchief, as the Queen of *Scots*, his Miſtreſs. *Philip* caus'd grievous Reproaches to be made to the Queen, on this Account, by *Diego Guſman de Silva*, who ſucceeded *Don Alvaro* in the Embaſſy. This Action was one of the firſt Marks of the bad Underſtanding, which never ceas'd between theſe two Princes, as long as they liv'd. *Philip* reveng'd himſelf by the Employment he gave to *Robert Shelley*, (who was the Queen's Averſion) ſending him Embaſſador to *Vienna* to the Emperor *Maximilian*. The Queen had done all ſhe was oblig'd to do, in deſiring *Philip* to recall his Embaſſador.

In the Year 1626, there was a very dangerous Conſpiracy in *France*, where the Intention of the Plotters was, not only to change the Miniſtry, but alſo to dethrone the King, and to ſet up the Duke of *Orleance* in his Place. The Count *de Soiſſons* and the two Brothers of *Vendoſme*, were concern'd therein: but the Spring of all the Motion in this Machine was the Duke of *Savoy*. He was not at all ſatisfy'd with the Treaty of *Mouçon*: And as his Mind fed on nothing but Intrigues, he was for revenging himſelf on the Court of *France*, in putting it into ſuch Confuſion, that he might make an Advantage of its Diſorders. The Abbot *Alexander Scaglia*, his Embaſſador, and one of his truſtieſt Miniſters, ſeconded his Intentions to Admiration, and engag'd ſo many Perſons of Quality in his Deſign, that without an Accident which diſcover'd the Secret of the Conſpirators, the Project was infallible. The firſt Miniſter was to be kill'd at *Fleury*, where he lodg'd. The Count *de Chalais*, whom the others had employ'd, was executed. The Abbot *Scaglia*, who knew very well that Cardinal *de Richelieu* would never pardon him, prevail'd with his Maſter to ſend him into *England*, where he perſwaded the Duke of *Buckingham* to diſcard all the *French* from the Queen's Service; and was in part the Cauſe of the military Preparations that were ſince made there, for thoſe of the Religion in *France*, whom the King of *Great Britain* took into his Protection. The Embaſſador by meddling with ſo horrible a Conſpiracy, exceeded the Bounds of his Function, and violated the *Law of Nations*. Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who knew the Abbot had acted nothing, but by his Maſter's Orders; and that this was not diſpos'd to give the King Satisfaction, who on his Part was not in a Condition to go to War with the Duke, would not have fail'd to have ſatisfy'd himſelf, and would not have ſo much conſulted the *Law of Nations*, as his own Reſentment.

It ſeems as if one might ſay on this Subject, that there is no Caſe where the ordinary Juſtice can extend its Juriſdiction over the publick Miniſters; and that with ſo much the more Aſſurance, that I find it to be the Sentiment of *M. Hugh de Groot*. It is what is indiſputable in reference to common Offences: And as for Crimes of State, where the Embaſſador violates the *Law of Nations*, and particularly if he attempts the Life of the Prince with whom he reſides; the Sovereign alone, or the Council of State on his Part, can take Cognizance thereof, arreſt the Traitor in his Houſe, and ſend him afterwards, with the Informations, to the Prince his Maſter, that he may puniſh him. We do not find that for above an Age paſt Princes have proceeded with ſo much Rigour; but they have been contented to ſend theſe dangerous Miniſters out of their States. It is after this Manner the Kings of *France*, of *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*, have dealt with thoſe Embaſſadors, who have been convicted of Treaſons ſo black, that the *Law of Nations* could not protect them. The moſt benign Courſe, the moſt civil, and I dare ſay the moſt neceſſary, and almoſt the only one, is to deſire the Prince to recall his Miniſter. *Don Alphonſo de la Cueva* was the greateſt Enemy the Republick of *Venice* had. It is to him ſhe is oblig'd for the Scrutiny which calls her Liberty in queſtion; and nothing can be imagin'd more horrible, than the Fire that would have conſum'd the Town, the Blood that would have drown'd its Inhabitants, and the Confuſion which would have ſubverted the State, if two *French* Gentlemen had not ſav'd the Republick by diſcovering the Danger to the Senate: and yet it choſe rather to get him recall'd, than to ſend him away.

The King of *Great Britain* is the Firſt in his Kingdoms, by reaſon of his Dignity and his Birth, and he deſerves likewiſe to be ſo, on account of his Goodneſs and Civility: wherefore we muſt think it was not without Cauſe, that he ſent an Order to *Don Bernardo de Salinas*, Miniſter of *Spain*, in *March*, 1677, to be gone from his Court in four and twenty Hours, and to depart the Kingdom in twenty Days. He acquainted the King of *Spain*, and the Duke *de Vilhermoſa*, Governor of the Low Countries, with the Reaſons of his Procedure. What I have been able to learn of it in the Place where I am, is that the King complains of the Cabals which *Don Bernardo* practis'd againſt the Repoſe of his Kingdom: and aſſures him that without that Provocation he had not proceeded to ſuch an Extremity. The Duke of *Vilhermoſa* made no other Anſwer to the *Engliſh* Reſident, who ſpoke to him about it; Than that he knew not what to ſay to it, becauſe he had had no Advice of it from *Don Bernardo de Salinas*: but that he thought it was a very haſty way of Proceeding with the Miniſter of a Great Monarch. *Don Bernardo* ſaid, he would not go out of *England* without a poſitive Command to that Purpoſe from the King his Maſter, whoſe Orders he had executed according to his Intention. The Diviſions of the Court of *Madrid*, and the Diſorders of the Low Countries hinder'd the King of *Spain* from ſhewing his Reſentment.

I ſaid before, that it is the Sovereign with whom the Miniſter reſides, who ought to ſecure him that Safety, which the *Law of Nations* and the publick Faith intitle him to; becauſe that after he has admitted the Miniſter, he enters into a kind of *tacit* Contract, which indiſpenſably obliges him thereto. But the Prince who arreſts an Embaſſador in his Dominions, who comes there, or paſſes through them, without his Leave, does not violate the *Law of Nations*. *Anthony Rinçon* and *Cæſar Fregoſe*, of whom the one was going to *Conſtantinople*, and the other to *Venice*, on the Part of King *Fran-*

cis I, were kill'd upon the *Po*, on which they were embark'd for *Ferrara*. The King ſaid, That the Marquiſs *du Guaſt*, Governor of *Milan*, had caus'd them to be taken upon the River: That he had tortur'd them, and put them to Death, after he had extorted from them the Secret of their Negotiation. He ſaid, The Marquiſs had violated the *Law of Nations*, and preſs'd the Emperor to do Juſtice for the Murder, unleſs he would have it believ'd, he intended to break the Truce. The Pope, *Paul* III, fearing leſt this Accident ſhould break it in effect, or ſhould ſerve at leaſt for a Pretext to the Rupture, ſent into *France William Dandin*, at that time his Secretary, and ſince a Cardinal, to make ſome Overtures of an Accommodation. But the King ſtill inſiſted upon having Satisfaction, for the Outrage he ſaid had been done to him by the Death of his Miniſters; and in order to have it effectually, he arreſted at *Lions George* of *Auſtria*, Archbiſhop of *Valencia* in *Spain*, who was the Emperor's natural Unkle; and detain'd him a Priſoner till the Nuncio *Ardinghello*, whom the Pope ſent on purpoſe into *France*, procur'd him his Liberty. The Nuncio repreſented to the King, *That this Prelate (who as Archbiſhop was the Pope's Subject) had had no Hand in the Affair of* Rinçon; *and that it was not Juſt to make him ſuffer for an Evil which he had not committed.* The Emperor writing ſince to the Pope on that Subject, ſays in his Letter, *That King* Francis *made uſe of the Pretext of the Death of* Rinçon *and* Fregoſe, *to make War in* Italy, *and on the Frontiers of* Spain *and the Low Countries: That they had been kill'd in* Piedmont, *as they were paſſing, not with the Retinue of Embaſſadors, but as Spies: That as they did not make themſelves known, it was not a thing of Obligation to acknowledge them neither, nor to conſider them as publick Miniſters. Rinçon* had already negotiated and concerted a Treaty at *Conſtantinople*, and at his Return by *Venice*, he had given an Account to the Senate of the Diſpoſition in which he had found and left the Port; ſo that the Emperor could not be ignorant of it: and *Rinçon* did not think himſelf ſo ſafe under his Quality of Embaſſador in a ſtrange Countrey, but at his ſetting out from *Venice* he procur'd a Guard to convoy him to the Frontiers of the State, that he might paſs ſecurely into *France*. *Paul Jove* ſaid, *Francis* I. was in the wrong to complain of the Death of *Rinçon*; as well becauſe he was kill'd in an Enemy's Countrey, as becauſe he had as a Deſerter been condemn'd, and baniſh'd in *Spain* for Contumacy: and that for that Reaſon, he ought not to have appear'd in the Emperor's Territories. He moreover ſays, That *Camille*, *Fregoſe*'s Lieutenant, and the Watermen, who were to conduct theſe two Miniſters to *Ferrara*, were carry'd to Priſon to the Caſtle of *Cremona*; ſo that it could not be doubted, that the Governor of *Milan* was the Author of the Aſſaſſination. This laſt juſtify'd himſelf in a printed Apology, offering to fight all thoſe who ſhould accuſe him of ſo baſe an Action. *Paul Jove* does not juſtify the Emperor at all. *Piedmont* did not belong to him, nor was not an Enemy's Countrey, during the Truce. On the other ſide, if *Rinçon* was a Traytor and Deſerter, the Emperor might have as eaſily ſecur'd him, as he made him be kill'd, and might have brought him to his Tryal. But then again, King *Francis* could not ſay, that the Emperor had violated the *Law of Nations*, becauſe *Rinçon* and *Fregoſe* were not publick Miniſters in reference to him; yet he violated the *Publick Faith*, by cauſing to be aſſaſſinated thoſe Perſons, who ought to have enjoy'd the Benefit of the Truce. We muſt diſtinguiſh between the *Law of Nations* and the *Publick Faith*, becauſe they are in effect two very different Things. *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, being compell'd to abdicate; and finding herſelf ſtill perſecuted, made her Eſcape into *England*, where ſhe remain'd a Priſoner. *France*, which ſtickled very much for her, was alſo for having a Share in the Direction of the Affairs of *Scotland:* and with that Deſign had concerted with the Miniſters, who were on the Part of Queen *Elizabeth* at *Paris*, an Inſtruction with which *du Croc* was intruſted, who was ſent thither in the Quality of Embaſſador. *Du Croc*, as he paſs'd through *England*, made preſſing Inſtances to have Leave to ſee the Queen, who was a Priſoner. It was in the Year 1571, at the Time that *Seton*, a *Scotch* Lord, (whom a Storm had oblig'd to land at *Harwich*) having diſguis'd himſelf, had paſs'd through *England*, and had flung himſelf into the Caſtle of *Edinbourg*, which held out for the Queen of *Scots*. This Occurrence, and the Earneſtneſs with which *du Croc* deſir'd to ſee her, made him ſuſpected; ſo that Queen *Elizabeth* oppos'd this Viſit, as well as his continuing his Journey. He complain'd thereof as of a Violation of the *Law of Nations:* and Queen *Catherine*, ſpeaking on this Subject to the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, told him, *That it was an unheard of thing, that the Embaſſador of a Prince who was a Friend, ſhould be arreſted in a neutral Countrey.* The Queen ſignify'd to her, That ſhe had not arreſted *du Croc:* That he was at Liberty to go and come, and even to return to *France*; but that ſhe had oppos'd his Paſſage, becauſe ſhe could not conſent to his going into *Scotland*, till ſhe had an Anſwer to what ſhe had caus'd to be repreſented to the Court of *France*, relating to this Journey: That he had been arreſted on the Frontiers, by Virtue of the General Orders the Officers of thoſe Parts had, not to let any Body paſs without a Paſſport: That the Court of *France* had oblig'd it ſelf to carry on no Negotiation in *Scotland*, without the Participation of *England*. Queen *Catherine*, who was not willing to have it believ'd ſhe had any Hand in the Intrigues which were on foot in Favour of the Queen of *Scotland*, for fear the *French Proteſtants* ſhould find Protection in *England*, hearken'd to the Reaſon of Queen *Elizabeth*, and acquieſc'd thereto.

Henry IV, while he was yet but King of *Navarre*, ſent in the Year 1583, *James Segur de Pardaillan*, and *Geoffroy de Caſignon*, into *England*, and from thence into *Denmark*, and to the Princes of *Germany*, to endeavour to diſpoſe the Proteſtants to agree among themſelves, on the Points that divided them in the Matter of Religion. The Emperor, incens'd to ſee at the Courts of the Electors, and in the Empire, foreign Embaſſadors who did not addreſs themſelves to him; and who by uniting the Proteſtants among themſelves, weaken'd the Catholick Party, order'd the Duke of *Bavaria*, and

Count *de Solms*, to arreſt them if they could, as People who fomented Cabals againſt the publick Quiet. *Segur* having Advice thereof, wrote to the Emperor, That being inform'd he was blam'd for entring into the Empire as a publick Miniſter, without making himſelf known to him, who was the Head of it; and that it was ſaid he carry'd on Intrigues with ſome Princes to the Prejudice of the Repoſe of *Germany*, and againſt the Dignity of his Imperial Majeſty; he thought himſelf oblig'd to tell him, That he had believ'd he might enter into *Germany* without a Paſſport, under the Benefit of the Peace the Empire had with *France:* That it was by the expreſs Order of the King of *Navarre* his Maſter, that he had begun his Negotiation with the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, that they might be Witneſſes of the Sincerity of his Proceedings, and certify to the Emperor, that there was nothing therein could diſturb the Tranquillity of the Empire: For the Truth whereof he referr'd himſelf to thoſe Princes whom he had ſeen as he paſs'd. But as *Segur* was ſomewhat viſionary and fanciful, and that the Princes of *Germany* were not much inclin'd to ſecond the Intentions of the King of *Navarre*, who notwithſtanding his Zeal for Religion had a great many other Views; the Negotiation of theſe Embaſſadors had not the Succeſs which he had promis'd himſelf; and as they were not ſafe in *Germany* they did not ſtay long there, but went home by different Ways. The King of *Navarre*, as a King, had the Faculty of ſending Embaſſadors, but yet he had none in any of the other Courts of *Europe*; and had it not been for the Sake of Religion, he had not hazarded theſe, becauſe he was not conſider'd nor treated as a Sovereign in that of *France*. The Emperor was of Opinion, that all Embaſſadors ought to addreſs themſelves to him, and no where elſe, if they would enjoy the Benefit of the *Law of Nations*, and be inviolate. People were not at that time ſufficiently undeceiv'd of his pretended Sovereignty; and it was upon this Foundation that the Emperor *Charles* V. arreſted and ſent back the Trumpeter *Francis* I. had ſent to the States of the Empire.

It is moreover certain that the Embaſſador is not inviolable when he commits a Violence, becauſe in that Caſe the *Law of Nature* is preferable to the *Law of Nations:* Tho' even then Care ſhould be taken to keep within the Bounds of a lawful and neceſſary Defence; that is to ſay, rather to oppoſe ſuch Violence than offer any. One of the Domeſticks of *Don Balthaſar de la Cueva*, Embaſſador from *Spain* at *Vienna*, having ſpoken ſome inſolent Words to the Count *de Kevenhuller*, chief Huntſman to the Emperor in the *Upper Auſtria*, had for his Reward a good caning. The diſguis'd *Spaniard* not being able to digeſt the Affront, made an Agreement with ſome of the other Domeſticks of the Embaſſador, and attack'd the Count one Night in his Coach, with their Swords and Piſtols; and that with ſo much Heat, that all the Coachman could do (who was himſelf dangerouſly wounded) was to drive the Coach acroſs the Entrance of a narrow Street; ſo that the Count had an Opportunity to get out, and take Shelter in his Mother's Houſe. The Uproar brought together ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who diſpers'd the *Spaniards*; yet ſo, that nine of them got into the Town-Houſe, and there barricaded themſelves ſo ſtrongly, that they could not be forc'd till two of them were diſabled. Upon the Advice the Embaſſador receiv'd, that his Men were attack'd in the Town-Houſe, he ran thither in Perſon, and was preparing to aſſiſt them; but the main Guard, which was doubled, oblig'd him to retire. The next Day he went in great Fury to the Emperor's Palace, where he made loud Complaints of the Violence which had been done to his Domeſticks, and demanded Reparation. The Emperor would not ſee him; ſo that the Embaſſador taking into Conſideration, that he had to do with a ſtrong Party, and that his Procedure had been more violent than judicious, endeavour'd an Accommodation through the Means of the *Confeſſarius* of the Empreſs; and found it the more difficult to accompliſh, becauſe the Circumſtances were not agreed to. The Emperor and the Embaſſador diſpatch'd Expreſſes, who were to carry the Juſtification and Complaint of the Parties to the Court of *Madrid*; but the Embaſſador's Courier was arreſted at ſome Leagues Diſtance from *Vienna*. *Don Balthaſar* was in the mean time guarded in his Houſe; the Avenues of which were poſſeſs'd by forty Muſqueteers: Wherefore he deſir'd the Nuncio to tell the Emperor, That ſince his Majeſty had twice refus'd to give him Audience, he would not ask it of him any more, till he himſelf offer'd it; unleſs he preſently ſet his Domeſticks at Liberty, and caus'd the Muſqueteers (who beſieg'd his Houſe) to be taken away. They came at laſt to a Compoſition, and the Accommodation was concluded. The Embaſſador made his Excuſe to the Emperor, and the Count *de Kevenhuller* declar'd, upon his Faith and Conſcience, in the Preſence of the Embaſſador, and of ſome Deputies who were nominated for that Purpoſe, that he did not know that the Perſon he had can'd belong'd to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador. His Servants were ſet at Liberty, the Embaſſador appear'd at Court, and the Count having paid the firſt Viſit to the Embaſſador, receiv'd alſo that of his Excellency. The Embaſſador, in permitting his People to commit ſo great a Violence, did himſelf by ſo much the greater Wrong, as he had thereby no longer a Right to complain of that which had been done to one of his Domeſticks: And by going in Perſon to ſuccour his Men, he juſtify'd all that happen'd to him afterwards, and all that the Emperor could do againſt a Miniſter, who proſtituting his Character himſelf, ought to expect all the Oppoſitions that could be made to his Violences. That Embaſſador, who is reduc'd to the Neceſſity of making Excuſes, does no great Honour, neither to his Quality nor to his Maſter.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of the Civility the *Muſcovites* do to foreign Miniſters; but when the *Poles* have an Advantage over them, they give themſelves mighty Airs. Some time after the Czar's Army was defeated before *Smolenſko*, the King of *Poland* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy into *Muſcovy*. This *Poliſh* Embaſſador oblig'd the *Muſcovite Prieſtaves* to yield him the Precedency every where, and in every Reſpect. He made his Propoſition ſitting; and when,

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at his naming the King his Maſter, with all his Titles, he perceiv'd the *Bojares* did not uncover themſelves, he ſtopp'd, till the Czar commanded them to take off their Bonnets. The King of *Poland* ſent no Preſent to the Czar, but the Embaſſador, in his own Particular, made him a Preſent of a very fine Coach. After he had taken his Audience of Leave, the Czar ſent him a very rich Preſent of Martins, but he would not accept of it; for which Reaſon they alſo ſent him back his Coach. And the Embaſſador, who ſlipp'd no Opportunity of ſhewing the Contempt he had for the Nation, took from thence an Occaſion to fling the Prieſtave headlong down the Stairs. This was an Affront done to the Czar himſelf, who had great Reaſon to reſent it againſt a Miniſter, who by ſo inſufferable an Inſolence render'd himſelf unworthy of the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. The Embaſſador had to do with a Nation that does not always reſpect the Character; but it had been ſo grievouſly mortify'd before *Smolensko*, that it was incapable of expreſſing any Reſentment. However, the Czar ſignify'd to the Embaſſador, *That he did not know whether it was by his King's Orders he committed theſe Exceſſes, or whether it was of his own Motion that he gave himſelf theſe Airs: That if the King his Maſter had order'd him to deal after this outrageous manner with him, he muſt bear it patiently, till God enabled him to revenge it: That the Event of Battels was in his Hand, and that he might hope it would ſome Day be favourable to him. But if the Embaſſador had done it without Orders, he would complain to the King of* Poland, *and demand Juſtice to be done him.* Want of Power made this Prince act conformably to the *Law of Nations*, which he otherwiſe would not have done by Reaſon.

The Duke *Frederick* of *Holſtein-Gottorp* had ſeveral great Deſigns; and amongſt others, that of ſettling the Commerce of *Perſian* Silks in *Germany*, by the way of *Tartary* and *Muſcovy*: To compaſs his Intention, he ſent ſomewhat above forty Years ago to *Moſcow* and *Iſpahan*, two Embaſſadors, the one of which was an Advocate and the other a Merchant; and as they were of different Profeſſions, ſo likewiſe were they of quite contrary Humours. During the Stay they made at *Iſpahan*, the Merchant-Embaſſador picking a frivolous Quarrel with one of the Gentlemen of their Retinue, caus'd him to be put in Irons. The Gentleman found the Means to make his Eſcape, and to fling himſelf into an Aſylum, which the *Perſians* call *Alla Capi*. The Embaſſadors made it their Requeſt to have him ſurrender'd to them, and ſaid that he had robb'd them. The Schach ſignify'd to them, *That if what the Embaſſadors ſaid they had been robb'd of was found upon the Fugitive, it ſhould be reſtor'd to them; but that it was not in his Power to take the Man out of the Freedom of the Place, not even if he had committed a Crime againſt his Royal Perſon. Brugman* (that was the Merchant-Embaſſador's Name) was ſo tranſported with Anger at this Anſwer, that he ſaid he would have his Domeſtick, and that he would kill him even if he found him in the Arms of the Schach. He was not contented with giving this Looſe to his Paſſion, but he ſuborn'd an *Armenian* to perſuade the Gentleman to go out of the Aſylum by Night, and ſeek his Safety with the Agent of *Holland*; and, in the mean time, he ſent ſeveral of his Servants to the Gate of *Alla Capi*, in order to ſeize him or kill him at his going out. His Collegue did all he could to hinder this Violence, but his Oppoſition ſignify'd nothing: So that the Executioners of his Brutiſhneſs, finding that the Gentleman did not come out, were preparing to force the Aſylum, and to charge the Soldiers who kept Guard there. They made ſo great a Noiſe, that the Schach, being waken'd therewith, commanded the Gate of *Alla Capi* to be ſhut, which was what had not been ſeen time immemorial. The King was ſo exaſperated at what had happen'd, that as ſoon as he roſe the next Day he told the Lords of his Council, That not being ſafe in his Palace by reaſon of the *Germans*, who diſturb'd even his Reſt, it was requiſite that either he or they ſhould leave the City. *Brugman* did alſo another thing, which was by ſo much the more dangerous, becauſe he engag'd therein all the Chriſtians, and had to do with a Prince, who having loſt all the Sentiments of Nature for his own Blood, and neareſt Relations, would have no great Conſideration for the Embaſſadors of a Duke of *Holſtein*. He took the ready way to have the Throats of the whole Embaſſy cut: And therein the Schach's Reſentment would have been by ſo much the juſter, that no Prince is oblig'd to ſuffer the publick Violence of an Embaſſador; but he may and ought to oppoſe the ſame with the Strength God and Nature has given him, thereby to maintain his Dignity, and protect his Subjects.

I ſay the ſame of private Perſons, who, notwithſtanding the Reſpect they owe to the Character, may defend themſelves againſt the Embaſſador that injures them, and repell Violence by Violence. The *Law of Nations* protects a Miniſter againſt any Violence that may be offer'd him; but it does not for that authoriſe his Exceſſes and Inſolences. That Embaſſador who compels a private Perſon to meaſure his Sword with him, makes himſelf a private Perſon, and can lay the Blame of the Diſgraces that may befall him on theſe Occaſions, on no body but himſelf; for having had Recourſe to Violence for that Protection, which he ought to have found no where but in the *Law of Nations*. *Julius Mazarin*, whom Pope *Urban* VIII. employ'd as a publick Miniſter for the Affairs of *Mantua*, had mediated a Suſpenſion of Arms between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, and thinking himſelf oblig'd to ſee it punctually obſerv'd, he came to high Words with *Don Martin* of *Arragon*, a Camp-Mareſchal, and Lieutenant-General of the Horſe, who in Prejudice of the Truce caus'd the Intrenchment that cover'd his Quarter to be reinforc'd. *Don Martin*, who could not brook *Mazarin*'s Reproaches, ſaid ſeveral very offenſive things to him, as well againſt the Pope as againſt his Miniſter, even ſo far as to tell him, That the Journeys and Negotiations of that Miniſter had done more Miſchief to *Spain* than the Invaſion of the *Moors*. *Mazarin* finding himſelf much injur'd by this Diſcourſe, and remembring ſtill that he had been a Captain under *Torquato Conti*, drew his Sword and attack'd *Don Martin*, who on his part repell'd the Aſſault with Vigour; inſomuch that great Diſorder would have enſu'd, had

had not the Duke of *Lerma* and *Piccolomini*, (who came timely in) parted them. They oblig'd *Don Martin* to make Reparation, *not for having drawn his Sword in his own Defence*; but for what he had ſpoken offenſively of the Pope and his Miniſter. By this Means *Mazarin* came off Cavalierly enough; but by drawing his Sword firſt, and forcing *Don Martin* to defend himſelf, he riſqu'd his Character, and expos'd himſelf to the Hazard of an Affront, for which he could not have demanded Reparation. The *Spaniards* have Expreſſions which are peculiar to themſelves. In that of *Don Martin* there was a great deal of the Hyperbole; but I think one may ſay at preſent with a greater Appearance of Truth, what he ſpoke in the Tranſport of his Anger. The Acquiſition of *Pignerol*, which takes from the *Spaniards* the predominant Power in *Italy*; that of *Sedan*; the Conqueſt of ſeveral important Places in *Flanders*; and in fine, the *Pyreneau* Peace are the Work of *Mazarin*: and I am not afraid to ſay, that the Treaties of *Portugal* and of *Aix la Chapelle* are Conſequences thereof; and that the great Deſigns which have been executed ſince, have been form'd upon his Plan. So that what was Hyperbole then, may very well be Truth at this time.

The Embaſſador ought never to fight in Duel, on any Account whatever. He is paid to ſerve his Maſter with his Wit and Tongue, and not with his Sword. Princes make uſe of their Miniſters to argue for their Rights and Intereſts; but it is the Buſineſs of the Generals of their Armies to decide their Quarrels, and to revenge the Injuries which have been done them. The Memoirs relating to Embaſſadors and publick Miniſters, make mention of a Challenge from the Count *de Soiſſons* to the Lord *Kenſington*, ſince Earl of *Holland*, Embaſſador from *England* at *Paris*. The Author has therein rely'd on the Credit of the *French* Hiſtory: But that Lord himſelf writing to the Duke of *Buckingham*, concerning this Occurrence, complains indeed of the Incivility of the Count *de Soiſſons*, in the Terms the *French* Hiſtory takes notice of; but he does not ſay one ſingle Word of the pretended Duel. On the contrary, he ſays, That he ſhew'd no other Reſentment thereof, than that he caus'd the Marquiſs *de la Valette* to reproach the Count *de Soiſſons* therewith; to whom the Count made the Anſwer that is found in the Memoirs. He adds, *That ſome Days after, the Count* de Lude *having ſignify'd to him, that he had ſomething to ſay to him from a great Prince, and that he (not doubting but he brought him a Challenge from the Count* de Soiſſons) *having caus'd him to enter, the Count* de Lude, *after a very civil Complement, had ſaid nothing elſe to him, but that the Count* de Soiſſons *had ſeen one of his* Engliſh *Horſes, which he would be glad to buy if the Embaſſador would ſet a Price upon him: That he had made Anſwer, That if the Count* de Soiſſons *would do him the Honour to ſpeak to him himſelf about it, he would willingly make him a Preſent of it, and without that the Horſe ſhould not go out of his Stable.* He moreover ſays, *That ſince then the Count* de Soiſſons *had ſaluted him very civilly on all Occaſions.* I know very well that within ſome Years, a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, thinking he had been affronted by an Embaſſador in one of the *Northern* Courts, was for reſenting it; and gave the Embaſſador to underſtand that he pretended to ſatisfy himſelf like a Cavalier: and that the Embaſſador ſent him Word, He ſhould be always ready to give him Satisfaction in an honourable Way. But they muſt both excuſe me, if I ſay, that it was imprudently enough done on either ſide. Thoſe cholerick Motions and brisk Actions, partake a little of the Romance. The Embaſſador may, and indeed ought to be ſomewhat a Comedian; but he ought never to act the Part of a Stage-Captain.

Before I put an End to this Chapter, I ſhall touch upon what happen'd within this little while, betwixt a great Prince, and the Embaſſador of a crown'd Head, in reference to what I obſerv'd above, *that the Embaſſador is only inviolable in reſpect of the Prince with whom he reſides. M. Lelienhouc*, Embaſſador from the Crown of *Sweden* to the King of *Poland*, had, by Order of the King his Maſter, publiſh'd there ſeveral Things, which reflected very much on the Reputation of the Elector of *Brandenburg*. This Prince was ſo highly offended thereat, that he let ſlip this Expreſſion, *That he would cauſe* Lelienhouc *to be cudgell'd.* This laſt complain'd thereof in Writing to the King of *Poland*, where he ſays, *He will cudgel the Elector*, who, as he aſſerts, has violated the *Law of Nations*, by threatening a *Character'iz'd Perſon*. I ſhall not examine whether there was any Exceſs in the Reſentment of the one or the other; but let us ſee whether the Elector violated the *Law of Nations*, in threatening the Embaſſador that reſided at the Court of a neutral Prince; and I am not afraid to ſay, That he did not violate it at all. The Embaſſador's Maſter being a declar'd Enemy of the Elector, the Embaſſador was ſo likewiſe: and this not having any Character in reference to the Elector, the Elector was not oblig'd to have any Conſideration for him; but might treat him as an Enemy where-ever he met him, without violating the *Law of Nations*. *Lelienhouc* had a Right to claim the Protection of the King of *Poland*, againſt the Violence with which he was threaten'd; and it was the Duty of the ſaid King of *Poland*, to ſecure him Safety at his Court, for which the Elector ought to have a Reſpect. The Elector in violating this Reſpect offended the King of *Poland*, and oblig'd him to undertake the Protection of the Embaſſador who reſided with him, and ſo might have drawn the Arms of *Poland* upon him. But he did not violate the *Law of Nations:* nay he did not ſo much as violate the publick Safety, in cauſing *Lelienhouc* to be cudgell'd, except in reference to the King of *Poland*. So that I think I may conclude, that the Perſon of an Embaſſador is not always inviolable.

I have ſpoken elſewhere of thoſe Embaſſadors who happen to be in a Countrey, without having Credentials for the Sovereign of the Place: I ſhall therefore only add here, That ſuch an Embaſſador can be conſider'd but only as a private Perſon by the ſaid Sovereign. In the Year 1641, an Embaſſador whom the King of *Portugal* ſent into *Holland*, as he paſs'd through *England* deſir'd to ſee the King, who made no Difficulty to give him Audience; but he ſignify'd to him, that he would give it him

but as to a private Perſon, and that he would not allow him to be cover'd. The Embaſſador would not accept of the Audience on theſe Conditions. The King of *Great Britain* was not oblig'd to treat him otherwiſe. He was ignorant of the Character of this Stranger, who had no Credential Letters for him, and therefore could not inſiſt upon being conſider'd as a publick Miniſter. Thoſe Embaſſadors who are to paſs through the Territories of another Sovereign, ought to be provided either with Credentials or a Paſſport that may make them known. In the Year 1634 the Count *de Schauenbourg*, who was going to reſide in *Spain* on the part of the Emperor, took *France* in his Way; and having Credential Letters for the King, he procur'd himſelf Audience, and had a fine Preſent made him. Some Time after *Falconieri*, as he paſs'd through *France* to go in the Quality of Nuncio to *Flanders*, ask'd to ſee the King, who gave him Audience, tho' he had no Letters for him; but it was through the Means of the Nuncio in Ordinary *Bolognetti* (who conducted him to the ſame) that he obtain'd it. He receiv'd no Preſent, becauſe he had no Letters.

There is ſomething ſtill more ſingular in the following Example. *Ferdinand the Catholick* after the Death of his Wife pretended to have the ſame Share in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, that he had had during the Queen's Life. *Philip* of *Auſtria*, his Son-in-Law, oppos'd it; and was for being declar'd King of *Caſtile*, as being the Husband of the Queen his Wife, who was the undoubted Heir thereof. *Ferdinand* being inform'd that *Philip* was ſending *Anthony d'Acugna* to *Rome*, to juſtify his Right, gave Orders to *Gonçales Hernandes* (who was call'd the Great Captain) to take up this Embaſſador, either upon the Road, or even at *Rome* it ſelf. They miſs'd him, notwithſtanding the Lord *de Piombino* had giv'n Notice to *Don Gonçales*, That the Embaſſador having landed, in paſſing from *Savona* to *Portohercule*, it was an eaſie matter to ſurpriſe him. *Don Gonçales* excus'd himſelf, and ſaid it had been impoſſible for him to take him on the Road, becauſe that *Proſper Colomne*, who had had thoſe Orders before him, had giv'n Advice thereof to *d'Acugna*, by the Cardinal *Colomne*, who was his intimate Friend; and that the Embaſſador ſtood ſo well upon his Guard at *Rome*, that there was no taking him without an open Violence, and a publick Scandal; which he could not find in his Heart to be guilty of: And in effect the Great Captain by ſuch Violence would have broke with the Pope, who was oblig'd to protect the Embaſſador; and would have giv'n an abominable Scandal to all thoſe who have any Reſpect for the *Law of Nations*, which protected *d'Acugna* in the Place of his Reſidence, in Reference to the Pope.

CHAP. XXX.

When the Embaſſador's Function ceaſes.

ALtho' I reſerve the Function of the Embaſſador for the Subject of the next Book, yet I think my ſelf oblig'd to inform my Reader at the End of this, how the Embaſſador ceaſes to be a Miniſter. It is certain that the ſame Cauſes that put an End to Power, in private Concerns, conclude the Commiſſion of a publick Miniſter in publick Affairs. The Power of the Embaſſador ceaſes, when the Prince who employs him is no longer in a Condition to act, or that he to whom he is employ'd, is no longer in a Capacity to carry on Negotiations with him; that is to ſay, by the Death of either the one or the other. In the Year 1566. the Emperor *Maximilian* II. ſent to *Conſtantinople*, in the Quality of Embaſſador, an *Hungarian* Lord, who hearing of the Death of *Soliman*, to whom he had been ſent, did not proceed in his Journey, but return'd home. On his Way he met *Selim*, *Soliman*'s ſecond Son and his Succeſſor. He ſpoke to the Firſt Vizir *Mehemet*, and deſir'd to pay his Reſpects to the *Grand Seignior*: But the Firſt Vizir told him, That ſince the Emperor his Maſter had ſent him to *Soliman*, who was no longer in Being, he could not negotiate with *Selim*, for whom he had no Letters: That he would give him Leave to ſee the *Grand Seignior*, but he ſhould not ſpeak to him; and that if *Maximilian* had any thing to communicate to him, he might either ſend another Embaſſador, or elſe other Credentials to him to whom he ſpoke. *John Mocenigo* was Embaſſador of *Venice* in *France*, at the Time that *Henry* III. was kill'd; and notwithſtanding, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, *France* is never without a King, becauſe the dead one gives Seizin to the Living, as I have elſewhere obſerv'd; and that the next Prince of the Blood ſucceeds immediately: nevertheleſs the Embaſſador remain'd without Function and Character. On the other ſide, *de Maiſſe Hurault*, who was Embaſſador of *France* at *Venice*, was in the ſame Condition, till the Senate had provided in that Caſe. The ſaid Senate unanimouſly reſolv'd, that the King of *Navarre* ſhould be acknowledg'd for King of *France*; and ſignify'd at the ſame Time to *M. de Maiſſe*, that he might continue to diſcharge his Office, and that he ſhould be conſider'd as he was in the deceaſed King's Time, till he could procure himſelf other Credentials. It may be ſaid that the Republick made a *French* Embaſſador on this Occaſion, which ſhe would have been very cautious of doing at another Juncture: But it was ſenſible it would thereby oblige *Henry* IV. by acknowledging him for King of *France* in the Perſon of his Miniſter; as ſhe ſent at the ſame Time Orders to *Mocenigo*, to continue to diſcharge his Function with *Henry* IV. This Action was of ſo great Importance, that the Pope us'd his utmoſt Efforts to hinder the Senate

nate from taking this Reſolution; and the King of *Spain*, who for the Space of eighteen Years had had no Embaſſador at *Venice*, ſent one thither on the ſame Account. The Pope even made uſe of Threats, if the Republick acknowledg'd a King whom the Holy See had condemn'd and excommunicated as an Heretick. In the Year 1621. *Baſſompierre* was ſent to *Madrid* about the Affair of the *Valteline*. He was hardly come thither but the King fell ſick and dy'd. He had Letters of Credence for *Philip* III, but the Miniſters of *Philip* IV. did not ſcruple to have Conferences with him as well as with *du Fargis* Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*; tho' according to Rule freſh Credentials were neceſſary both to the one and the other: under this Pretext, which was not only ſpecious, but alſo lawful, the *Spaniards* might have ſpun Things out in Length; but they choſe rather to make a Treaty which they had no mind to execute, than to ſtick out by refuſing to negotiate with Miniſters who had neither Letters nor Powers.

The Power of the Embaſſador ceaſes alſo when he is recall'd, and when he has gone through the Time of his Service. That of Embaſſadors in Ordinary is almoſt every where regulated to three Years; yet for all that it is not lawful for an Embaſſador to depart from a Court where he reſides without an expreſs Order, or the Leave of his Prince. At *Venice* they are ſo punctual in this, that an Embaſſador is not allow'd to depart from the Court where he reſides, till his Succeſſor be arriv'd; which is another Proof of the conſummate and inimitable Prudence of this Republick, which by obliging the Embaſſador to inſtruct his Succeſſor in the State of the Affairs of the Court where he is to negotiate, and to put into his Hands all the Memoirs of his Embaſſy, ſhews that in the Change of the Perſons, there is no Change in the Procedure and Genius, no more than in the Maxims and Conduct of the Senate, or in the Form of their Government. An Embaſſador of *Venice*, who at the Expiration of the Years of his Service ſhould quit his Poſt without expecting his Succeſſor, would be conſider'd and puniſh'd as a Deſerter, as much as if he had abandon'd it in the middle of his Time. All Republicks are not ſo nice as this is. In the Year 1647, the States of the United Provinces ſent an Order to the Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries who were on their Part at *Munſter*, not to leave the Place; yet nevertheleſs three of them without any Regard thereto went away. They had Intereſt enough in their Provinces, to get their Diſobedience approv'd by the States General, and to procure their being ſent back to the Congreſs. They had before them the Example of another Embaſſador of the ſame Countrey, who being employ'd to the Northern Kings, and being tir'd with his Buſineſs, left it on the ſudden, and went home. I believe that beſides theſe Examples few others will be found. The Republick of *Venice* would puniſh with the laſt Severity ſo ſhameful a Deſertion; and a Monarch would never pardon ſo horrible a Contempt. There are in *Holland* Perſons very capable of Negotiation, but then they are not in any great Number; and as there is no Law that obliges thoſe who have any Share in the Government of the State to take upon them this ſort of Employment, they accept of it for the moſt part but upon Condition to leave it when they pleaſe; and they remain in it, in effect, no longer than they find it for their Purpoſe.

There are no ſuch Stipulations made with Princes: Their Miniſter is oblig'd to remain in his Poſt till they ſend to relieve him, or give him Leave to quit it. *Mortfontaine Hotman*, Embaſſador from *France* to the Cantons, ſeeing in the Year 1598. that the King his Maſter was likely to loſe thoſe important and neceſſary Allies, unleſs they were ſpeedily ſatisfy'd, reſolv'd to go himſelf to Court, without waiting for the King's Permiſſion. The Council look'd upon this as a very ill Action, and ſaid, *That an Embaſſador that left his Employment but for a Moment, was not leſs criminal than a Centinel that abandon'd his Poſt.* The King ſaid, on the contrary, *That Regard ſhould be had to the Intention of the Embaſſador, and to the dangerous State the Allyance was in.* It was alſo conſider'd that *Mortfontaine*'s Journey hinder'd the Cantons from ſending their Embaſſadors to Court, which would have found it harder to content them, after they had been at the Expence of the Journey, than the Embaſſador did, who at his Return ſatisfy'd them with a very reaſonable Sum.

The Marquiſs *de Fontenay Mareüil* ſucceeding in the Embaſſy of *Rome* to the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée*, had Orders to negotiate chiefly the Reception of the *Portugal* Embaſſador, and the Accommodation of the Difference the Duke of *Parma* had with the *Barberins* concerning the Dutchy of *Caſtro*. He did not ſucceed either in the one or the other, and was vex'd at the Court of *Rome*, becauſe the Pope had annull'd what the General Chapter of the *Jacobins* had done at *Genoa*; where Father *Mazarin*, the Cardinal's Brother, had been elected General of the Order. The Mortification he receiv'd therefrom made him *leave* Rome *and retire into the Countrey*. The Court of *France* was very angry thereat; it expreſs'd indeed to the Nuncio its Concern at the Pope's Procedure, but that did not hinder it from having ſtill more at the Embaſſador's, whom the King commanded to return to his Function at *Rome*. However, that this might be done with ſome Reputation to the Crown, and to the Embaſſador himſelf, it was agreed to accept the Offer *Juſtiniani*, Embaſſador of *Venice*, made, of the Mediation of the Republick. It did employ its good Offices tho' with ſome Reluctancy, as well becauſe it had only a Reſident at *Rome*, where a Matter of this Importance could not be negotiated by a Miniſter of the ſecond Order; as becauſe it was not ſatisfy'd with the Offer its Embaſſador had made without its Participation. At laſt however, ſhe approv'd of the Office of *Juſtiniani*, and her Mediation produc'd a very good Effect. At *Rome* they maintain'd that they were not oblig'd to give Satisfaction to *M. de Fontenay*, becauſe as he retir'd without Orders, and contrary to the King's Intention, his Majeſty's Reputation was not concern'd therein: Nevertheleſs, to give him ſome Satisfaction in Appearance, the Pope contented Father *Mazarin*, by making him Maſter of the ſacred Palace. The Embaſſador who knew the Cardinal would not have it believ'd that he and

his Brother had any Share in these Discontents, thank'd Cardinal *Barbarin* for the new Dignity with which the Fryar had been honour'd; and signify'd to him, that in a few Days he would return to *Rome*, to continue there the Functions of his Embassy.

An Embassador may go from his Post when in his Person the Prince whom he represents is injur'd; so that he is oblig'd to shew his Resentment, and to demand Reparation. The Mareschal *d'Estrée*, and the Duke of *Crequy* Embassadors of *France* at *Rome*, both left that Court; but on very different Accounts, as well as with different Success. The Mareschal protected his Gentleman of the Horse, who in breaking the Chain of the Galley Slaves, had violated the publick Justice and Safety. They who were Depositaries of the Sovereign Authority at *Rome*, caus'd the Gentleman of the Horse to be kill'd, and set his Head upon the Bridge of St. *Angelo* among those of other Criminals and Banditti. A greater Affront could not be offer'd to the Embassador; but forasmuch as he had drawn it upon himself, by protecting a Domestick, whom he ought to have punish'd or convey'd away, he receiv'd no manner of Satisfaction therefore. The King his Master did not resent it; and was so far from approving what he had done, that the *Barberins* had the Satisfaction to see him recall'd at their Suit. The Duke *de Crequy*, on the contrary, was highly protected, because the Difference he had with the *Ghisy* did not deserve that so cruel an Outrage should be offer'd him, in the Person of the Embassadrix his Lady. The King's Dignity was injur'd thereby, so that he could not continue to execute the Functions of his Employment, without a Reparation proportionate to the Affront he had receiv'd, and unless the King his Master had Satisfaction made him, who was much more concern'd therein than himself. This was what he could not expect from the Pope's Relations; and as the King was to send him his Orders thereupon, he immediately went out of the Ecclesiastical State, and did not return to *Rome*, till after the Treaty of *Pisa* had regulated the publick Reparation the Pope was to make to the King, the Embassador, and his Lady.

The Prince who has Reason to be satisfy'd with the Conduct of his Embassador, shews it by continuing his Employment to him after the Expiration of the ordinary Time. In *Holland*, where all the Subjects are not very fit for this sort of Employment, (I speak of those who have a Share in the Management of Affairs,) because some want Ability, and others have not that commendable Ambition, which almost every where else causes these glorious Posts to be sought after, they are for the most part continu'd to those that have them, and know how to find their own Interest therein, by making some Benefit thereof.

Those Princes who recal their Ministers before the Time of their Service is expir'd, either do it of their own mere Motion, because they are not satisfy'd with them, or else to advance them to other Employments, or at the Request of those Princes with whom they reside. *M. Destampes*, Brother to the Cardinal *de Valencay*, and to the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and Embassador from *France* in *Holland*, was recall'd abruptly enough; because he had not negotiated according to the Intention of the first Minister. *M. de Pompone* was remov'd from the Embassy in *Holland*, to be employ'd in *Sweden*, where he was more necessary; and he did not leave that Court, but to take Possession of the Place of Secretary of State. *M. Peter de Groot* was Embassador from the United Provinces in *Sweden*, where his Service was so useful, that by continuing him in his Employment, they might have assur'd themselves of the Friendship of that Crown; and yet they recall'd him, to send him into *France*, where he was altogether useless, because that Court had taken Measures with the King of *England* to make War with the States. *Blainville* was recall'd for no other Reason but because he was not acceptable to the King of *England*, and his Humour was look'd upon to be somewhat harsh and untractable, and not fit for Negotiation.

That Prince who obliges a Minister to depart from his Court, do's indeed put an End to the Function of his Employment, but do's not thereby take away his Character. That Embassador of *Portugal*, whom we have spoken of elsewhere, to whom the States of the United Provinces notify'd, That they no longer acknowledg'd him for an Embassador, and that they would have no more Conferences with him, made a very wise Answer in telling them, *That the one depended on the States, but that the other depended intirely on the King his Master only: That it was he who had giv'n him the Character, and that none but he could take it from him, and that it was into his Hands he would surrender it.*

Princes sometimes oblige Ministers to depart out of their States, and cause them to be carry'd away by main Force. Queen *Elizabeth* caus'd *Don Bernardin de Mendosse*, Embassador from *Spain*, and the Bishop of *Rosse*, Embassador from the Queen of *Scots*, to be put on Shipboard; but then both of them had carry'd on Intrigues against her Life, and against the Tranquillity of her State. The Nuncio whom the present King of *France* caus'd to be guarded to the *Frontiers* of *Savoy*, felt the first Effects of the King's just Indignation at the violent Procedure of the Pope's Relations. The King of *Portugal* not being able to get his Ministers admitted at the Court of *Rome*, would no longer suffer the Pope's Minister in his Dominions, from whence the Holy See however drew its usual Revenues. Having therefore sent for the Vicecollector towards the End of the Year 1646, he told him, That since the Pope would not acknowledge him for what the whole Kingdom had made him, that is to say, for King of *Portugal*, he was not oblig'd neither to suffer a Minister of *Rome* to reside at his Court: That he (the Vicecollector) was more capable than any other to inform his Holiness of the true State of the Churches of *Portugal*, and of the Necessity to provide them with Pastors: That whenever his Holiness would admit his Ministers, he should be also ready to receive those of *Rome* with open Arms; and that it would be with Pleasure he should see the Vicecollector return with the Quality of Nuncio: That he had giv'n the necessary Orders for the Conveniency of his Voyage, and that there was a Ship ready to transport him to *Italy*. He was forc'd

to

to go on Board the Night following, and be gone. It was ſix Years that his Miniſters had been refus'd Admittance at *Rome*, for which Reaſon he was not oblig'd to reſpect thoſe of the Pope. In the Year 1659, under the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Mazarin*, *the Reſident of* Brandenburg *receiv'd a Meſſage to depart the Kingdom with his Family.* Some Days after, he was permitted to continue there a Month longer; and to this Purpoſe a Paſſport was drawn in Form for him, ſign'd *le Tertier:* But before the Term was expir'd he was ſent to the *Baſtile*; and, at the end of ſome Weeks, he was taken from thence to be conducted to *Calais*, and there ſhipp'd off. Princes do not treat Miniſters after this manner, (unleſs they have been offended by their Maſters) if they have any Conſideration for the one and the other. The Cardinal was afterwards ſorry he had treated with ſo much Rigour a Miniſter, of whom he had no Reaſon to complain; and he ſhew'd it by offering him very great Advantages, to invite him to return to *France*.

The Miniſter is not always oblig'd to retire when he is given to underſtand that his Perſon is not agreeable: The Prince that is for having him withdraw, ought to apply to the Maſter of the Embaſſador, and procure him to be recall'd; becauſe the Miniſter cannot leave his Poſt, but by his Orders who plac'd him there. *Ferdinand the Catholick* having got the County of *Rouſſillon* out of the Hands of *Charles* VIII, was moreover for hindering him from going into *Italy*, to attempt the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He ſent to him for this Purpoſe *Don Alfonſo de Silva* (Brother to the Count *de Cifuentes*) who made himſelf ſo diſagreeable by his continual Remonſtrances, that the King ſignify'd to him, That he might be gone as ſoon as he pleas'd. This was diſmiſſing him in very intelligible Terms: But *Don Alphonſo* reply'd, That he thought he was negotiating with a Prince, who was Brother and Ally to the King his Maſter, whoſe Affairs he ſollicited, without which he would inſtantly depart: That if the King of *France* would notify his Intentions to the King his Maſter, either by his Means, or by an Expreſs, he might do it; but as for himſelf he ſhould ſtay till farther Orders. He ſtay'd in effect, and follow'd the King into *Italy*; till finding a thouſand Indignities were put upon him, and apprehending ſtill greater Inſults, after he had been warn'd to depart the Court, he retir'd to *Genoa*; giving *Charles* to underſtand, before he ſet out, that *Ferdinand* could not avoid ſending to the Pope the Aſſiſtance he deſir'd. The Archbiſhop of *Embrun*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Madrid*, being in the Month of *October*, 1662, in the King of *Spain*'s Antichamber, enter'd into a Diſcourſe with a *Spaniſh* Lord, who was very well at Court, concerning the Affairs of *Portugal*; and as *M. d'Embrun* had a great deal of Zeal and Warmth, he was not contented to ſay, That the King his Maſter would employ the whole Strength of his Kingdom to oppoſe the Conqueſt of *Portugal*; but he had alſo the Aſſurance to maintain it in the Preſence of the King of *Spain*, inſomuch that he was commanded to depart the Court. The Embaſſador reply'd, That he would retire when he ſhould receive the King his Maſter's Orders for that Purpoſe, and not before. The King of *Spain* complain'd thereof, and deſir'd the King his Son-in-law to recall his Embaſſador; becauſe he had on another Occaſion talk'd very high, for being refus'd the Surrender of a *French* Cordelier, who, as it was ſaid, carry'd on Intrigues againſt the King's Service: But the Complaints of the Marquiſs *de Fuentes* were eluded, and the King maintain'd his Miniſter. He ſaid that the *Spaniards* had not well underſtood the Embaſſador's *French*, or that this laſt had not well expreſs'd himſelf in *Spaniſh*. However after that, in the Year 1667, the ſame King had enter'd into the Low Countries, the Queen-Regent of *Spain* ſent Orders to the ſaid Archbiſhop to be gone; and would not ſuffer him to wait in *Madrid*, for the Letters the firſt Courier was to bring him: All he could obtain was leave to wait for them at *Alcala*. He receiv'd them there, with Orders from the King to leave the Court of *Spain*, as ſoon as he ſhould have receiv'd the Paſſports that were neceſſary for his ſafe travelling.

Hoſtilities alſo determine Embaſſies. The *Law of Nations* is not violated in the Perſon of the Miniſter of a Prince, who breaks with him, with whom ſuch Miniſter reſides; becauſe that after a Declaration, and an open War, the Miniſter of the Prince that is an Enemy becomes an Enemy likewiſe, and can no longer enjoy the publick Safety. But whether the Maſter of the Miniſter, or the Prince with whom the Miniſter reſides, makes the Rupture or declares War, the Miniſter ought always to have leiſure to retire. If it be the Embaſſador's Maſter that is going to declare the War, or break without a previous Declaration, he ought to give his Miniſter notice thereof, and recall him in time: As on the other ſide, if the Prince with whom he reſides declares it, the Miniſter ought to enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, till he be got out of his Dominions. The Republick of *Venice*, the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Duke of *Modena*, having in the Year 1643. made a League to procure the Reſtitution of the Dutchy of *Caſtro* to the Duke of *Parma*, the Senate order'd Secretary *Bon*, who did the Buſineſs of the Republick at *Rome*, to retire; and the Great Duke ſent the like Order to *Nicolini*, his Embaſſador. The *Spaniſh* Cardinals, who would have been glad to have lent a Hand to an Accommodation, would have prevail'd with *Nicolini* to have ſtaid; but he told them, *He had his Orders, and withall, that he would not expoſe himſelf to the Affronts he might be lyable to after the Rupture.* Princes ſometimes however permit the Miniſter of an Enemy to remain with them, notwithſtanding the Rupture; but that is for the moſt part done againſt Reaſon, and contrary to the Rules of Prudence. After the firſt Rupture with the *Engliſh*, in the Year 1665, the Embaſſador of the United Provinces remain'd ſtill at *London*, and the Miniſter of the King of *England* continu'd at the *Hague*, but with very bad Succeſs. The States had the Mortification to ſee the Embaſſador's Secretary taken up, and to find themſelves in a manner neceſſitated to take up the Secretary of the *Engliſh* Miniſter. They both recall'd their reſpective Miniſters, after they had both violated the *Law of Nations*. Upon the laſt

Rupture the States left again a Minister at *London*, and one at *Paris*; but with very little Advantage: and if at present they have still one at *Stockholm*, it is because the United Provinces treat the King of *Sweden* as an Enemy, but only on account that he is so to their Allies, and not properly theirs. I cannot comprehend why they left a Minister at *Paris*, in a Court that is so jealous of all Correspondences, that even in the Height of Peace, it causes all Letters to be open'd, that are but the least suspected; and so that Minister who could not do the least Service, only augmented the Jealousy was conceiv'd at his Stay, because he could not give the least Advice, but he expos'd himself to an inevitable Affront.

To prevent all these Vexations, those Princes that are regular in their Conduct, recall their Embassador when they are upon the Point of a Rupture, or immediately after, as I just now said. After the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Republick of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan* had concluded their League against *Charles* VIII, the Senate told *Philip de Commines*, the *French* Embassador, That it had order'd *Dominick Trevisan*, and *Dominick Loridan*, Embassadors on the part of the Republick to *Charles* at *Naples*, to return Home; because it was going to break with the King. In the Year 1646, the King of *France* sent twelve Men of War to the Assistance of the Republick, under the Conduct of the Commandor *de Neufchaise*. He was order'd to set up the Standard of St. *Mark* as soon as he should reach the Isle of *Corfou*; lest appearing in the *Venetian* Fleet under the *French* Colours, the *Turks* should take there-from an Occasion of Rupture. Nevertheless as it was well known, that the *Venetians* themselves would be glad that the *Turks* should be inform'd of the *French* Succours, thereby to oblige 'em to shew some Resentment, which might engage the *French* also; the King sent Orders to his Embassador, *That if he thought those Barbarians would offer any Affront to him, or that he did not look upon himself to be in Safety at* Constantinople, *to steal away as well as he could, and try to make his Escape to* France. There are but few Examples, where Princes have been forc'd to send such Orders to their Ministers, and have done it, except in reference to the *Turks*. Some have retir'd without waiting for their Master's Orders; because their Uneasiness would not permit them to do it; as *Don Alphonso de la Cueva*, after the Treason at *Venice* was discover'd, in which he had had so great a Hand that he had Reason to dread the People's Resentment. It is very probable that for the Time to come, those Princes who shall send their Ministers to the *Hague*, will take the same Precautions for their Safety, as being necessary.

All that has been hitherto said ought chiefly to be apply'd to Embassies in Ordinary; since the Extraordinaries end with the Negotiation of the Affair that is the Subject of the Embassador's Employment. Examples hereof are to be found every where, and therein may be observ'd, that most of 'em have been of short Duration; nay there are some, the Affairs whereof have been regulated in less than four and twenty Hours. *Philip de Commines* relates, that *Lewis* XI, judging that he ought to make an Advantage of the War, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* was ingag'd in against the People of *Liege*; and that in the mean time he might safely attack the Duke of *Brittany*, who had been one of the chief Actors in the War for the publick Good; sent the Cardinal *de Balue* and the Constable *St. Pol* to *Charles*. These Embassadors told the Duke of *Burgundy*, That the People of *Liege* being compris'd in the Treaty the King their Master had made with the Duke, he could not make War against them without violating the Peace, unless he also suffer'd the King to make War against the Duke of *Brittain*: That the King would abandon the People of *Liege*, if the Duke would abandon the *Britton*. *Charles* made Answer, That the War he made with the *Liegese*, was Defensive in respect to him: That they had broke the Treaty, for the Observation of which they had given him three hundred Hostages; and that he could not suffer the King to make War with the Duke of *Brittain*, who was his Ally. *These Embassadors did their Business, and were dispatch'd in a very few Hours. Charles* told them when he dismiss'd them, that he was going to give Battel to the *Liegese*; that if he was defeated the King might do as he thought fit in reference to the Duke of *Brittain*; but if he return'd victorious, the King would do well to let the *Britton* alone. This was not the Maxim of *Schach Abas*, King of *Persia*, who said that in dispatching Embassadors with so much Precipitation, they were not treated like Ministers, but like Couriers. The Duke follow'd that of our Lord of *Argenton*, who is of Opinion, that the Embassadors either of declar'd or secret Enemies ought to be quickly dismiss'd.

When the late King of *England* sent the Order of the Garter to Prince *Henry* of *Nassaw*, the Resident who was on his Part with the States of the United Provinces, had a Commission to assist at the Ceremony in the Quality of Embassador Extraordinary, as accordingly he did; but he laid down the Character the same Day. In the same manner the two Bishops, that assisted at the Marriage of *Uladislas* King of *Poland*, as Embassadors of the Dukes of *Neubourg* and of *Mantua*, had the Character but for that Day. After the Peace of *Vervins*, the Arch-Duke sent to *Paris* the Duke *d'Arschot*, the *Admirant of Arragon*, the President *Richardot*, the Count *d'Aremberg*, *Don Lewis de Velasco*, and the Auditor *Verreycken*, to see the Execution and Observation of the Treaty sworn to. Immediately after the Ceremonies *Richardot* and *Verreycken* return'd to *Brussels*, and the other four remain'd at *Paris*; but their Character of Embassador ceas'd, and they were no longer consider'd but as Hostages for the Restitution of those Places which the King of *Spain* held still in *France*.

A Prince may recall his Minister when he pleases, and the Prince with whom the Minister resides, may also make Instances to have him recall'd, when his Conduct is suspected by him or is not agreeable to him. But a Prince who is not the Master of the Minister, and who has nothing to negotiate with him, cannot oblige the Prince that employs him to recall him, without incroaching upon his Sovereignty, and without arrogating to himself in a foreign

Court, an Authority that does not belong to him. *John Francis Belletia*, Senator of *Turin*, did the Buſineſs of the Duke of *Savoy* at *Munſter*, in conjunction with the Marquiſs of *St. Germain*, not as Embaſſador, but as a ſubaltern Miniſter. He was diſagreeable at the Court of *France*; becauſe they had Advice there, that he intended to bring the Affair of *Pignerol* upon the Stage: for which Reaſon it preſs'd the Dutcheſs Regent of *Savoy* to recall him. She was very much offended thereat, as a thing that concern'd the Sovereignty of the Prince her Son, which ſhe ſaid was depoſited with her during her Regency, and the Minority of the Prince. The Marquiſs *de Pianezza*, Chief Miniſter of the Court of *Turin*, told the Marquiſs *du Pleſſis Pralin*, who commanded the Arms of *France* in *Italy*, that the Dutcheſs would ſooner ſee her ſelf reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, than ſuffer this Impair to be made in the Sovereignty of the Prince her Son. The Queen Regent of *France*, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, paſs'd over all theſe Conſiderations, and recall'd the *Sieur d'Aiguebonne*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Turin*, and refus'd to give Audience to the Abbot *de Verüe*, Embaſſador from *Savoy*. The Dutcheſs had a *French* Army in the Heart of her Countrey; and the Cardinal to intimidate her ſtill more, ſpread a Rumour that more Troops were marching thither. The Abbot gave Advice thereof by an Expreſs, and ſo throughly alarm'd the Dutcheſs, that to avoid coming to a Rupture with *France*, ſhe at laſt reſolv'd to recall *Belletia*. However, that this might be done with ſome Reputation to her ſelf and him, ſhe made uſe of the Pretext of the Embaſſy of *Poland*, whither ſhe ſent him to complement King *Uladiſlas* upon his Marriage with the Princeſs of *Mantua*. No Prince will ever attempt to imitate this Action, but he will be willing that the whole Univerſe ſhould know, he has no great Conſideration for him, whom he obliges to do an Action ſo unworthy of a Sovereign.

The Embaſſador ſurrenders his Character into the Hands of him who gave it him, at his Return from his Embaſſy. In the Year 1645, the States of the United Provinces gave *d'Avaux* and *Servien* to underſtand, that they were ſurpris'd, that in their Commiſſion of Plenipotentiaries, the King ſhould give them the Quality of Embaſſadors, to the Prejudice of what had been concerted with the *Spaniards*, that on all ſides only that of Plenipotentiary ſhould be made uſe of. The Miniſters of *France* ſaid, They were no leſs amaz'd at the Remark the States made thereon; and that they were ignorant of what the States had agreed upon with the *Spaniards*: That the ſame Quality of Embaſſador was in the Powers they had communicated at the *Hague*, where no Notice had been taken thereof: *That ſince they had that Quality when they were in* Holland, *they could not lay it down, till they ſurrender'd it into the Hands of the King, at their Return to* France. I have ſpoken elſewhere of *Don Antonio de Souſa de Macedo*, and of the Anſwer he made the ſame States. That is ſo great a Truth, that even if there had been an open War declar'd between the King of *Portugal* and the States, and that *Don Antonio* had been taken upon the Sea before he arriv'd at *Lisbon*, he could not have been declar'd a good Prize.

Ancient Hiſtory makes mention of a *Roman*, who being arriv'd at *Rome*, at his Return from his Embaſſy, was kill'd before he had made his Report. The Murderer ſaid, he had not violated the *Law of Nations* in killing a Man, who being return'd from his Embaſſy, could no longer be conſider'd as an Embaſſador; and that as he was otherwiſe the Son of an Outlaw, he might be kill'd with Impunity. The Murderer was condemn'd as a Violator of the *Law of Nations*; becauſe the Embaſſador ought to be in Safety, and in the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, till ſuch Time as he has made his Report, and is diſcharg'd of the Embaſſy. However I am of Opinion they ought to have diſtinguiſh'd on this Occaſion between the *Publick Safety* and the *Law of Nations*.

But as we ſhall ſpeak more particularly of the Report, in the ſecond Part of this Treatiſe, I ſhall only ſay here, That the Embaſſadors whom the United Provinces employ, take their Seat in the Aſſembly of the States General, that they may have the Quality of Deputy to the Aſſembly, which repreſents the whole Union: and they are conſider'd as ſuch, till they have ſworn to their Commiſſion. After that they are no longer conſider'd but as Miniſters of the State, and they have no Seat in the Aſſembly. Even at their Return, when they make a Report of their Embaſſy, they are ſeated out of Rank, behind the other Deputies of which the Aſſembly is compos'd. It is true that when *M. de Groot*, who was Embaſſador in *France*, came to the *Hague* in the Year 1671, to inform the State of the Preparations which were making in *France*, and of the Deſigns that were forming there againſt the United Provinces, he was allow'd to take his uſual Place in the Aſſembly of the States General; but it was by expreſs Order of the States of *Holland* his Sovereigns, who can depute thither whom they pleaſe extraordinarily; not only by virtue of *Credential Letters*; but alſo by the Mouth of the other Deputies of the ſame Province. But then he did not make a Report of his Embaſſy; but only gave there Information of ſome Particulars which it concern'd the State to know. Thoſe of whom the Republick of *Venice* makes uſe in the like Employments, have the Quality of Sages: but they have no Share in the Government; and even at their Return from their Embaſſy, they cannot be admitted therein till after a freſh Ballotting.

Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden* had acknowledg'd the King of *Portugal*, and had made an Allyance with him. She had acknowledg'd his Miniſter, and had done him Honour at the Ceremonies of her Coronation. Nevertheleſs ſome Days before her Abdication, ſhe bethought her ſelf of commanding the Maſter of the Ceremonies to go to *Anthony de Silva* and *Souſa*, Reſident of *Portugal*, with a ſeal'd Letter, and Orders not to open it but in the Preſence of the Reſident: to read it to him, and to bring back the Original to her, leaving him a Copy thereof if he deſir'd one. This Letter contain'd, That as the Queen acknowledg'd no other King of *Portugal* than *Philip* IV. King of *Spain*, ſhe ſignify'd to the Reſident of the Duke of *Braganza*,

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pretended King of *Portugal*, that his Employment being of no Utility at that Court, he might retire as ſoon as he pleas'd; becauſe for the future his Maſter ſhould be conſider'd there but as an Uſurper. However, that ſince the Reſident was come into *Sweden* under the *Publick Faith, ſhe would ſee that he enjoy'd the inviolable Protection of the* Law of Nations. The Reſident notwithſtanding this remain'd at *Stockholm*; enjoy'd the aforeſaid Protection effectually, and was reſtor'd to the Function of his Employment under the Reign of *Charles Guſtavus*. It did not belong to the Queen to take away his Quality, no more than it is in the Power of a Preſidial Court to take away the Character which the Reſident of the Duke of *Lunenburg* has from a foreign Sovereign Power, that continues it to him, and who alone can diſpoſe of the Character of his Miniſter.

The Embaſſador that goes from a Court where he leaves ſome Satisfaction of his Conduct, receives Marks thereof at his Departure; and after he has taken his Audience of Leave, he is preſented according to the Eſteem is had of his Merit, or the Conſideration the Prince his Maſter is in; and ſometimes alſo according to the Importance of the Affair that is the Subject of his Embaſſy. There are ſome Courts where ſome Civility is done to the Embaſſador when he goes away, but it is now but rarely done. At the *Hague* he is conducted to the ſame Place where he was receiv'd. In *England* they have Barges order'd them, which carry them on Board the Ship appointed for their Tranſportation: but in the Execution of all this there is little or no Ceremony us'd.

It is a great Point that of the Preſents, becauſe the Republick of *Venice* takes it for a great Affront if her Embaſſador is not preſented; and the United Provinces forbid their Embaſſadors taking any under the Penalty of Diſgrace. In the Year 1603. *Priuly*, Embaſſador from *Venice* at *Turin*, not being very well with the Duke of *Savoy*, on account of ſome Jealouſy of Women, could not obtain his Audience of Leave, and was oblig'd to go away without a Preſent. The Senate was ſo angry thereat, that when the Nuncio offer'd to intermeddle in the Accommodation of their Difference, the Republick inſiſted upon three Things: That the Duke ſhould ſend firſt an Embaſſador to *Venice:* That he ſhould ſettle the Rank between the Princes his Children and the Embaſſadors of the Republick; and in the third Place, *That he ſhould ſend to* Priuly *the Preſent that was due to him as Embaſſador of* Venice. The ſame Senate judging that it was none of his Province to aboliſh a Cuſtom which obtains in all the Courts of the World; and that its Embaſſadors ought not to refuſe the Honour that other Princes do to thoſe who repreſent the Republick; has eſteem'd, on the other ſide, that the Preſent which is made them, as to its Miniſters, ought not to be converted to their own private Advantage; and has ordain'd therefore, that the Preſent they ſhall receive ſhall be brought to the Senate, to be diſpos'd of as it ſhall think fit. The Embaſſadors do ſo; and altho' generally ſpeaking the Senate reſtores it to them, it does not always do it; but it always gives them to underſtand, that it is to their Sovereign they are oblig'd for it, more than to the foreign Potentate. In the Year 1530. the Republick ſent to Pope *Clement* VII, and to the Emperor *Charles* V. ſix of its chiefeſt Senators, who aſſiſted at the Coronation of *Charles*, after they had made their Complement on the Peace, theſe two Princes had juſt concluded between themſelves; which was properly the Subject of their Embaſſy. At their Departure *the Emperor made them a Preſent of five hundred* Portugal *Doubles, of the Value of ten Crowns each: but the Senate caus'd them to be put into the Treaſury of St.* Mark, to be employ'd in the Service of the Republick. The Emperor return'd the Civility of this Embaſſy with another, compos'd of three of his Counſellors, who were very well receiv'd at *Venice, and preſented each with a Gold Cup of the Value of a thouſand Crowns.*

In moſt of the Courts of *Europe* a particular Honour is done to the Embaſſadors of *Venice:* For if it be their firſt Embaſſy, they are ask'd, whether they will be made Knights. In *France* this Order is call'd *l'Accollade*, and the King confers it on the Embaſſador in a private Audience, after he has taken his Leave publickly. It is done without Ceremony; one of the firſt *Valets de Chamber* or of the Wardrobe lays a Cuſhion at the King's Feet, on which the Embaſſador kneels down. The King draws his Sword, makes him a Knight, and gives him at the ſame time a Sword, and a Shoulder Belt. The Pope do's it alſo ſometimes: and thereupon happen'd a remarkable Occurrence enough in the Year 1601. The Pope *Clement* VIII. having confer'd Knighthood on the Embaſſadors of *Venice*, the Ordinary and the Extraordinary, it appear'd the one of them *John Mocenigo* had already been Knighted by King *Henry* IV. There were ſome who ſaid, That it was a Thing without Precedent; and that perhaps the Pope had done it deſignedly, becauſe he look'd upon what the King had done before his Abſolution to be null. But others ſaid on the contrary, that when *Mocenigo* underſtood that the Pope intended to Knight him, he had ſaid he was one already by the Hand of the King of *France*. But the Affair being put under Examination, it was alledg'd that Pope *Sixtus* V. had confer'd Knighthood on the four Embaſſadors of Obedience whom the Republick had ſent to him, notwithſtanding *Foſcarini*, who was one of the Number, had already been Knighted at *Venice* by King *Henry* III. who was lodg'd at his Houſe; ſo that it was concluded that the Pope's Knighthood was not inconſiſtent with that of the other Chriſtian Princes, becauſe they have no Competition with his Holineſs.

In the Year 1646. *John Tiepolo* went on the part of the Republick into *Poland*, to endeavour to perſuade the King to break with the *Turk*, in order to make a Diverſion in Favour of the Iſle of *Candia*. The King *Uladiſlas* had rais'd ſome foreign Troops, under Pretext of the neceſſary Defence of the Frontiers of the Kingdom; but with a Deſign to break with the *Turk*, and to engage *Poland* in an offenſive War: So that *Tiepolo* found there ſuch favourable Diſpoſitions, that he had Reaſon to hope for a happy Iſſue of his Negotiation, if they had not been alter'd by the Umbrage the *Poles* took at the King's Arming; becauſe as he had done it without the Conſent of the States of the Kingdom, they were apprehenſive he did it with a Deſign

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to change the Form of the Government. They complain'd thereof at the Diet, and oblig'd the King to disband all the foreign Troops, of whom he thought to compoſe a Body of five and twenty thouſand Men; which with the Friends and Partizans he had in the Army of the Countrey, might have done an irreparable Damage to the Liberty of *Poland*. *Tiepolo* therefore finding it was impoſſible to perſuade that Nation to a Rupture, took his Audience of Leave. At this Audience the King Knighted him, in the Preſence of the Queen and the whole Court. He oblig'd the new Knight to charge the Arms of his Family with an Eagle and a Sheaf, which are the Arms of *Poland*, and of the Royal Houſe of *Sweden*, from whence the King was deſcended. This is one of the principal Ornaments of the firſt Nobility of *Venice*, amongſt whom theſe are diſtinguiſh'd, who appear in Publick with a Star; for which Reaſon they are call'd *The Knights of the Star*. In the Year 1603. the Grey Leagues ſent ſeven Embaſſadors to *Venice* to ſee the Obſervation of the Alliance that had been concluded between theſe two Republicks ſworn to. The Oath was taken in the Great Council Chamber; and when they took their Audience of Leave, the Doge made them all ſeven Knights, by ſtriking them gently on the Shoulder and the Head, while their Gilt Spurs were putting on; and each of them was preſented with a Gold Chain, and a Medal of the Value of five hundred Crowns.

At *Venice* the Laws are very rigorous againſt thoſe who receive Benefices, or take Penſions from a foreign Sovereign: But at the ſame Time the Republick is ſo far from being offended at the Preſents that are made to her Embaſſadors, or from forbidding them to receive any at the Concluſion of their Embaſſy, that it takes it ill when they have none; and would be apt to call them to an Account for their Behaviour, which had render'd them unworthy of the Benevolence of the Prince they came from. *Anthony Foſcarini*, he that was ſince ſtrangl'd in Priſon for Crimes againſt the State, of which he was afterwards found to be innocent, had been ſix Years Embaſſador at *London*: and being ſenſible that his Predeceſſors had receiv'd very fine Preſents there, he expected one at leaſt as valuable as that which had been made to the laſt Embaſſador, who had reſided there but three Years: but he was mightily ſurpris'd to ſee them bring him one not worth above half as much. He complain'd of it, but he was told it was the King's Pleaſure, who had reduc'd the Preſents to half their former Value; and that was all his Remedy.

As the Prince who makes a Preſent to an Embaſſador at the End of his Employment, conſiders not only the Perſon of the Miniſter, but alſo that of the Sovereign he repreſents; ſo the Embaſſador in accepting the Preſent, ought to have as much Conſideration for his Maſter's Intereſt, and for the Satisfaction he reaps from his Embaſſy, as for that he leaves of his Conduct at the Court where he was employ'd. It is on this Account that there are ſo many Examples of Embaſſadors, and even of the politeſt and beſt qualify'd, that have refus'd the Preſents of thoſe Princes, who did not anſwer what the Miniſter had reaſon to hope from his Negotiation. *Octavian Bon*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Venice* at *Madrid*, not having been able to procure Juſtice for ſome Depredations that the *Spaniards* had committed on the Subjects of the Republick; and being willing to expreſs how little ſatisfy'd he went away, refus'd the Preſent that was brought him from the King.

After the League of *Cambray* had been concluded between Pope *Julius* II, the Emperor *Maximilian*, *Lewis* XII. King of *France*, and *Ferdinand the Catholick*; *Lewis* ſignify'd to *Anthony Condolmer* Embaſſador from *Venice*, that he did not deſire he ſhould attend him in his Journey to *Italy*; but that he would have him go to *Lions*, where he would let him know what he had to do. The King ſent him at the ſame time a very fine Preſent: But foraſmuch as theſe Civilities are done to Embaſſadors only at their Departure, *Condolmer*, who concluded from thence that he was diſmiſs'd, would not accept it; and ſaid, *That his Life was at Stake if he receiv'd the Preſent of a King who was going to make War with the Republick*. After the Lord *Hollis*, Embaſſador from *England* to *France*, had taken his Audience of Leave in the Year 1666, the King ſent him a Diamond of the Value of five and twenty thouſand Livres. The two Kings were upon the point of declaring War, on account of that the King of *England* actually made with the United Provinces, for which Reaſon *Hollis* refus'd the Preſent. He ſaid he did not come into *France* to inrich himſelf; and that moreover he had not receiv'd Satisfaction for the Affront the Princeſs of *Carignan* had offer'd to his Wife. It was repreſented to him that it was a Token of the Eſteem the King had for his Perſon, and that it was the Cuſtom of *France*, where a Preſent from the King could not be refus'd without Incivility. It was none in the State the Affairs of the two Crowns were then in; where the Embaſſador might very well commit one, in reference to a Prince who was not a Friend to his Maſter.

In the Year 1595, *Clement* VIII. ſent *John Francis Aldobrandin*, his Nephew, into *Spain*, to try to perſuade the King to ſend a powerful Succour againſt the *Turks* in *Hungary*. He made a very ſhort Stay at *Madrid*, and at his going away, the King, the Prince, and the Infant, offer'd him very conſiderable Preſents; but the Pope had forbidden him taking any. The Pope was not for having his Relations oblig'd to crown'd Heads: And as he does not himſelf make very magnificent Preſents to Embaſſadors, his Incivility was of no great Conſequence.

Theſe Preſents are alſo refus'd, when the Maſter of the Embaſſador is not ſatisfy'd with the Prince with whom the Embaſſador has negotiated, or when the Embaſſador will not be oblig'd to the Civility of a Prince, of whom he is not otherwiſe ſatisfy'd, as I juſt now ſaid. In the Year 1483, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* ſent to *Charles* VIII. *John de Ribera*, Lord of *Montemayor*, to demand the Reſtitution of the *Rouſſillon*. He did not ſucceed; for which Reaſon he refus'd to accept the Plate the King would have have preſented him with. The *French* ſaid it was an Incivility, and that it was never known in *France* that any body refus'd the King's Preſent. *Ribera* only made this Anſwer,

That it was never known in Spain, *that an Embaſſador receiv'd the Preſent of a King, with whom the Prince the Embaſſador ſerv'd had no Reaſon to be ſatisfy'd.* I ſhould think one might here call to mind thoſe *Roman* Embaſſadors, who refus'd the Preſents *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* would have made them; but however, at a Feaſt the King gave them, they ſuffer'd Gold Crowns to be put upon their Heads. Inſtead of rejecting with Ruſticity the Honour the King did them, they receiv'd the Crowns, and the next Day they went and plac'd 'em on the Heads of the Statues of the Kings which were in *Jupiter*'s Temple. *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*, being ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary from *England* to the Czar of *Muſcovy*, in the Year 1664, was but indifferently us'd; ſo that not receiving any Satisfaction, neither in Reference to the Affair he had to negotiate, or to the Complaints he made of the Incivilities that had been offer'd him, he expreſs'd his Uneaſyneſs thereat on all Occaſions, but chiefly ſome Days before he left that Court. The Czar had ſent him a Preſent of Martins, of the Value of two thouſand Crowns; another of fourteen hundred Crowns, for his Lady; and a third of a thouſand Crowns, for his Son; beſides the other Preſents for his Domeſticks: But he refus'd to accept them, and was coarſe enough in his Behaviour to the Nobleman that accompany'd them. The Czar ſent another Perſon of Quality to him, to be inform'd of the Cauſe from the Embaſſador; who told the *Muſcovite*, *That he did not think he ought to carry away any Tokens of his Czarriſh Majeſty's Benevolence, while he gave ſu little Satisfaction to the King his Maſter.* The Czar was contented with this Anſwer, and being well enough pleas'd to keep his Skins, he ſent back the Preſent the Embaſſador had made him from himſelf, which the Embaſſador alſo re-accepted.

When there is no lawful Ground, the Embaſſador cannot refuſe without Ruſticity, and without affronting the Prince, the Preſent he ſends him. In the Year 1632, *Don Gonçales* of *Corduba*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *Spain*, receiv'd great Civilities in *France*, where he made no long Stay. At his Departure the King preſented him with a Sword, which with the Belt was eſteem'd worth ten thouſand Crowns. He would not accept it, and yet ſent a Preſent to the Count *de Guron*, one of the Introductors of the Embaſſadors; but the Count told the Secretary, who brought it him, That he would not receive any Preſent from a Miniſter of *Spain*, who had had the Incivility to refuſe the Effects of the King's Liberality. *M. Doſſat* being ſtill but a Biſhop, had Orders to go to *Venice*, and to communicate to the Senate the Peace which had been lately concluded at *Vervins*. At his going away the Senate ſent him a thouſand Crowns, in four Baggs of red Cloth. He would have refus'd them, but it was repreſented to him, *That it would not only be an Incivility, but even an Affront, that would offend the Republick, and oblige it to forbid its Miniſters ever receiving any thing from the King.* After the Preſident *Jeannin* had almoſt finiſh'd the Negotiation for the twelve Years Truce, the Arch-Duke ſignify'd to him by Letter, that he intended to preſent him, and the other Embaſſadors who had labour'd with him, with a conſiderable Sum of Money, which he refus'd to accept; but he made no Difficulty to accept the two Suits of Hangings which the Arch-Duke ſent him: Altho' he was a Miniſter whoſe Integrity was without Reproach or Suſpicion, and that he had not negotiated with the Arch-Duke but with his Enemies.

Don Antonio Pimentel having concluded at *Paris* the Treaty, which ſince receiv'd its laſt Perfection at the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and having procur'd the Ratification of what he had negotiated, and brought together the firſt Miniſters of the two Crowns on the Frontiers, Cardinal *Mazarin* ſent him a Hatband of Diamonds, and Ear-pendents for his Lady. He refus'd the Preſent, and ſignify'd to the Cardinal, that ſince the Affair was not perfectly concluded, he intreated his Eminence to delay making him feel the Effects of the King's Liberality: That he was not rude enough to refuſe them, when he ſhould ſee what he had promis'd on the part of the King his Maſter, and his firſt Miniſter accompliſh'd. I cannot forbear making here a Compariſon of this Procedure, with that of a certain Miniſter, who having diſcharg'd at the *Hague* the Function of a Herald, rather than that of an Embaſſador, and having declar'd that his Character was extinct, even to the refuſing the Memorial the States would have ſent him, did notwithſtanding all this take his Audience of Leave publickly, thereby to procure to himſelf the Preſent of ſix thouſand Livres, which the States for ſome time have given to the Embaſſadors of crown'd Heads; tho' he could not be ignorant that his King was going to make War with them. He was the Averſion of the *Hollanders* when he came into the Countrey, and he was their Deteſtation when he left it; whereas *Pimentel* left in *France* the Reputation of a very honeſt, very gallant, and very able Man. It was the ſame Miniſter, who while he reſided ſome Years before in *Sweden*, had ſo extinguiſh'd in the Queen's Mind all the Affection and Eſteem ſhe had for *France*, and left in the room thereof Inclinations ſo contrary, that that great Princeſs was no longer known but by the Lineaments of her Face, which was not the part that made her great.

All Princes are not equally liberal and magnificent on theſe Occaſions: Some of 'em conſider therein the Maſter of the Embaſſador; ſome again have a Regard to the perſonal Merit of the Embaſſador; and there are others alſo, that make Reflection on the Subject of the Embaſſy, and on the Importance of the Negotiation. It cannot be deny'd neither, that there are ſome Princes who make their Liberality ſubſervient to their Ambition, or to ſome other By-Deſign, thereby to bring over to their Intereſts thoſe, to whom the Preſents are only as it were an Earneſt of what they may hope for hereafter. The Mareſchal *de Biron* went to *Bruſſels*, to ſee the Obſervation of the Peace of *Vervins* ſworn to, and brought away Preſents that engag'd him in very pernicious Affairs. In *France* the Preſent to the Nuncio moſt commonly conſiſts in a Side-Board of Plate, of the Value of ten thouſand Livres; and if he be made Cardinal during his Nunciature, it amounts to ſeven or eight thouſand Crowns. The Preſents to Embaſſadors in Ordinary are regulated to about two thouſand Crowns, for

thoſe of crown'd Heads and of *Venice*; but ſometimes they receive an additional Preſent extraordinary, and even their uſual Preſent is augmented as the Occaſions ſeem to require. There is nothing fix'd in this Point, in Reference to the Extraordinaries, but Regard is therein had to the Prince that ſends them, to the Perſon of the Embaſſador, and to the Affair he negotiates. When *M. de Baſſompierre* went into *England*, in the Year 1626, he receiv'd a Preſent of the Value of ſeven thouſand Pound Sterling; and the Mareſchal *de Grammont*, who went in the Year 1659, to demand the Infant in Marriage, was preſented with a Hatband of Diamonds worth thirty thouſand Crowns.

But a great deal of Roguery is committed on theſe Occaſions, more eſpecially when the Preſent is made in Jewels. *John Zavadsky*, Embaſſador of *Poland*, after he had been at the *Hague*, *Bruſſels*, and at *London*, arriv'd at *Paris* in the Month of *March* 1636. The Affair he had to negotiate was of no great Importance: And foraſmuch as he was conſider'd but as a circular Embaſſador, and that *M. d'Avaux* who had been twice with the King of *Poland*, had been but indifferently preſented, it was likewiſe reſolv'd to make him but a ſlender Preſent. However, after he had ſhewn that which the Cardinal Infant had made him, which was well worth twenty thouſand Livres, it was reſolv'd to beſtow ſixteen thouſand Livres in that the King intended him. *Berlize* carry'd him a Diamond, and a pictur'd Box which was told him to have coſt fifteen thouſand Livres. *Zavadzky* fell ſick, and being, after his Recovery, ready to ſet out, *Berlize* went to ſee him to pay him the laſt Complements, and to excuſe, on the Abſence of the Court, his not having been overwell receiv'd and treated during his Stay at *Paris*; but the Embaſſador taking him aſide, told him, That he had been written to from Court, that the King had order'd him a Preſent of the Value of ſix thouſand Crowns, and that that which he had receiv'd was not worth above two at moſt: That if there had been but two or three thouſand Livres Difference, he would have took no Notice of it; and that what he did ſay, was not by the way of Complaint, but to ſhew how Embaſſadors were us'd, and how the King was ſerv'd in *France*: That for certain it would be written into *Poland*, that he had receiv'd a Preſent worth ſix thouſand Crowns; ſo that he ſhould be liable to be ſuſpected of Artifice, if he produc'd that which had been brought him; becauſe it would never be believ'd that the King of *France* had made him ſo ſorry a Preſent, after thoſe he had receiv'd in *England* and at *Bruxelles*. *Berlize* who was not capable of doing an ill Action, had no Difficulty to juſtifie himſelf: But thoſe Perſons of Quality who had deliver'd the Jewels to him, did not get any great Reputation thereby. After *Zavadzky* was gone, a Gold Chain was ſent to him of the Value of a thouſand Crowns. The two *Dutch* Embaſſadors were much cunninger: For they prefer'd good Bills of Exchange, in which they would not be impos'd upon; and where there was nothing to be loſt by the Faſhion, as there is in Jewels and Plate, of which they had their Choice. The Protector *Cromwell* was for making a Preſent of a Service of Plate of the Value of twenty thouſand Livres to *William Nieuport*, Embaſſador of the United Provinces at *London*. The expreſs Prohibition that is made to Embaſſadors in *Holland* to take any Preſents, oblig'd *Nieuport* to refuſe this, even after his Return home, and after he had made a Report of his Embaſſy. He that had Orders to offer it him at the *Hague*, having a mind to make an Advantage of the other's Refuſal and Probity, kept it; and *Cromwell* dying ſome Time after, he remain'd poſſeſs'd thereof, and would have been ſo ſtill, if after the King's Reſtoration an ungrateful and treacherous Friend, had not diſcover'd it to a Perſon in Power, who oblig'd him to make Reſtitution of what he did not poſſeſs with a very good Title.

To prevent theſe Frauds, Perſons of Confidence are employ'd on ſuch Occaſions; *viz.* either the Maſters of the Ceremonies, or the Introductors of Embaſſadors, who receive the Preſent either from the King's own Hand, or elſe from that of one of the Officers of his Houſhold, the Super-intendent of the Revenues, or the Secretary of State for foreign Affairs. In the Year 1636. the Marquiſs of St. *Germain*, Envoy Extraordinary from *Savoy*, having taken his Audience of Leave, *M. de Chavigny*, Secretary of State, ſent him the King's Preſent by *la Barde*, his firſt Clerk. *Berlize* looking upon that to be prejudicial to his Function, had a mind to complain thereof: But not daring to offend a Secretary of State, who was in great Credit with Cardinal *Richelieu*, he thought it better to inform himſelf from *Chavigny* how it came to paſs; and therefore ask'd him, if it was by the King's Order that he had employ'd therein a Perſon who did not belong to his Majeſty, and done that Prejudice to his Office? *Chavigny* made Anſwer, That it ſhould have no Conſequence, and that if *Berlize* complain'd thereof, he would ſay, That the Introductor not coming himſelf to receive them at his Hands, he was not willing to intruſt 'em with a Perſon whoſe Subſtance was not anſwerable for the Preſents, which are ſometimes of very great Value: That he had done it only on this Account, and not at all to offend *Berlize*, *or to make any Innovation in his Office*. This was a Reparation, but a very bad Excuſe; becauſe he to whom *Chavigny* had refus'd to deliver the Preſents, was the King's Officer as his Father had been before him; had a great deal of Honour, and much more than they who had made their Profit of *Zavadzky*'s Preſent, whom *Chavigny* might very well know.

I juſt mention'd the rich Preſent that was made to *M. de Baſſompierre*, when he was Embaſſador in *England*. They have there an Officer of Importance, who has the keeping of all the Plate, and of all the King's Jewels that are not ſet. This Officer pretended that it belong'd to him to carry the Preſent to the Embaſſador; and had ſo ſtrengthen'd his Party at Court, that the Duke of *Buckingham* had declar'd in his Favour. But the Maſter of the Ceremonies and his Aſſiſtant, being inform'd thereof, repreſented their Intereſt to the Earl of *Montgomery*, Great Chamberlain, and afterwards to the Earl of *Pembrook*, High Steward of the King's Houſhold; and left them ſo well ſatisfy'd of their Right, that they likewiſe brought over the Duke of *Buckingham* to their Sentiment;

ment; ſo that it was reſolv'd, that the Maſter of the Ceremonies ſhould carry the Preſent; as accordingly he did. The King himſelf told the Maſter of the Ceremonies, (when this laſt came to acquaint him how the Embaſſador had receiv'd the Preſent; and thank'd his Majeſty for the Favour he had done him in giving him this Commiſſion) that it belong'd to the Maſter of the Ceremonies to carry the Preſents of Jewels to Embaſſadors, to the Excluſion of all others.

This Cuſtom of making a Preſent to an Embaſſador at his Departure from a Court, having ſucceeded to that of Defraying him; and being ſo well eſtabliſh'd that it is of as great an Extent as the *Law of Nations* it ſelf, there is Reaſon to be ſurpris'd at the Regulation that has been made on that Subject in *Holland*. The States of the United Provinces being aſſembled extraordinarily in the Year 1651, on the Occaſion of the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, Father of him that governs now; came on the 10th of *Auguſt* to a Reſolution, by which they forbad thoſe Miniſters who ſhould be employ'd on their Part to foreign Potentates, to take any Preſents directly or indirectly, in any manner or way whatever. Theſe Prohibitions are ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerv'd, that there is no Miniſter that does not refuſe the Civilities Princes offer him; even the very Refreſhments they ſend him when he paſſes through their Countrey. I never could yet learn the true Cauſe that has oblig'd ſo wiſe and prudent a State, to make a Regulation that abſolutely deſtroys the very Principles of a Civility that is receiv'd amongſt all the Nations of the World. I before obſerv'd that the Republick of *Venice* would try an Embaſſador who ſhould return home without a Preſent; whereas that of *Holland* would declare him infamous that ſhould bring one, or barely receive a Plate of Fruit or other Refreſhments. I cannot tell whether the Authors of this Regulation pretended to found a Republick of *Plato* in their Fens and Marſhes; but it cannot be deny'd, that they thereby condemn the Sentiments of all the other Kings and Potentates of the Univerſe, who are of Opinion they ought to expreſs to the Embaſſador the Conſideration they have for his Prince, the Eſteem they have of his own Perſon, and the Satisfaction they have from his Conduct and Behaviour. It muſt alſo be own'd, that they who could come to ſo ſingular a Reſolution, could not but have a very bad Opinion of the Miniſters they employ'd, ſince they look'd upon 'em to be ſo eaſily Corruptible, that a Diſh of Meat or of Fruit, or a Bottle of Wine ſhould be able to make them fail in their Fidelity to their Countrey. I am willing to believe that there are mean Souls, ſelfiſh and unfaithful enough, to ſuffer themſelves to be corrupted; but I cannot ſee how an Embaſſador can be corrupted by the Preſent he receives, when he is no longer in a Condition to negotiate, nor to betray the Intereſt of his Prince, even if he were diſpos'd to do it; and by a Preſent that cannot ſerve for a Reward, not only of a Diſloyalty and Treaſon, but even of a ſmall Service. I dare not at the ſame time ſay, that ſo powerful and glorious a State has done it out of a Principle of Thriftineſs and good Husbandry; ſince it does not hinder it from making very conſiderable Preſents to foreign Embaſſadors, and doing them that Honour, which it will not ſuffer its own Miniſters to receive.

I could wiſh the Hiſtory of the Times had not taken notice of the Difficulty the States of *Holland* made in the Year 1654, to conſent to a Preſent of five hundred Crowns, which the States General were for making to the *Sieur Braſſet*, Reſident of *France*. He was an able and agreeable Miniſter, who having loſt his Sight in the Service of his Maſter, was going to retire; and it was in debate to make him the uſual Preſent. The Deputies of *Holland* were againſt it; not thinking it reaſonable to make Preſents to foreign Miniſters, while thoſe of that State were not allow'd to receive any in the other Courts. They were of the ſame Opinion, when it was propos'd to make the uſual Preſent to the Heirs of *M. le Brun*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, who dy'd at the *Hague*, and to the *Sieur Stockar*, Envoy of the Proteſtant Cantons; but at laſt the other Provinces carry'd it, and caus'd the Preſents to be made. A Prince or State may make what Regulations they pleaſe for their own Subjects; but it is not juſt to impoſe them on thoſe of another Prince, and to pretend to regulate in reference to them, the Civilities that have been univerſally receiv'd. *Spinola*, Miniſter of *Genoa*, ſaid, *he would have his Preſent*, and would be treated as *Jacomo Negrone*, his Predeceſſor, had been. The Prince that is not ſatisfy'd with the Conduct and Behaviour of a foreign Miniſter, is not oblig'd to give him Marks of his Benevolence; of which there are ſeveral Examples; and among the reſt a very powerful one, in the Perſon of the Marquiſs *d'Inoyoſa* and of *Don Carlo Coloma*, Embaſſadors of *Spain* in *England*, who having grievouſly offended the the Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *Buckingham*, had indeed their Audience of Leave; but went away without Preſents. In the Year 1647, *Servien* made a Treaty of Guaranty at the *Hague*; but his manner of Negotiating being inſupportable, the States of *Holland* would not ſuffer the uſual Preſent to be made him. He had had great Differences with the Miniſter, who was on the Part of this Province at *Munſter*; for which Reaſon no Opportunity was ſlip'd to let him know that he was not belov'd, nor was held in any great Conſideration.

I do not perceive that hitherto this Regulation has procur'd any great Advantages to the State; but on the contrary, that it has brought ſeveral Diſgraces upon it. In the Year 1652, the Parliament made uſe of this Pretext, to forbid *St. John* and *Strickland* receiving the Preſents the States had ſent them, for having negotiated ſome time in *Holland*. Thoſe Miniſters did ſince very bad Offices to the United Provinces, and were in part the Cauſe of the War they ſoon after engag'd in with this new Republick. In the Year 1662, *Mrs. de Ghent*, *Van Buningen* and *de Hubert*, with the Embaſſador in Ordinary *Boreel*, concluded a Treaty at *Paris*, which in all likelihood would have renew'd Friendſhip between *France* and the United Provinces. The King ſent very rich Preſents to the four Embaſſadors, who refus'd them. The King took no notice thereof, but forbad the ſix or ſeven Commiſſioners, who had

labour'd at the Treaty, to receive the Preſents the States would have made them: by which Means the States made themſelves ſo many Enemies in the King of *France*'s Council.

When the Embaſſador has receiv'd his Preſent, and has perform'd his laſt Viſits, he is oblig'd to make a Preſent alſo to the Introductor; and he is guided therein by the Value of the Preſent he has receiv'd, or by the Trouble that he has had in conducting him to his Audiences. *M. de Baſſompierre* made no long Stay at *London*, but yet he receiv'd ſo noble a Preſent, that he ſent one of three hundred *Jacobuſes* to the Maſter of the Ceremonies. There are ſome Nations, and even ſome Miniſters, that are more ſordid and niggardly than others; and there are ſome Embaſſadors, who having no Honour themſelves, know not how to do any to their Maſters. One can hardly forbear bluſhing, when one reads in the Memoirs of *England*, the printed Names of ſome Embaſſadors, who after having been fourteen Months at *London*; and having in that time had above ſixty Audiences, were ſo narrow-Soul'd as to ſend the Maſter of the Ceremonies a Preſent of ſixſcore Ducats, notwithſtanding he had carry'd them very rich Preſents from the King.

Altho' it is not my Intention to ſpeak here of the Preſents Princes make to one another, no more than of thoſe which Embaſſadors make at the Courts where they negotiate; I ſhall however take notice that they are ſo eſſential a Part of the Embaſſy in the Oriental Courts, that there are Princes who ſend Embaſſadors to one another, on no other Account but to accompany their Preſents, of which they make a kind of Commerce. In the Year 1621, the *Indian* King of *Decan*, ſent an Embaſſador to *Schach Abas*, King of *Perſia*, only to preſent to him ſome Pieces of Cotton, which is manufactur'd in his Countrey; which were in ſome Meaſure to pay for the Horſes, the *Schach* had ſent him ſome time before. But what they miſcall Preſent, is properly ſpeaking a Traffick; becauſe on both ſides they are ſo exact in adjuſting the Value, that there is no Advantage to him that makes, or to him that receives the Preſent; and they regulate it, as a thing wherein their Reputation is concern'd. A great deal might be ſaid hereupon, but as it does not belong to my Subject, I ſhall finiſh here the firſt Part of this Treatiſe.

The End of the Firſt BOOK.

THE EMBASSADOR AND HIS FUNCTIONS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Function of the Embaſſador in general.

I Make uſe of this Word on purpoſe to diſtinguiſh between the Functions and the Actions of an Embaſſador; becauſe the ones have a nearer Relation to the Character, and the others to the Perſon. The Embaſſador does not always negotiate; that is to ſay; he ought not always to act the Embaſſador every where, and on all Occaſions. I ſaid elſewhere, that he ought to have a Tincture of the Comedian, and I muſt here add, That perhaps in the whole Commerce of the World, there is not a more comical Perſonage than the Embaſſador. There is not a more illuſtrious Theatre than a Court; neither is there any Comedy, where the Actors ſeem leſs what they are in effect, than Embaſſadors do in their Negotiation; and there is none that repreſents more important Perſonages. But as the beſt Actor is not always upon the Stage, but changes his manner of Behaviour after the Curtain is drawn; ſo the Embaſſador who has play'd his part well in the Functions of his Character, ought to act the Man of Honour and the Gentleman, when he ceaſes to act the Comedian. At Aſſemblies of Ceremony he cannot quit his Rank without a Crime: and even at his Table, where he gives a Scantling of the Grandeur and Magnificence of his Prince, he may repreſent him in ſome meaſure. But as Kings themſelves ſometimes lay aſide that burthenſome and incommodious Gravity; and, like *Moſes*, put ſometimes a Vail over their Faces, to the end their Majeſty may not dazle the Eyes of thoſe that approach them; ſo the Embaſſador cannot without blotting out the Character of a Gentleman and well bred Perſon, continually keep on that of a publick Miniſter. This Compound of Formalities, Decencies and Circumſpections, may indeed form a politick Pedant, but not a perfect Embaſſador, who ought to be a conſummate gallant Man, that is to ſay, a Man fram'd to the Mode of the Court. Nothing hinders an Embaſſador from ſeeing and entertaining the Ladies; but if on theſe Occaſions, where even Kings themſelves ſhew themſelves communicative and familiar, he ſhould affect to be grave, and keep up the Character of Embaſſador; I would not ſay that he would thereby render himſelf ridiculous, but he would not be far from it. *Chaunt* who ſeem'd to be born for this eminent Employment, would not put on

on his Hat, when he receiv'd Audience of Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*. He knew what was due to the Monarch he repreſented: but he did more Honour to the King his Maſter, in telling the Queen the Reaſon of his not being cover'd, than if he really had been ſo. The Embaſſador that pays Civilities to the Ladies, and to thoſe who have no Competition with him, ſhews that his Maſter is not deceiv'd in his Choice, and that his Miniſter knows how to live, as well as how to negotiate. It is impoſſible but the Embaſſador, who will always act the Embaſſador, muſt be very uneaſy to himſelf, and his Dignity prove a Burthen to him; as thoſe Clothes are which are only for ſolemn Occaſions, and for a Ceremony of ſhort Duration, which one neither would nor could put on every Day. That Embaſſador that will exert his Character in all his Actions, ought firſt to renounce all the Devoirs of Civility; and not that, but alſo all the Laws of Friendſhip, and whatever there is moſt agreeable and delightful in Life, *viz.* Society and Converſation, which may be ſaid to be one of the pleaſanteſt Parts, nay even the Soul of Life.

This is what I thought my ſelf oblig'd to ſay, before I enter'd upon the Functions of a Miniſter, who cannot be uſeful to his Prince, nor even be conſider'd at the Court where he reſides, if he be not in that which employs him. What Eſteem can Strangers have of him, who is not eſteem'd in his own Countrey? And what Credit can be given to the Offices and Words of the Embaſſador, who is not confided in by his Maſter? The Plenipotentiaries who were at *Munſter* on the part of *France*, ſaid, There was no Appearance that the Houſe of *Auſtria* deſign'd to make a Peace; *ſince of all the Miniſters ſhe had at the Congreſs, there was not one that had the Confidence of his Maſter, or that had the Qualities neceſſary for a Negotiation of that Importance.* That every body knew that the Count *de Naſſaw* had only the Advantage of Birth to qualify him for that Employment: That he had been four or five Years at *Cologn*, for no other End but to make a Figure, while there was nothing to negotiate: That *Savedra* had had ſome Reſidence, from whence he had been transferr'd all on the ſudden, and as it were *per ſaltum*, to the firſt Aſſembly of *Europe:* That Count *Zapata* was conſider'd on the account of his Learning, more than for his other Qualities; and that *le Brun*, who was only Attorney General in a provincial Court, being a Stranger, *could not know the true Intentions of the Court of* Madrid, *nor have its Confidence.* That *France*, on the contrary, had ſent thither the Duke of *Longueville*, who was the firſt, and chiefeſt Nobleman of the Kingdom after the Princes, with the Counts *d'Avaux* and *Servien:* The firſt of which, after his Embaſſies at *Venice* and in *Denmark*, had, as Mediator, concluded the Truce between *Poland* and *Sweden*; and had afterwards negotiated and concluded the Preliminaries at *Hamburg:* And the other, after having manag'd and negotiated very weighty and important Affairs in *Italy*, had had in *France* the Direction of the military Affairs, under Cardinal *de Richelieu*, in the Quality of Secretary of State, which is an Office of the laſt Confidence. So that if a Compariſon were made of the Qualities of all theſe Miniſters on both ſides, it might be eaſy to judge which of the two Crowns had the greateſt Inclination for a Peace. The Embaſſador who is aſſur'd of the Confidence of his Maſter, or at leaſt of his Eſteem, goes on with Firmneſs, acts with Vigour, and procures in his own Perſon a Conſideration and Eſteem for that of his Prince, in the whole Sequel of his Negotiation.

Thoſe Perſons of Quality whom Princes employ in their Embaſſies, in order to remove 'em from Court, ought to be conſider'd as honourable Exiles, and are not very capable of Serving; neither is it the Intention of the Prince they ſhould do much, who in removing under any Colour whatever, a Perſon that is diſagreeable to him, has only a mind to get rid of him; and therein imitates the Phyſicians, who in purging the Body carry off the ſuperfluous Humours as well as the dangerous. There are ſome Princes that make uſe of the honourable Pretext of Embaſſy, to cover the ignominious Cauſe of the Removal of the Embaſſador; of which there are but too many Examples in Hiſtory. And then it is, that the wretched Miniſter becomes the Object of the Contempt, or Compaſſion of the Prince, to whom he is employ'd; unleſs this has Generoſity enough, to beſtow his Eſteem on the perſonal Merit of a Miniſter, whom Violence, Injuſtice, and even Brutality perſecutes. In theſe Caſes the Perſon is more conſider'd than the Character, which is not only uſeleſs, but even a Burden to the diſgrac'd and baniſh'd Miniſter: So that I ſhall not put him in the Number of thoſe, whoſe Function is to make the other Part of my Treatiſe.

I exclude alſo from Embaſſy all thoſe pretended Embaſſadors, who are only fit for the Stage, and are only produc'd like dumb Perſonages in a Comedy or a Farce. The Jeſuits, who delight very much in theſe Diverſions, and are themſelves great Comedians, even to that Degree as to convert into Pomp and Oſtentation all the Divine Service, bethought themſelves, about a hundred Years ago, of procuring a ſolemn Embaſſy of *Japanneſes* to be ſent to *Rome*, towards the latter end of the Pontificate of *Gregory* XIII. Thoſe Fathers had in effect made a great Number of Proſelytes in *Japan*, at leaſt if this Quality can be given to thoſe, that are help'd out of Idolatry and Paganiſm, to be plung'd into an Abyſs of Ignorance, and caſt into a Gulph of Superſtitions, which are little better than thoſe of the Pagans, from whence they are borrow'd; to ſhew in *Europe* what they were capable of doing in the remoteſt Parts of *Aſia*. They oblig'd theſe miſerable Wretches to depute ſome amongſt 'em, to acknowledge the Pope as viſible Head of the univerſal Church. They were three Years on their Way. They receiv'd extraordinary Honours every where, but particularly at *Rome*, from whence they carry'd nothing but the Pope's Bleſſing, which was not follow'd by that of Heaven. All the Perſecutions of the firſt Ages of the Church, cannot be brought into a Parallel with the Cruelty and Horror of the Torments which theſe poor Ideots were made to ſuffer, who were only Chriſtians by name, and who had nothing more of the

the Religion of *Rome* it ſelf, but an implicit Faith: that is to ſay, a groſs Ignorance of the firſt, and moſt neceſſary Articles of the true Faith. Under the Pontificate of *Clement* VII, there came to *Rome* a pretended Embaſſador from the King of the *Abyſſins*, about the Union of the Schiſmatick Churches in thoſe Parts with that of *Rome*; of which however nothing more has been heard of ſince. In the Beginning of the Year 1595, under *Clement* VIII, came to *Rome Abdel Meſſias* and *Joſeph*, Monks of the Deſert of St. *Macarius* in *Egypt*, with *Barſus* the Archdeacon, who ſaid they were ſent by *Gabriel*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to make Abjuration between the Hands of the Pope, of the Error in which the Greek Church is, concerning the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt; as accordingly they did, caſting themſelves at the Feet of his Holineſs. But this Embaſſy was in effect but a Comedy, becauſe it was ſoon known, that *Gabriel* was not the Name of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, nor of his Predeceſſor *Ambo Johannes*; but that the Patriarch's Name was *Meletius*, and his Sirname *Pegas*; he was a *Candiote*, whoſe Thoughts were very far from a Reconciliation with the Church of *Rome*.

Embaſſies Extraordinary have for Object, either the Negotiation of an Affair, or a Ceremony, where the Embaſſador only repreſents the Perſon of the Prince. In the Embaſſies of Obedience, the Embaſſador makes the ſame Figure that a mute Perſonage makes in a Comedy. His Orator ſpeaks for him, and provided that the Embaſſador does but know when to make his Reverences and Bows, he is but too capable for this Function. In the other Ceremonies, of a Chriſtening, a Marriage, a Funeral, the ſeeing the Obſervation of a Treaty of Peace ſworn to, or of a Viſit that Princes make one to another by their Embaſſadors (when they in Perſon approach their common Frontiers) they are always Perſons of the firſt Quality that are employ'd, and it is very well done; but it would be ſtill better, if on theſe Occaſions the handſomeſt Perſonages were pitch'd upon, tho' they had but little Wit, becauſe the one is neceſſary and the other is not. *Henry* IV. had no occaſion to ſend the Duke of *Biron* to *Bruxelles* after the Peace of *Vervins*: But that Prince was ſo generous, that he could not tell how to diſtruſt thoſe who were oblig'd to him for all their Fortune.

The Embaſſador in Ordinary has ſeveral various Objects, which cannot be plac'd under certain Titles. It may be ſaid in general, *That his chief Function conſiſts in his entertaining a good Correſpondence between the two Princes: in his delivering the Letters his Maſter writes to the Prince with whom he reſides; in ſoliciting an Anſwer thereto: in his obſerving all that paſſes at the Court where he negotiates: in protecting the Subjects, and in preſerving the Intereſt of his Maſter.* He ſerves as an Interpreter to the two Princes, and as a Broker in the Commerce that is between them. That of their Letters is entertain'd among Princes, but by the Means of their Miniſters, who accompany them with a Diſcourſe ſuitable to the Subject thereof, and conformable to the Orders that are ſent them.

I have ſpoken in the fourteenth Chapter of the firſt Book, of the Inſtruction Queen *Elizabeth* gave in the Year 1570. to *Francis Walſingham*, who went on her Part in the Quality of Embaſſador into *France*. It contains almoſt all the general Duties of an Embaſſador in Ordinary; for which Reaſon I think I may here ſet down ſome Periods of that excellent Piece. *After you ſhall have deliver'd your Letters*, ſays ſhe, *and that you ſhall have been preſented by our Embaſſador, to whom you are to ſucceed, who will not fail to give you the neceſſary Advices, and to recommend your Perſon to the King, to the Queen Mother, and to all the others it ſhall be requiſite; you ſhall ſpeak to them in Terms that ſhall make them ſenſible, that you have expreſs Orders to make your Miniſtry ſubſervient to the entertaining the good Friendſhip that is between us and the King; and conſequently, to entertain Union, and a reciprocal Commerce between the Subjects of the one and the other; conformably to the Treaties which have been made between us on that Subject. Wherefore being reſolv'd to follow theſe Orders, as well by reaſon of the Duty of your Employment, as in Conſideration of the Good the two Kingdoms ought to promiſe themſelves therefrom, you ſhall require them, that in caſe any thing happens that may alter the good Opinion they ought to have of us, (which we aſſure our ſelves will not happen, and ſtill leſs, that you ſhould give them any Subject) they ſuſpend the Judgment that might be made to our Prejudice, till they have inform'd themſelves of the Truth, by the ſatisfactory Anſwer we ſhall give them.* She farther adds, *You ſhall obſerve all the Actions of the King, and the Queen Regent, as well private as publick, which might be prejudicial to us and to our State: of which you ſhall give us Advice with all the Diligence an Secrecy neceſſary. And that you may ſucceed herein, you ſhall inform your ſelf from our Embaſſador, your Predeceſſor, of the Means by which you may be able to learn thoſe Things which it concerns us to know.*

In theſe few Lines you find the two firſt Functions of an Embaſſador, who is repreſented there as a *Meſſenger of Peace* on one ſide, and as an *honourable Spy* on the other. He ought to make it his chief Buſineſs to entertain a good Correſpondence between the Prince that employs him, and him with whom he reſides; which is chiefly done, when the Embaſſador explains the Intentions of his Maſter after a good manner; when he perſuades the Prince with whom he negotiates, of the Sincerity of his own; when he removes the Umbrages that Prince might have; and prevents thoſe he might take, or might be given him from other Hands. *Juſtin* ſpeaking, in the ſecond Book of his Hiſtory, of the Embaſſadors that *Vexoris* King of *Egypt* ſent to the *Scythians*, he calls them *Lenones*. The Commentator ſays expreſſly, *Leno, id eſt Mediator, qui apud Italos dicitur Ambaſciator.*

One of the firſt Things that the Embaſſador ought to do, to ſucceed in the Profeſſion of a Spy, is to ſtudy well the Humour and Genius of the Miniſters that compoſe the Council of the Prince with whom he is to negotiate; becauſe without that it is impoſſible for him to take ſure Meaſures for his Negotiation. All Miniſters are Men, and as ſuch they have their *Foible*; that is to ſay their Paſſions and their Intereſts, which the Embaſſador ought to know if he will do himſelf Honour, and likewiſe to

his Maſter. He may to this purpoſe contract an Acquaintance with thoſe Embaſſadors who have reſided there before him: and particularly with the Miniſters of the ſecond Order, who having a more eaſy Acceſs, and leſs to be ſuſpected than that of Embaſſadors, have alſo more Opportunities to penetrate into Affairs. An Embaſſador ought to ſuppoſe that no Prince is willing his Miniſter ſhould create him Troubles. Thoſe who have a mind to have any, never want the Means to procure them, whenever they pleaſe; and ſometimes they have them from ſo many Quarters, that their Miniſters may very well forbear creating them any new ones. All Princes are not like *Lewis* XI. or *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, the one of which could not live without Intrigues; and the other never put an End to one War, but in order to enter upon another. And indeed it cannot be ſaid, that it was their Miniſters engag'd them in their Troubles, which were only the Effects of their perverſe Inclinations, and reſtleſs Tempers. The one was himſelf his whole Council; and the other was the Chief of his.

On the contrary, there is hardly any Prince, who (excepting the Time of Rupture, and of War declar'd) would not wiſh to be well with his Neighbours. And I dare ſay, that there are none, but would be willing to avoid all diſguſting Appearances, even with his falſe Friends, and ſecret Enemies. There may be a Friendſhip between the Kings of *France* and of *England*, as much as Kings and Princes are capable thereof; but there will never be any between the two Nations. There was none at all between *Catherine* of *Medicis*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; neither could there be any between ſuch oppoſite Humours and Inclinations. The Negotiation that was on Foot at that Time for the Marriage of Queen *Elizabeth* with the Duke of *Anjou*, and for the Alliance that was concluded at *Blois*, only ſerv'd to decoy the *Huguenots* into the Snare they fell into on St. *Bartholomew*'s Day in the Year 1572. That horrible Infidelity, and that bloody and execrable Execution, did not hinder the two Princes from having their Embaſſadors each at the other's Court, nor from preſerving ſome Appearance of Friendſhip, and good Underſtanding between them. The *Pyrenean* Peace, and the Marriage which was the Cauſe or a Conſequence of the Treaty, did not re-eſtabliſh between *France* and *Spain* that Friendſhip, to which the two Nations had been Strangers for almoſt two hundred Years: And the King of *Spain* could not conſider that of *France* but as a Son-in-Law, who having extorted his Daughter from him, and compell'd him to make a diſadvantageous Peace, continu'd to ſuccour his Enemies, and to arm his rebellious Subjects againſt him; which the *Spaniards* ſaid was directly contrary to the Treaty. Nevertheleſs there was an Embaſſador of *France* at *Madrid*, and one of *Spain* at *Paris*; and this Appearance of Friendſhip continu'd, till in the Year 1667. the *French* Army enter'd into *Flanders*, without any previous Declaration of War. The King ſaid he did not in reality make War, but only took Poſſeſſion of what belong'd to the Queen his Wife, by virtue of the Right of Devolution. That acknowledging no Judge before whom he could plead his Caſe, he made uſe of the Cannon, and would do himſelf Juſtice.

Nay there are ſome Princes, who judging it beneficial to their Intereſt to have it believ'd they are very well, and even act in Concert with thoſe who have Embaſſadors with them, affect to eſtabliſh a ſort of Confidence with the Miniſters of the Sovereign, whoſe Friendſhip can give Reputation to their Affairs. *Henry* II. King of *France*, having reſolv'd in the Year 1551. to put himſelf at the Head of a powerful Army, and to enter in Perſon into *Germany*, communicated his Deſign to *John Capello*, Embaſſador from *Venice*, and gave him to underſtand he ſhould take it well if he would accompany him in this Expedition. The King's Intention was to make the Emperor believe by this Appearance, that he was perfectly well with the Republick, and that ſhe approv'd of what he did. The Senate on its Part was glad alſo to give a little Jealouſy to the Emperor, who gave a great deal to all *Italy* in the Affair of *Parma*, from whence the Republick might very well have taken a Ground or a Pretext to renew a ſtrict Intelligence with *France*. *Capello* obtain'd the Conſent of the Senate, which was by ſo much the more neceſſary to him, as it ſeems, as if the Sovereign, that allows an Embaſſador to attend an Expedition, approves of, and juſtifies it in ſome meaſure. The *Spaniards* pretended they did not know *Alexander*, the Pope's Nuncio, when they found him and us'd him very ill in the *French* Camp before *Pavia*; but it was a very bad Excuſe. They did what they did on purpoſe, becauſe all that are found in an Enemy's Army, are Enemies by Contagion.

Unleſs the Embaſſador has an expreſs Order to attend this ſort of Expeditions, he ought not to be very forward in doing it: and the Princes themſelves ought to be very reſerv'd therein. *Martin Juſtiniani*, Embaſſador of *Venice*, follow'd the Emperor *Charles* V. in that of *Algiers*, where de dy'd of Sickneſs and Fatigue; tho' that was what he ought to have leaſt apprehended. He would have been much more unfortunate, had he fallen into the Hands of the *Africans*, who not having leſs Fierceneſs than thoſe furious Animals the Climate produces in ſuch great Numbers, would have took Pleaſure to have exerted it with Advantage on this Occaſion by reaſon of his Character. In theſe Conjunctures, where there is no Room for Negotiation, and where all the Embaſſador can do is to give Advice to his Maſter of what paſſes, the Prince would do much better to employ a military Officer, who being capable of judging of martial Actions, can give a better Account of them than a Man of the Robe; it not being neceſſary for this to veſt him with the Repreſenting Character, which the Prince ought never to expoſe without Neceſſity. *Sultan Mahomet* having rais'd a powerful Army towards the End of the laſt Century, with a Deſign to carry the War into *Hungary*, would have the Embaſſadors of *France* and *England* follow him in this Expedition. They had not Time to acquaint their Maſters therewith, nor to expect their Orders; and I cannot tell whether they would have been allow'd to deliberate on the Signification of the Will of the *Turkiſh* Emperor, who thinks he acts conformably to the *Law of Nations*, when he deals to Embaſſadors ſomewhat better Uſage than he does to

his Slaves. The *Sultan*, to enable the Embaſſadors to ſubſiſt in their attending the Army, ſent every Day to each of them five Sheep, twenty Pullets or Capons, two hundred Loaves of Bread, twelve Pounds of Sugar, and as much Honey and Butter, a Pound of Pepper, and as much Ginger and Cloves, twelve Pounds of Candles, and as many Wax Tapers, a Sack of Rice, two Horſe-Loads of Wood, as much Hay, and a ſufficient Quantity of Barley to keep their Horſes, and twenty Camels to carry their Baggage. I do not here ſpeak of thoſe Hermaphrodite Embaſſadors, who are at the ſame time publick Miniſters and War-Officers; becauſe theſe two Profeſſions being directly contrary one to the other, and their Functions incompatible, of Neceſſity the Function of the one ſuperſedes that of the other. *Charnace*, *Deſtrades*, *d'Avaugour*, *Konigſmark*, *Hautefeuille* were at the ſame time Embaſſadors and Officers of War; but they were not conſider'd as Embaſſadors in the Army, nor as Officers of War at the Court where they negotiated. I have ſpoken of them elſewhere, for which Reaſon I ſhall continue to make out what I before advanc'd, That one of the chief Functions of the Embaſſador is *to act the Spy*.

Philip de Commines ſays a Diſtinction ought to be made, between the Embaſſadors that come from real Friends, and thoſe that falſe Friends or covert Enemies ſend: The ones are contented to obſerve the Court where they reſide, ſo that nothing may paſs to the Prejudice of their Maſters; and the others are errant Spies: Thoſe ſerve their Maſter without offending the Prince with whom they reſide, while theſe are not afraid of offending the Prince with whom they negotiate; provided they compaſs the Ends of him that employs them. This is what Queen *Elizabeth* expreſſes ſo well in *Walſingham*'s Inſtructions, that I may ſafely ſay upon that Foundation, That the Embaſſador ought to labour with Application to entertain a good Correſpondence between the two Princes, and have no other View in obſerving the Actions of the Court where he reſides, than to prevent the Prejudice they might do to the Affairs of his Maſter. But as Sincerity is not a Virtue that is much known at Court, and that there are but very few Princes that have a true Friendſhip one for the other, ſo neither are there many Miniſters that confine themſelves within theſe Bounds. For the moſt part they are wholly taken up in Intrigues, and they propoſe no other Intereſt in the Actions of the neighbouring Princes, but only to take Occaſion therefrom to diſturb their Quiet, and to kindle in their Countrey a Fire, at which their Maſter may warm himſelf. The Embaſſadors *France* ſent into *England* under the Miniſtry of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and the Agents it employ'd in *Scotland*, did not a little contribute to the Commotions of thoſe two Kingdoms; where they did not only ſerve as Spies, but where they became alſo the firſt Springs of thoſe Machines that made ſuch ſtrange Changes in the State. The imprudent and raſh Procedure of the firſt Miniſter, the Queen's paſſionate and offenſive Expreſſions, Cardinal *de Richelieu*'s Reſentment, and the Miniſters he caus'd to be ſent thither, ruin'd the King, and had like to have aboliſh'd ev'n Royalty it ſelf.

This Function of the Embaſſador, *to act the Spy*, is by ſo much the harder to execute, as it is not natural. As he is ſuſpected, he ought alſo to ſuſpect every Body, and ought not lightly to credit the Advices that are given him. A Man of Honour will not be apt to furniſh a Stranger with Advices, to the Prejudice of his Countrey's Good, and a Traytor may be double. He may get his Treaſon rewarded by the Embaſſador, and may procure to himſelf another Reward for diſcovering it the firſt. The Needy and Intereſſed ought always to be ſuſpected; and even thoſe who are not, ought not to be admitted by the Embaſſador without Diſtinction. Princes have their Agents, who make it their Buſineſs to acquire the Confidence of the Embaſſador, by giving him ſome Advices, the Truth of which paſſes off a great deal of falſe News, which give him a prejudicate Opinion againſt the Truth. The Embaſſador, who was on the part of the United Provinces at *London*, in the Year 1671, that is to ſay, at the time the King of *Great Britain* made a Treaty with that of *France* to engage in a War againſt them, held a Correſpondence with thoſe People that were ſent on purpoſe to him, to inſpire him (under the Colour of the utmoſt Confidence) with ſuch Sentiments as it was coveted he ſhould have of the King's Intentions. He was a very new Miniſter, and otherwiſe of a Capacity below that of middling; ſo that upon the Report of theſe ſuborn'd Perſons, he aſſur'd the States his Maſters, that the King was very far from the thoughts of making War againſt them; and that he would without doubt declare for them, if they did but give him Satisfaction on ſome Points, which, as he ſaid, were of no great Importance. Perhaps in all *England* this Embaſſador was the only Perſon that was ignorant of the War's being reſolv'd upon; and yet all his Diſpatches ridicul'd thoſe who gave their Common Maſters Information, that the two Kings had concerted to attack the United Provinces; tho' their Advice was accompany'd with Particulars which did not admit of the leaſt doubt of the Truth thereof: As indeed it would not have been doubted of, had it not been for the brutiſh Paſſion of ſome, and the fatal Blindneſs of others, who repreſented the true Informations that were ſent from *France*, as the Productions of thoſe that made uſe thereof againſt the Preferment of the Prince of *Orange*.

In the beginning of the Year 1588, after the Condemnation, and before the Execution of the Queen of *Scotts*, *l'Aubepine Chaſteauneuf*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, ſeeing the Offices he did to obtain the Queen's Liberty were of no Utility, was for making uſe of other Means to procure it, by taking off Queen *Elizabeth*. He communicated his Deſign firſt to one *Stafford*, whoſe Brother was Embaſſador from *England* in *France*: And becauſe this refus'd to defile his Hands with the Blood of his Sovereign Queen, he, by the Mediation of his Secretary, treated with a profligate Wretch who was to be got out of Jayl, where he was detain'd for Crimes. *Stafford*, who had been a Witneſs to the Conference the Secretary and the Criminal had had, about the manner of taking the Queen off, reported all the Particu-

lars thereof to the Council. *Chasteauneuf*'s Secretary, who was going to *France* was stop'd in his way thither: and thereupon the Embassador was sent for to *Cecil*'s House, where he was told the Reason why his Secretary had been taken up, with all the Circumstances of the Conspiracy. The Lord Treasurer having finish'd his Discourse, was for having *Stafford*, the Secretary, and the Criminal, brought thither, that by their Depositions they might confirm what had been alledg'd; but the Embassador getting up in Anger, said, That he would not hearken to any Accusation whatever, to the Prejudice of his Character, and of the Dignity of the King his Master. Those of the Queen's Council, *viz.* the Treasurer, the Earl of *Leicester*, *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary *Davison*, having represented to him, that it was not to produce Informers and Accusers, that these People were sent for, but only to make him sensible that it was no Forgery, or contriv'd thing, but a Truth; he acquiesc'd. As soon as the Embassador saw *Stafford* enter, he did not suffer him to speak; but reproach'd him with having been the first Proposer of this abominable Design, and that he, the Embassador, had threaten'd to send him manacl'd and fetter'd to the Queen, if he did not desist from his damnable Enterprise; and that if he did not give Information thereof, it was for the sake of his Mother and Brother. *Stafford* hearing this flung himself upon his Knees, and protested with the greatest Imprecations imaginable, that it was the Embassador who had made the first Overture of this detestable Undertaking. Whereupon the Embassador was so transported, that *Stafford* was taken away, and the others were not produc'd.

The Treasurer having from the Embassador's own Words gain'd this Truth, that he had a Knowledge of the Conspiracy, reproach'd him therewith. The Embassador reply'd, *That even if he had had a Knowledge of the Matter, he was not, as an Embassador, oblig'd to reveal it to any but the King his Master.* The Treasurer made answer, *That admitting the Embassador was not oblig'd (which however was not a thing agreed to) to discover to the Prince with whom he resided, the Conspiracies that were forming against his Person and Life, yet it was the Duty of a Christian to warn his Neighbour of the Evil with which he was threaten'd.* L'*Aubepine* reply'd, *That the Dignity of his Function oblig'd him to another particular Behaviour: That an Embassador of* France *understanding that a Conspiracy was forming against the King of* Spain, *had not acquainted him therewith, but had given the King his Master Advice thereof, who had approv'd his Conduct.* The Treasurer then exhorted him to take care not to offend the Queen for the future; to remember what he ow'd to his Character, and the Queen's Clemency; who by letting wicked Embassadors go unpunish'd, did not intend to give a bad Example to the good; and told him he ought to consider, *That Impunity is not always a Proof of Innocency.*

L'*Aubepine* did not labour to entertain a good Understanding between the two Princes: he on the contrary destroy'd it; and instead of proceeding like a Spy, he acted the Part of a Traytor. And indeed, he could not be said to serve the King his Master according to his Intentions, and his Interest; but he executed the secret Orders of the Chiefs of the League, of whom King *Henry* III. had already taken some Jealousies, which did not cease but with the Life of the ones and the others. The Embassador was Brother-in-Law to *M. de Villeroy*, who was got so deep in the League, that he could not avoid the Suspicion of having had a Hand in the Death of the King his Benefactor. L'*Aubepine*'s Treasons were so far from relieving the Queen of *Scots*, that they hasten'd the Execution of her Sentence; and did not only render him suspected, but altogether incapable of negotiating with a Queen, whose Death he had contriv'd. These Intrigues are unworthy a Man of Honour, and inconsistent with the Prudence of a Minister who intends to serve his Master.

Those Violences of which we have spoken in Chapter XXIX. of the first Book, are also incompatible with the Functions of an Embassador; who in violating the publick Safety, becomes unworthy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*. *Robert Bowes*, who was Embassador from Queen *Elizabeth*, to *James* King of the *Scots*, in the Year 1599, perceiv'd that one *Achfield* had very good Acquaintance at that Court; and fearing lest they should prove prejudicial to the Repose of the Queen his Mistress, he found the Means to make him drunk by his Domesticks, and to have him carry'd off to *Berwick*. The King, who was extremely offended at this Violence, set a Guard upon the Embassador, and was for obliging him to cause *Achfield* to be brought back. He sent to demand him of the Governor of *Berwick*, who said he could not surrender him without the Queen's Orders; and the Embassador discharg'd himself thereof on his Domesticks, who, as he said, had carry'd off *Achfield* without his Participation: but the King was not satisfy'd with this lame Excuse, and would not see *Bowes* any more, who was oblig'd to retire. King *James*, who was presumptive Heir of the Crown of *England*, the Succession whereof depended in part on the Declaration of Queen *Elizabeth*, had Considerations for her, which hinder'd him from shewing a greater Resentment; which might have gone so far as to detain the Embassador, and compel him to procure *Achfield* to be brought back, whom he had caus'd to be carry'd off; and this without violating the *Law of Nations*.

In the Year 1639, the Marquis *de Castelrodigue*, Embassador from *Spain* at *Rome*, laying hold on the Disorders of the midnight Mass, which is said in the Night before *Christmas-Day*, caus'd the Prince of *Sans* to be carry'd off, and had him conducted to *Naples*, where he was publickly beheaded. This Nobleman was of the House of *Doresici*, and had negotiated with the Ministers of *France*, to the Prejudice of the King of *Spain*'s Interest, not without the Pope's Participation. The two Courts of *Rome* and *Madrid* were not very well together at that Time; so that the Ministers had no great Regard one for the other: and the *Barberins*, as being the Weaker, did not dare to shew their Resentment, but by Affronts that were not so publick, tho' they were not less sensible than those they receiv'd. It is not long since the Minister of *Brandenburg* caus'd Colo-

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nel *Kaleſtein* to be carry'd off from *Warſaw*, and had him conducted into *Pruſſia*, where he was try'd. The Miniſter got clear of it by diſowning the Violence; but then he had to do with an inſenſible King. A Prince that is neither weak in Power nor altogether ſtupid, ought to revenge this ſort of Affronts; as the Embaſſador on his ſide ought to take his Meaſures very well, not only in reference to the Prince who makes him commit the Violence; but alſo to him who cannot reſent it but in a publick Manner, for fear of being accus'd to have violated the *Law of Nations*; at leaſt by uſing ſuch Means as he may diſown, and which Princes never want. Cardinal *de Richelieu*, when he caus'd in the Year 1640, Count *Philip d'Aglié* to be carry'd off at *Turin*, did not employ the *French* Embaſſador, that he might not expoſe his Character, but he made uſe of the Governor of the Citadel, as being more capable of juſtifying an Action of that Nature.

Commines ſpeaks very ingenuouſly, as he commonly does, and with a great deal of Judgment, of the Embaſſadors who perform'd the Negotiations between King *Lewis* XI, and the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Brittany*. He ſays, *That Embaſſadors were continually going and coming, between the King and the Dukes, as alſo between the King and the Duke of* Burgundy. *Not in order to unite them, or to procure a good Underſtanding between them: but ſome to get Informations; others to give Advices; and ſome again, to gain, ſuborn and corrupt People; all making uſe of every kind of Artifice to trick and deceive, under the noble Pretext of ſincere Honeſty, and the honourable Title of Embaſſy.* Theſe ſame Artifices and Impoſtures make at this very Day the beſt part of Embaſſies. They do not deceive ſo groſſly nor ſo impudently as they did then; but the Embaſſador's Artifices for being more ſubtle and of a finer Thread, are not for that leſs dangerous. *Lewis* XI, *Ferdinand the Catholick*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the major part of the Princes of thoſe Times, did not ſo much as know what Honeſty and Sincerity meant: and as they were not very ſolicitous for their own Reputation, they made no Difficulty to proſtitute that of their Miniſters; who not finding any Credit in the Courts where they reſided, could not poſſibly bring to paſs their Maſter's Intentions. *Lewis* XI. had carry'd on ſeveral Negotiations with the Emperor *Frederick* III, and had promis'd him very powerful Succours againſt the Duke of *Burgundy*, and yet had done nothing. At laſt he bethought himſelf of ſending *John Tiercelin*, Lord of *la Broſſe*, who promis'd the Emperor to divide the Duke's Dominions with him, if he would declare War againſt him. The Emperor made him no anſwer, but ſent him back with the Tale of the three Companions, who had run up a good Reckoning upon the Skin of the Bear, they had neither yet taken nor kill'd.

Commines ſays, there is not any Court but has Malecontents in it: and I think I may add, that there are none without Traytors; but as the Embaſſador muſt diſtruſt theſe, ſo he ought not indifferently and without Diſtinction to put his Confidence in thoſe. Some are diſſatisfy'd becauſe they are kept out of thoſe Employments they think they are intitl'd to by their Merit or their Services; and there are others that retire of their own accord from Buſineſs, becauſe they don't approve of the Conduct of the Miniſtry. There are often amongſt both theſe, Perſons of Quality, who are very well affected to the State; and who notwithſtanding their good Intentions, ſometimes diſcover their Diſcontent, and ſpeak with Freedom of the true State of Affairs, and of the *Foible* of the Government. It is from this ſort of People, that the Embaſſador may get great Lights, provided he do but know how to diſtinguiſh the true from the falſe. It requires a great Penetration to ſee to the Bottom of the Heart of Man, which is impenetrable to all other Underſtandings but the Divine. It is what no Rules nor Inſtructions can be given for, except in general, that the Embaſſador ought to form himſelf by his own Experience. He ought chiefly to apply himſelf to the Study of the Prince's Genius, and the Humour of the Miniſters with whom he is to negotiate. For as their Intentions are not to be div'd into, there is no judging thereof, any more than of their Actions, but by their Character. It is that which produces the ones, and makes the others known very naturally. There is hardly any Letter in the Negotiations of Cardinal *Doſſat*, that does not contain ſome Strokes of the Idea he gives of *Clement* VIII, and of Cardinal *Aldobrandin* his firſt Miniſter: and there is no Painter that can repreſent a Face ſo naturally, as Preſident *Jeannin* does the Character of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, and of the Sieur *Oldenbarnevelt*. On the contrary, *Francis Walſingham* was a very skilful and very able Miniſter; and yet *Charles* IX. knew ſo well how to conceal his true Sentiments from him, and the utter Averſion he had for the Admiral *Chaſtillon*, that he deceiv'd this clear-ſighted Miniſter, who did not ſcruple to write to Queen *Elizabeth*, *That he was well aſſur'd, that amongſt all the King's Subjects there was none the King had ſo great an Opinion of as of the Admiral; and that there was Room to believe, his Majeſty would employ him in Affairs of the greateſt Confidence.* Never did Miniſter apply himſelf more to the Study of a Court, never was Miniſter more diſtruſtful, and never had Miniſter more Reaſon to diſtruſt; and yet never did Miniſter ſucceed ſo ill in the Buſineſs of a Spy, to a young King, who perfectly bubbl'd him; becauſe *Walſingham* who was a Man of Probity, as much as it is poſſible to be ſo, in the Profeſſion of Embaſſador and of Miniſter, could not believe that ſo young a King could be ſo abominably perfidious, as to cover under ſuch fine Words, and ſuch vehement Proteſtations, ſuch black and deteſtable Thoughts. *Charles* IX. had been bred up under a Mother who had infected the Court and the whole Kingdom with the moſt dangerous Vices of her Countrey. The Count *Lewis* of *Naſſaw* (Brother to *William* Prince of *Orange*) whom the King deceiv'd firſt, help'd very much to deceive *Walſingham*. What would have become of *France*, if this Prince, who at three and twenty Years of Age was a greater Diſſembler than *Tiberius*, and more cruel than *Herod*, had attain'd the Years of thoſe two Monſters of Inhumanity? Embaſſadors had on the contrary a great Advantage, to negotiate with King *Henry* IV. and Queen *Elizabeth*. They found in the one a great Soul and an open Heart; and in the other

an equal and ſteady Conduct (*ſemper eadem*) a vigorous Prudence, without any Mixture of thoſe Artifices and Wiles, which are the chief Excellencies of moſt Women. This made Pope *Sixtus* V. ſay, That there was only thoſe two Princes that were capable of reigning, and with whom he would unite in Intereſts, if they were not Hereticks.

What *Commines* ſays of the Artifices of the Embaſſadors of *Lewis* XI, and of thoſe of the Dukes of *Normandy*, *Brittany* and *Burgundy*, ſhall be hereafter more amply explain'd in Chapter VI. To conclude this I ſhall only add, that altho' one of the principal Functions of an Embaſſador, is to be continually upon the Watch, in what regards his Maſter's Intereſt, that he may be able to give him a faithful and exact Account thereof; yet he ought not to neglect informing himſelf ſedulouſly of the Affairs which the other Princes are negotiating at the Court where he reſides. For notwithſtanding it ſeems as if his Prince was not concern'd therein, and that in reality he has none directly; yet they may indirectly have ſome Reflection upon him. Beſides, the Curioſity of Princes is ſuch, that they are for knowing even the moſt indifferent Things, of which they who are wiſe, and underſtand their Intereſt, can tell how to make their Advantage. *Lewis* IX, who firſt ſettl'd the Poſts in *France*, was for knowing every thing. It is true it concern'd him to be punctually and quickly advis'd of the Succeſs of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Arms, whoſe Proſperity occaſion'd all his Uneaſineſs; but he moreover had his Intrigues in all the other Courts, and was for being inform'd of what paſs'd in all the reſt of the World.

CHAP. II.

With whom the Embaſſador ought to negotiate.

I Said in the ſixth Chapter of the firſt Book, that the Embaſſador can acknowledge but one Sovereign in the State where he reſides; ſo that he can negotiate only with him. But foraſmuch as he cannot always negotiate with the Prince immediately, it may be proper to ſpeak here of thoſe that treat with the Embaſſador, on the Part and under the Authority of the Prince.

Maſter *Oliver Daim*, *Lewis* XI's Barber and Valet de Chambre going in the Quality of Embaſſador to *Mary*, Heireſs of *Burgundy* and of the Low Countries, had Orders to ſpeak to her alone and in private. *Oliver* was a *Flemming*, born in a little Village near *Ghent*: and becauſe he had ſome Acquaintance in this great Town, he was to carry on Intrigues to make it riſe againſt that Princeſs. This is what he buſy'd himſelf with inſtead of demanding Audience, and acting the Embaſſador; ſo that his Stay there becoming ſuſpected, the Council ſignify'd to him, That if he did not make his Character known, he ſhould not be ſuffer'd any longer in the Town. Being therefore admitted to Audience, he found the Princeſs accompany'd by *Adolphus* Duke of *Cleves*, *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Biſhop of *Liege*, and the other Lords of her Council. After he had deliver'd his Credentials, and perform'd the firſt Civilities, they were for obliging him to make known his Commiſſion; but he ſaid, *His Orders were to acquaint none but the Princeſs therewith.* Hereupon it was repreſented to him, That it was neither the Cuſtom, nor even decent, to ſuffer a Man to entertain in private a young Princeſs who was ſtill to marry; and that if he did not tell what he came to negotiate, he ſhould be made to ſpeak. This reſolute Declaration ſtartl'd *Oliver*, who having nothing that was good to ſay, or to negotiate, ſtill perſiſted *to ſpeak with the Princeſs alone*; and that with ſo much Obſtinacy, that it plainly appear'd he could not depart from the Audience without Confuſion. He made but a ſhort Stay in the Town after his Audience, becauſe the People were for flinging him into the River. It was an odd way enough of negotiating, to pretend to make a Secret of his Negotiation to the Miniſters of a Princeſs, who the King knew very well was not in a State to act of her own Head. Thoſe Miniſters who are to negotiate at a Court, where the Prince is as well the Soul as the Head of his Council, are very happy; becauſe the Prince taking himſelf Cognizance of his Affairs, and making himſelf eaſy of Acceſs, the Embaſſador has not ſo much Difficulty, and is at the ſame time ſure that the Intentions, which do not paſs through the Organs of others, can receive no Alteration. A grave Perſonage, who has deſerv'd by his Services one of the higheſt Dignities of the firſt Republick of *Europe*, ſays, That *Lewis* XI. King of *France*, inſtead of imitating other Princes, who for the moſt part love Oſtentation and Pomp, deſpis'd outward Appearance, and only minded his Cloſet, and thoſe Miniſters that negotiated without Shew and Noiſe, to the end he might entertain them familiarly. They had no occaſion to demand Audience: They needed only to give a Scratch at the King's Chamber Door, and they were admitted. *Henry* III. was a Lover of Ceremonies and Formalities: but inſtead of doing his Buſineſs, and compaſſing his Ends, others did theirs at his Expence. *Henry* IV, on the contrary, was free, and no way ceremonious: He was for knowing all; and in tranſacting his Affairs himſelf, he was ſure they were both done and according to his Mind. The Embaſſadors who negotiated in *France* at that Time, and the Miniſters who were there employ'd, acted upon Principles that could not deceive them.

There are ſome Courts where the Affairs are tranſacted in the Prince's Cabinet, as in *France*; and others, where the Miniſter muſt addreſs himſelf to the Council, as in *Spain*, and in the

Courts of almoſt all the Princes of *Germany*. In *England* Embaſſadors treat ſometimes with the King immediately, and ſometimes with the Council, as Occaſion, and the Nature of Affairs require. I ſuppoſe there is no Embaſſador ſo much a Novice and a Stranger in his Buſineſs, as not to know before he arrives at a Court, with whom he is to negotiate when he comes there. He ought to know who it is that has the chief Direction and Management of Affairs, not only under the Prince, but alſo under the firſt Miniſter, if there be one, that he may know to whom he is to apply himſelf after his firſt Audience. The Embaſſador ought to contract an Acquaintance firſt with the Maſter of the Ceremonies, or with the Introductor of the Embaſſadors, in thoſe Courts where theſe two Offices are diſtinct. It is from them that he may learn more particularly the Names and Qualities of the Miniſters he ought to ſee: and it is they alſo that can mark out to him the foreign Miniſters with whom he may have ſome Commerce either of Affairs or Civility. In *France*, and in *Spain*, theſe two Officers have their diſtinct Functions; but in *England* the ſame Officer diſcharges thoſe of both. It is but within theſe few Years that theſe Officers are known in the Northern Kingdoms. The Electors have none; neither is there any either at *Venice* or at the *Hague*. There is indeed at *Venice* an Officer that is call'd *The Doge's Knight*, who has a Salary from the Republick, and has no other Function but to receive Embaſſadors at the Entrance of the Palace, and conduct them to the Doge's Apartment, when they are invited thither on the Account of ſome publick Aſſembly or Ceremony. The Civilities of Receptions and Audiences are well enough regulated in *Holland*; but for want of an Officer skill'd therein, they are ſometimes alter'd to the great Prejudice of the Dignity of the State. Beſides that on thoſe Occaſions where the States are oblig'd to make ſome extraordinary Complement, they make uſe of the Regiſter's Clerk; whereas in theſe Conjunctures they ought to employ ſome Perſon that would do them Honour, as well as to the Princes to whom they would ſhew Civility in the Perſon of their Miniſter. I ſay the ſame of the Prince of *Orange*, who having made the Offices and Dignities of his Predeceſſors hereditary to his Family, the State ought to allow him an Officer, to whom foreign Miniſters ſhould apply themſelves, to to know by his Means his Highneſs's Hour, who would thereby be leſs incommoded, and would give greater Satisfaction to thoſe who are to negotiate with him.

There are ſome Courts which are almoſt never without a firſt Miniſter; and even thoſe Princes who do not leave the whole Management of their Affairs to one ſingle Miniſter, have nevertheleſs one whom they put a greater Confidence in, than in the others: and it is to theſe Perſons that Embaſſadors ought to addreſs themſelves in the Intervals of their Audiences, with which Princes will not be importun'd every Day. The firſt Miniſter, who for the moſt part is at leaſt as hard of Acceſs as the Prince himſelf, has his ſubordinate Miniſters, who are of more eaſy Acceſs, and have more Leiſure to digeſt the Affairs, before they are carry'd to the Patron. There is nothing that perplexes more an Embaſſador, than the Orders he receives not to negotiate with the firſt Miniſter. The Earl of *Leiceſter*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *England*, and *M. de Groot* the Father, Embaſſador from *Sweden*, did not ſee Cardinal *de Richelieu*; becauſe they were of Opinion that he ought not to take any Advantage over them, on the Account of his Purple. This was only the Pretext thereof, and not the true Cauſe. *England* neglected very much the Friendſhip of *France* at that Time, and the Queen of *Great Britain*, inſtead of cultivating the Cardinal's, ſtruck into the Intereſt and Paſſion of the Queen Mother; and did not ſcruple to offend the firſt Miniſter irreconcileably, by provoking him with outrageous Sayings, of which ſhe had Leiſure to repent. As for *Sweden*, the Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, who govern'd it during the Queen's Minority, was not ſatisfy'd with the Civilities the Cardinal had paid him, when he paſs'd by the Court of *France*, in his Return to *Sweden*. He was alſo deſirous to draw all the Negotiation to *Stockholm*, and to tranſact the moſt important of all with the Generals in *Germany*; ſo that *M. de Groot* had no great Matters to unravel with Cardinal *de Richelieu*. *Edward* Duke of *Parma* had all the *French* Inclinations, but he mortally hated Cardinal *Mazarin*: and out of that Averſion he forbad the Miniſter that ſolicited his Affairs at *Paris*, ſeeing the firſt Miniſter on any Account whatever. He was a Prince of an odd Temper, who gave himſelf up to his capricious Humours, and who in breaking with the Cardinal, would without doubt have broken with the Court it ſelf, could he have found his Account with the *Spaniards*. The Pope *Innocent* X. took Pleaſure likewiſe to vent his ill Humours on Cardinal *Mazarin*. There was a domeſtick Enmity, beſides a natural Antipathy, between him and the Pope, who did not otherwiſe much care for *France*, and was not afraid of being at Variance with her, provided ſhe did but know it was only for her firſt Miniſter's ſake. The Cardinal was vex'd hereat; but he gave alſo a thouſand Mortifications and Uneaſineſſes to the Pope, and the moſt ſenſible ones he felt during the whole Courſe of his Pontificate. The two Cardinals, *de Richelieu* and *Mazarin* were abſolute Maſters of Affairs; ſo that it was impoſſible to diſpatch any at Court without them, and much more to ſucceed in any without their Participation and Conſent: and it was even Folly to undertake it. Princes themſelves are apt to look upon the Contempt that is ſhewn their Miniſter, as a Condemnation of their Choice, and take it as an Injury done to their Perſon.

The Popes who moſt commonly attain to that Dignity, but in an advanc'd and almoſt decrepid Age, are deſirous to enjoy it as long as they can; for which Reaſon they diſcharge themſelves willingly of the Burthen of Affairs, and more eſpecially of thoſe that can alter their Health, or diſturb their Repoſe, on ſome of their Relations, or ſome other *Cardinal in whom they conſide*; to whom they give the Quality of *Cardinal Patron*; becauſe he is the Comptroller of Affairs, of which he has the Direction and Superviſorſhip. Such were Cardinal *Borgias* under *Alexander* IV. *Farneſe* under *Paul* III. *Caraffa* under *Paul* IV. *Boromeus* under

der *Pius* IV. *Aldobrandin* under *Clement* VIII. *Borgheſe* under *Paul* V. *Ghiſy* under *Alexander* VII. *Roſpiglioſi* under *Clement* IX. *Altieri* under ..... *Cibo* under the preſent Pope, and ſeveral others, of whom the Hiſtory of Nepotiſm makes a long Enumeration. It is from them that all the Legates, and all the Nuncios receive their Inſtructions, and to whom they give an Account of their Negotiations: as it is alſo to them, that all the foreign Miniſters addreſs themſelves for thoſe Affairs they have to negotiate at the Court of *Rome*. There is alſo a Cardinal, who has the Quality of Secretary of State, and who has the diſpatching of all Letters and Packets; but he is but a ſubaltern Miniſter, who receives his Orders from the *Cardinal Patron*, as from the firſt Miniſter.

At the Court of *Conſtantinople* the Embaſſadors don't at all negotiate with the Sultan. The Pride of the *Turks*, and the Cuſtom of the *Aſiatick* Princes, do not ſuffer him to be communicative, except it be to the Women, and to the Officers of the Seraglio. The Grand Seignior eaſes himſelf of the Direction and Chagrin of Affairs, upon the firſt Vizir, who is call'd by Excellency the *Pacha*. It is he that is the abſolute Maſter of all the Affairs that are tranſacted throughout the whole *Turkiſh* Empire. For tho' his Authority be precarious, and that his Power, and even his Life depend on the Sultan's Wink, who makes no Diſtinction between his firſt Miniſters, and the laſt of his Slaves; yet he has that abſolute Command out of the Seraglio, that his Orders are not leſs reſpected, nor leſs punctually executed than thoſe of the Sultan himſelf. It is with him that all the Embaſſadors negotiate; either perſonally or by their Interpreters. In the Abſence of the firſt Vizir they treat with the Divan, and ſometimes with the Kaimacan, the Baſhaw of the Sea, or ſome other Officer of the Seraglio, whoſe Friendſhip and Confidence they may purchaſe. The two firſt Vizirs, Father and Son, the Predeceſſors of this that is now, maintain'd themſelves in Credit till they dy'd; which is a Thing without Precedent in that Court.

Altho' there be no firſt Miniſter at *Vienna*, the Emperors have always had ſome Miniſter in whom they repos'd a greater Confidence than in the reſt, to whom Embaſſadors apply'd themſelves in reference to the Affairs they had to negotiate. *Maximilian* I. had, amongſt others, his *Mathew Langnen*, who from Secretary became Biſhop of *Gure*, Cardinal, and Lieutenant General to the Emperor in *Italy*. *Charles* V. had his *Mercurin* of *Gattinara*, and the two *Granvelles*, Father and Son, and ſome other Miniſters, to whom he intruſted the foreign Diſpatches and Affairs. The Emperors his Succeſſors have alſo had their chief Miniſters. *Rodolphus* and *Matthias* had Occaſion for them. The two *Ferdinands* were not without theirs neither; and it were eaſy to name above twelve Noblemen who had the chief Management of Affairs under them, and under the preſent Emperor; without compriſing amongſt them the Prince of *Lobkowits*, the Remembrance of whom is ſtill freſh. Embaſſadors carry it at *Vienna* after another manner than they do elſewhere: and a Diſtinction ought indeed to be made amongſt them, by reaſon of the Advantage that of *Spain* has of making himſelf be conſider'd there as a Domeſtick, and of procuring Audience from the Emperor, and from the Council whenever he preſents himſelf before them. The other Embaſſadors have alſo a very great Facility to negotiate with the Emperor himſelf; as well becauſe he is frequently at Council in Perſon, as becauſe they may every Day repair to the Antichamber, and accompany him to his Devotions: and at his Return, they have almoſt always an Opportunity of ſpeaking to him, either about indifferent Matters, or thoſe they have in Charge to negotiate. Excepting theſe Occaſions, as well the Embaſſadors as the Miniſters of the ſecond Order, negotiate with the Council; and particularly with the Preſident thereof, who is for the moſt part one the chief Officers of the Emperor's Houſhold. The Miniſters whom the Grand Seignior ſends, always negotiate with the Preſident of the Council of War; becauſe the Diſorders that happen on the Frontiers of *Hungary* are their whole Buſineſs.

The Functions of Miniſters being regulated in the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, as well as in almoſt all the others, the Embaſſador cannot be ignorant with whom he is to negotiate. There is no King nor Prince but would have it believ'd he underſtands his Affairs perfectly well, and is capable of tranſacting them himſelf: But it cannot be deny'd but ſome of them apply themſelves more thereto than others. There has been no King of *France* ſince *Lewis* XI. to *Henry* IV, but who has had his Miniſter, and ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd. *Briçonnet* and *de Vers* were the chief Miniſters to *Charles* VIII. Cardinal *d'Amboiſe* govern'd all under *Lewis* XII. The Conſtable *de Montmorancy* had all the Power under *Francis* I. and *Henry* II, under whom the *Guiſes* began to get into Authority. Under *Francis* II, *Charles* IX, and *Henry* III, all Embaſſadors negotiated with the Queen Mother *Catherine de Medicis*, who was Regent during the Minority, or rather abſolute Miſtreſs of the Wills of the Kings her Sons; who to ſpeak the Truth were little better than the laſt Kings of the two firſt Lines. *Henry* IV. was a King, and reign'd in effect. In his Time there was no ſuch thing as a firſt Miniſter. His Council was compos'd of very able Men, but yet he was the ableſt amongſt his Council. He liſten'd to their Advices, but after he had heard them, he follow'd the Light of his own Judgment. He delighted in the Converſation of the Embaſſadors and Miniſters of thoſe Princes and Republicks he lov'd, becauſe they had lov'd him before he was in Circumſtances to make himſelf conſider'd. The Embaſſadors of Queen *Elizabeth*, of *Venice*, and of the United Provinces ſaw him familiarly; notwithſtanding they, and the other Miniſters negotiated commonly with *Villeroy*, who was he of the four Secretaries that had the Province of foreign Affairs. After the Death of *Henry*, the Queen Regent *Mary de Medicis* put the Management of Affairs into the Hands of the Marquiſs *d'Ancre*, who had for Succeſſor under *Lewis* XIII. *M. de Luines*, who dy'd Conſtable of *France*. His Adminiſtration did not procure any great Reputation to the Affairs of that Crown, which retriev'd themſelves but after the King had given the

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Direction thereof to Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who made himſelf Comptroller thereof under the Quality of firſt Miniſter. They all paſs'd through his Hands, ſo that of courſe the foreign Miniſters muſt do ſo to. They negotiated alſo ſometimes with Father *Joſeph* a Capucin, but commonly with *Boutillier* and *Chavigny* his Son, who as Secretaries of State one after the other, had the Province of the foreign Affairs. The Count *de Brienne* ſucceeded to *M. de Chavigny* at the Beginning of the laſt Regency, and of Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Miniſtry; and it was to him the foreign Miniſters addreſs'd themſelves concerning thoſe Affairs that were to be brought before the Council; but as for thoſe that were determin'd in the Cabinet, the Cardinal had reſerv'd the Cognizance thereof to himſelf: and as he was become inacceſſible, recourſe was had to him through the Intermediation of *Hugues de Lionne*, who by this Mean drew to himſelf all the foreign Miniſters, and was in effect what the Count *de Brienne* was only in Appearance. The Count reſign'd his Office to his Son, who was oblig'd to ſell it to *Lionne*; and this left it by his Death to a Succeſſor, who has diſcharg'd it with infinite Merit, and has beyond Compariſon more Honour and Probity, than his Predeceſſor. Monſ. *Colbert*, who was prefer'd to the King by the Hands of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who has an intire Confidence in him, is preſent at all the Deliberations for foreign Affairs; and yet he will by no means ſpeak to an Embaſſador, as well becauſe his other Occupations, which are but too great of themſelves, hinder him from doing it, as becauſe he will not incroach upon another's Province.

Philip II. King of *Spain* had his Miniſters, but he had no firſt Miniſter. On the contrary, he was ſo apprehenſive leſt it ſhould be thought he ſuffer'd himſelf to be govern'd, or that another had the Direction of Affairs, that he remov'd the Cardinal *d'Eſpinoſa* from Court, becauſe he took too much upon him in the Council. *Philip* III. gave himſelf up intirely to *Don Franciſco de Sandoval de Roxas* Duke of *Lerma*. After the Death of *Philip* III. *Don Balthaſar* of *Zuniga*, and *Don Gaſpar de Guzman*, Count of *Olivares*, enjoy'd either the Favour or the Credit, which the *Spaniards* call *Privança*; but *Don Balthaſar* dying ſoon after the King, the Count of *Olivares* remain'd alone all-powerful with *Philip* IV, and it was with him that Embaſſadors negotiated; as after his Diſgrace, they did with *Don Lewis de Haro*. Before that Time, and ſince the tragical Death of *D. Alvaro de Luna*, Conſtable of *Caſtile*, no mention had been made of a firſt Miniſter. *Ferdinand the Catholick* was himſelf his firſt Miniſter, and knew more than all his Council. *Philip* his Son-in-Law would have ſuffer'd himſelf to have been govern'd had he liv'd. *Charles*, Son to *Philip* I. made uſe of the Cardinal *de Ximenez*, not as of a firſt Miniſter; but as of a Lieutenant General in his Abſence. He and *Philip* II. his Son, follow'd their own Judgments; and as they choſe their Miniſters, they knew alſo how to diſtinguiſh their Advice, and their Counſels, of which theſe two Kings were always the Maſters. The Preſident of the Privy Council, and that of *Caſtile*, are two Miniſters of great Truſt; and above the Secretaries of State there is one for the Diſpatches; and it is to theſe three Miniſters Embaſſadors reſort, when there is no firſt Miniſter. *D. John of Auſtria* is above what they call *Privança*, being the King's natural Brother, and having plac'd himſelf in the Poſt he is in, he would not ſuffer any Compariſon to be made betwixt him and the Privado's of the two laſt Reigns: but for all that, he diſcharges their Functions; ſo that it is impoſſible for Embaſſadors to ſucceed at the Court of *Madrid* without him.

On this Occaſion I ſhall here relate what paſs'd in the Reign of *Philip* III, betwixt the Duke of *Lerma*, his firſt Miniſter, and *Peter Gritti*, Embaſſador from *Venice*. The Republick found it ſelf extremely perplex'd with the War ſhe had with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, on the account of the *Uſcoques*, while ſhe was beſides engag'd in that the Duke of *Savoy* had with *Spain*; order'd *Gritti*, who was on her part at *Madrid*, to endeavour to diſpoſe that Court to a Peace. He found the firſt Miniſter ſo well diſpos'd, that the King of *Spain* interceded at *Vienna*, and diſpos'd the Emperor alſo to it. *Chriſtopher de Kevenhuller*, Count *de Fauquenberg*, who arriv'd at *Madrid* with Powers from the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, (who had Affairs of greater Importance in *Germany*) ſoon agreed to a Peace which was honourable, and in every Reſpect advantageous to the Republick. But as ſoon as the Treaty was communicated to *Gritti*, and that he ſaw the King of *Spain* took upon him to be *Arbitrator*, and did not ſpeak like a Mediator; inſomuch that it was rather a definitive Sentence than a Treaty; he ſaid it was not in his Power to conſent thereto: That there had been no Submiſſion on his part: That he had deſir'd the Duke of *Lerma* to employ the King's Authority to procure a Peace to *Italy*; and that all he could do was to ſend a Copy of the Treaty to *Venice*, that the Senate might examin it and ratify it if it thought fit. The Duke of *Lerma*, ſeeing they were going to expoſe the Dignity of the King his Maſter, who had engag'd very far with the Emperor and the Arch-Duke, ſent for *Gritti*, and deſir'd all the Embaſſadors who were at *Madrid*, to be preſent when he ſpoke to the *Venetian* Embaſſador, that they might one Day be witneſs thereof. He reproach'd *Gritti* with the Duplicity of his Procedure: but *Gritti* remain'd firm, and maintain'd to the firſt Miniſter that there had been no Submiſſion: That none had been deſir'd from him; and indeed that there could be none, becauſe he had no Orders for that; ſo that he was far from conſenting thereto. I ſhall relate hereafter how this Difference was ended, and only here obſerve, that the King of *Spain* took the part of his firſt Miniſter, and was ſo offended at the Procedure of the *Venetian* Embaſſador, that he would not concern himſelf in the Affair.

The King of *Great Britain* allows Embaſſadors to mingle with the Nobles of his Court; to be preſent, as private Perſons, at the publick Aſſemblies and Diverſions, and to ſeek Opportunities of ſpeaking to him, and taking Audience without asking it, and without Ceremony. But that does not hinder Embaſſadors from knowing, that there is a proper Organ, by which they ought to make their Maſter's Intentions known to the King; and that in form.

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The two Secretaries ſerve for this purpoſe which are call'd principal Secretaries. They have their diſtinct Provinces; ſo that there is no Embaſſador, that does not know to which of the two he is to apply himſelf, for the Affairs of his Maſter. There is no firſt Miniſter in *England* ſince the Death of *George Villars*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Father to him that is now living. The late King did indeed repoſe a peculiar Confidence in ſome Miniſters, as in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford*. And this has Chancellor *Hyde*, and at preſent the Lord *Latimer*, Great Treaſurer; but one cannot ſay that they are firſt Miniſters, nor that they have the whole Management of Affairs. The preſent King has no need of any; no more than that of *France*, whoſe Ability is but too great for his Neighbours, and too formidable for his Enemies.

During the Minority of Queen *Chriſtina*, certain Senators of *Sweden* tranſacted, with the other Affairs of the State, thoſe that regarded the Intereſts the Crown had to ſettle with Foreigners; the chief Authority reſiding in the Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*; as well on the Account of that he had had under the late King, whoſe whole Council he had been, as becauſe at that Time he had more Knowledge of the foreign Affairs, than all the other Senators together. Beſides that with the Office of Chancellor he alſo diſcharg'd that of Secretary of State. The Queen had no ſooner attain'd the Age requiſite by the Laws to act of her own Head, than ſhe made it plain that ſhe had alſo the neceſſary Capacity for it; and yet the Chancellor's Credit was ſo conſiderable even in the Queen's Majority, that *Chanut*, Miniſter of *France*, was cautious of ſhewing, that he would ſooner follow the Queen's Sentiments than thoſe of her firſt Miniſter. The Queen did not love *Oxenſtiern* nor his Family; but as it is one of the moſt powerful, and beſt ally'd of the whole Kingdom; and that ſhe could not be without his Advice, nor his Service, ſo neither could ſhe hinder the foreign Miniſters from negotiating with him, as with him that executed the Office of Secretary of State, as I juſt now ſaid. The Queen's Succeſſor, who had too much Wit, and too much Ambition for *Sweden*, was far from ſuffering himſelf to be govern'd: and during the Minority of the King his Son, the Senators, who had a Share in the Regency and Guardianſhip with the Queen, negotiated alſo with the foreign Miniſters, to whom they appointed Commiſſioners to enter into Conferences with them, where the Chancellor bore always the greateſt Sway. *Pimentel*, Miniſter of *Spain* in *Sweden*, was lodg'd in the Caſtle at *Stockholm*, and negotiated with the Queen immediately, and paſs'd whole Nights in her Cloſet.

But this can be no Precedent, no more than the Liberty *Terlon*, the *French* Embaſſador, took with King *Charles Guſtavus*, and in *Denmark* with the late King. In that Kingdom, as well as in *Sweden*, the King converſes familiarly enough with the Miniſters of thoſe Princes and States he has no Reaſon to diſtruſt; eſpecially when the Miniſter has a perſonal Merit, that intitles him to the King's Eſteem, or elſe ſome Quality that diverts him. The King of *Denmark* moſt commonly gives the chief Management of his Affairs either to his Chancellor or to ſome other Nobleman, to whom he gives the Title of Vicar, or Lieutenant General, which is call'd in the *German* Language, *Stadtholter*. There have been ſeveral under the late King, and even in this Prince's Reign, who notwithſtanding they had not the Quality of firſt Miniſter, had nevertheleſs an Authority that came pretty near that which firſt Miniſters aſſume to themſelves in other Courts. In theſe two Kingdoms there is hardly any Affair negotiated which is not laid before and reſolv'd in Council; altho' the preſent King of *Denmark* acts with a more abſolute Authority than his Predeceſſors did.

The Republick of *Venice* negotiates with Embaſſadors in an Aſſembly which is call'd the *College*, which is compos'd of the Nobles, and the Deputies of ſome other Magiſtrates; and it is there that the Senate ſignifies its Intentions to 'em, after the manner I ſhall lay down in the following Chapter; having given an Account in the nineteenth of the firſt Book how they receive Audience. I ſhall therefore add nothing here, except that when an Embaſſador has any particular Affair that relates to his Perſon, his Domeſticks or his Friends, he does not apply himſelf to the *College*, which repreſents the Sovereignty of the Republick, and which concerns it ſelf only with the Affairs of the State; but to the great Sages by the Means of their Secretary, or by the Intercourſe of the Conſul of the Nation. There is no Senator at *Venice*, nor Miniſter, that is employ'd in the Service of the Republick, that dares to have the leaſt Communication with an Embaſſador, or a foreign Prince, on Pain of Death. This Law reaches even the Doge. *Philip de Commines* ſays indeed, that when he was Embaſſador at *Venice* on the part of *Charles* VIII, he had a private Conference with the Doge, who had a mind to make uſe of him, to perſuade his Maſter to leave the Kingdom of *Naples* to the *Arragonians*, in Conſideration of an annual Acknowledgment: but we muſt believe that the Doge had an expreſs Leave for ſo extraordinary an Action.

In thoſe Republicks where Laws govern, or at leaſt where they ought to govern, rather than the Magiſtrates, no other Power is acknowledg'd but the Sovereign. It cannot be communicated to any Perſon whatever; becauſe this kind of States, not being ſubject to perſonal Infirmities, nor to Minorities, it is not neceſſary to ſupport the ſovereign Power by a borrow'd and ſubaltern Authority. The Miniſters whom Republicks employ, ought to be Miniſters in effect, and cannot extend their Authority beyond the Bounds of their Inſtructions. However, when they are allow'd to hear foreign Miniſters, and to negotiate with them, the Embaſſador is oblig'd to conform thereto; and he would not do his Maſter any Service; if he addreſs'd himſelf to any other Miniſter. Thoſe Princes and States, that ſend their Embaſſadors or Miniſters to the State of the United Provinces, give them Credentials for a College, (if I may be allow'd to uſe the Term) which is call'd *the Aſſembly of the States General*, becauſe it is compos'd of the Deputies of the Seven Provinces that form the Union.

I ſhould make too great a Digreſſion if I undertook to treat here of the Form of Government of this State; wherefore I ſhall be contented to ſay, That the Number of its Deputies is not ſettl'd, becauſe each Province may ſend as many as it pleaſes; ſince they do not vote by Perſons, but by Provinces; and each Province preſides there a Week, taking it by Turns. He that preſides there on the part of a Province, and is call'd the Preſident of the Week, is alſo he to whom the Embaſſador muſt apply himſelf for the Affairs he has to negotiate. Theſe Deputies at the Beginning of the Year divide the Affairs amongſt themſelves, and are as it were perpetual Commiſſioners for that Year, of thoſe that are fall'n to their Share by Lot. And as there are none of any Importance which the Aſſembly does not refer to them, to be examin'd and digeſted by them, the Embaſſador may inform himſelf of the Regiſter of the Names of thoſe who are concern'd in the Affairs of his Maſter. And as the Province of *Holland* aſſumes to it ſelf a very great Direction in the Government of a State, of which ſhe makes ſo conſiderable a Part; and that her Miniſter, who is in effect but the Syndic of the States of this Province, is alſo on their Part perpetual Deputy to the Aſſembly of the States General; inſomuch that nothing is there reſolv'd but what he has propos'd or approv'd, on the Part of his Maſters; the foreign Miniſters are glad to be before-hand with him, and to prepare him; becauſe as his Approbation is capable of procuring them the Succeſs they deſire, ſo his Oppoſition is alſo capable of ruining and deſtroying their Intentions.

Since the firſt beginning of this Republick the States General, and even thoſe of the particular Provinces, excepting thoſe of *Friſe* and *Groninguen*, have neither done, nor debated any thing of Importance, without the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, their Captain General, and Governor of moſt of the ſaid Provinces; and it has ſucceeded well enough with them; particularly the Oracles of Prince *Henry*, the greateſt Captain, and the ableſt Politician of our Age. So that there is no foreign Miniſter, but who having paid his Civilities to the States, pays alſo his Devoirs to the Prince, has *Credential Letters* for him, and communicates to him his Maſter's Concerns; as well to give him a Knowledge thereof, as thereby to procure his Favour. The firſt Miniſter of the United Provinces is the Treaſurer General, who is the Orderer of the Finances under the Council of State: the ſecond is the Regiſter of the States General; and the third the Secretary of the Council of State; who are all three Officers of Truſt; but none of 'em meddles with foreign Affairs, and the Embaſſador does not negotiate with them. The States of *Holland* have their particular Miniſters, *viz.* their Counſellor Penſionary, who is the firſt, and who on ſome Occaſions diſcharges the Office of Secretary of State; and a Secretary. They have alſo a Keeper of the Seals; but he only fixes the Seal, and has no Share in the Affairs, nor in the Deliberations in this Quality.

CHAP. III.

How the Embaſſadors ought to negotiate.

THERE is no Rule to be given for the Manner of Negotiation; whether it ought to be executed by word of Mouth, or in Writing. In this the Embaſſador muſt follow the Cuſtom of the Court where he is, and accommodate himſelf to what is there practis'd. I am ſenſible it is not from *Turkey* nor *Perſia* that the Embaſſador muſt borrow Examples; eſpecially when he would form to himſelf Precepts of Civility or Juſtice: but it cannot be deny'd, that it is not in the Power of an Embaſſador to change in a Court, the Manner of Negotiating which he finds eſtabliſh'd; and that he cannot condemn it without Injuſtice. *Vincenzio de Gli Aleſſandri*, whom the Republick of *Venice* ſent into *Perſia* in the time of the *Cyprian* War, was oblig'd to negotiate with *Sultan Caidar Mirza*, third Son, and firſt Miniſter to *Schach Tamas*. The *Venetian* Miniſter had no great Difficulty to obtain Audience, and the Prince promis'd him to make a Report thereof to the King his Father. Three Months elaps'd after his Audience, before the *Mirza* ſignify'd to him, that the King had very well comprehended the Subject of his Commiſſion; but judg'd that in an Affair of that Importance, precipitation ought to be avoided; and that ſince the Alliance the Republick had a mind to make was to be perpetual, they ſhould be able to ſee in two or three Years time what Courſe Affairs would take, and thereupon form Reſolutions ſuitable to the common Intereſt of the Allies. That other King of *Perſia*, *Schach Abas* ſaid, That to diſpatch publick Miniſters very ſoon, *were to uſe them like Couriers, and not like Embaſſadors*. Each Court, and even each King has its particular Manner of acting; and it is thereby that the Embaſſador muſt govern himſelf. The Author of the Treatiſe of *The Idea of a perfect Embaſſador*, alledges the Examples of the Embaſſadors in *Homer* and *Virgil*, to ſhew how the Embaſſador ought to negotiate. He alſo borrows ſome from *Arioſto* and from *Taſſo*; but it is without doubt to form an Embaſſador altogether as Chimerical as are the Heroes of thoſe Poets.

At *Venice*, where Embaſſadors have no Commerce at all with thoſe who are there concern'd in the Management of Affairs, and where there is no Miniſter whom they can entertain with their Maſter's Intereſts, they are oblig'd to explain themſelves in Writing to the College. The Senate alſo anſwers the Memorial of Embaſſadors in Writing, and ſends for them to the College to hear the Anſwer read to them, *or elſe it ſends it to them by a Secretary, who reads it*

it to the Embaſſador, or dictates it to his Secretary, and carrys back the Original; it being forbidden him at the Peril of his Life, to leave it with the Embaſſador; which is without doubt the Effect of a very refin'd Policy; becauſe Occurrences might happen, where the Senate might diſavow what it had done; and maintain that the Copy which the Embaſſador produces had been alter'd by his Secretary; ſince that of the Republick does not ſign it.

Publick Miniſters negotiate alſo by Memorials in *Holland*, where within ſome Years they have made it an Obligation to do ſo, by a Reſolution they were forc'd to come to, on the account of a certain foreign Miniſter, who made no Difficulty to unſay what he had ſignify'd by the Preſident of the Week, or ſome other Deputy; or to give to his Diſcourſes a Senſe ſo contrary to his firſt Intentions, that there was no laying any Streſs on what he ſaid. The Regiſter, or one of the Clarks of the Protonotary, whom they call Agent, placing himſelf behind the Preſident's Chair, reads the Memorials the foreign Miniſters preſent. They are generally put into the Hands of Commiſſioners, who examin them, and make a Report thereof to the Aſſembly of the States General, giving their Opinions at the ſame time, upon which the States form their Reſolution. This Reſolution being fix'd, regiſter'd and ſign'd by the Preſident, and counterſign'd by the Regiſter, is put into the Hands of the Agent, who communicates it to the Embaſſador.

In other Courts where the Practice is different, the Embaſſador ought to be very cautious of committing his Thoughts to Paper. I ſaid in Chapter XIV, of the firſt Book, that *Francis Walſingham*, deſiring to be inform'd concerning ſome Points of the Inſtructions Queen *Elizabeth* gave him in the Year 1670, ask'd, amongſt other things, *Whether he might not be permitted, in Affairs of Importance, to give his Reaſons in Writing? And in caſe the Queen approv'd it, Whether he might not expreſs himſelf in* Latin *or* Italian, *becauſe he was better ſkill'd in them than in the* French; *as alſo becauſe the* French *would by that Means have no Advantage over him?* The ſame Queen ſays in the Inſtruction ſhe gives him on the 23d of *February*, 1571, That *Walſingham*, thinking he ſhall have ſome Difficulty to expreſs himſelf in his Audiences to his Mind, may deſire leave of the King to read his Thoughts, as he ſhall have put them in Writing, and tranſlated them into *French*, ſince the *French* Embaſſador did the ſame to her: That the King ought to take it leſs ill in an *Engliſhman*, who does not make uſe of his Mother Tongue, becauſe it is allow'd the other, who is a *Frenchman:* However, *that her Intention is not*, (in caſe it be granted him) *that he ſhall leave a Copy with the King, or ſuffer it to be copy'd; but that he ſhould keep it, unleſs it were earneſtly requir'd.*

Paul de Foix, Embaſſador of *France* at *Rome*, made great Complaints in the Year 1582, of *John Vitelli*, (natural Son to *Chiapin*, Marquiſs of *Ceton*) who commanded the Pope's Forces at *Avignon*, and did not treat very well the King's Subjects in his Provinces of *Dauſind* and *Province*. Theſe Complaints were accompany'd with ſuch preſſing Inſtances from *Henry* III, for the Revocation of *Vitelli*, that the Pope finding himſelf neceſſitated to make ſome Reflection thereon, ſignify'd to the Embaſſador, that he ſhould be glad to have down in Writing, what the Embaſſador had told him by word of Mouth; that he might take it into Conſideration at his leiſure, while he paſs'd ſome Days in the Countrey. *M. de Foix*, told the Pope's Secretary, who brought him the Meſſage, *That he thought that Demand was altogether new, becauſe it had been always the Cuſtom to treat of Affairs by word of Mouth; however that he would think of it.* This Embaſſador writing on this Subject to the King his Maſter, ſays, *That he had been willing to gratify the Pope for that one time, and that he had ſent him a Paper which was not ſign'd, and did not bear his Name.* This is what he writes in his Diſpatch of *April* 3, 1582. And in that of *June* 2, of the ſame Year, he ſays, *That he will wait for his Majeſty's Orders, whether he ought to negotiate in Writing or not.*

Bernardin Bochetel, Biſhop of *Rennes*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Vienna*, had Orders to negotiate a Match between King *Charles* IX, and *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian* II. He made the Demand in form, and the Emperor having taken the Advice of his Council, made him a very offenſive Anſwer, becauſe *Chantonnay Granvelle*, Embaſſador of *Philip* II, and ſome other Partizans of *Spain*, form'd a great many Objections againſt this Alliance. The Emperor after ſome Words of Civility, which ſerv'd for an Introduction to the Anſwer, very much extoll'd the Advantage that all *Chriſtendom* would receive from this High Alliance, and ſaid, he would conſent to the Marriage on the following Conditions. *That the King ſhould forthwith reſtore the Towns of* Metz, Toul *and* Verdun, *to the State they were in when* Henry *II. took them: That he ſhould renounce the Friendſhip of the* Turk, *and ſhould make a League with the Emperor againſt the common Enemy: That in the preſent Conjuncture, the King ſhould ſend a powerful Army to his Aſſiſtance; and that if it ſhould happen hereafter, that any Difference ſhould ariſe between the two Kings of* Spain *and of* France, *this laſt ſhould allow the Emperor to declare for the other: upon all which he would expect his Maſter's Sentiments.* The Embaſſador made an Anſwer thereunto the very next Day, but by word of Mouth. *That it was three Years ſince he firſt mention'd this Marriage, and that he had hop'd, that ſince the Emperor had not the Diſpoſal of his Children in Marriage, as he ſhould think fit, with reference to the Honour and Advantage of his Houſe; that he would at leaſt have made uſe of a more honourable Expreſſion and Excuſe, with which the King his Maſter might have been ſatisfy'd. But inſtead of communicating to him the Articles of a Contract of Marriage, he preſcrib'd ſuch Conditions to him, and gave him ſuch Laws, that a Conqueror would hardly impoſe on him he had ſubdu'd: That the King was not reduc'd to thoſe Extremities the* Spaniards *imagin'd: That he was willing to ſuccour* Chriſtendom *againſt the common Enemy; but he did not pretend it ſhould be more oblig'd to his Wife therefore than to himſelf*, &c. All the reſt of the Embaſſador's Anſwer was of the ſame Force; and he concluded it by ſaying, *that no farther mention ſhould be made of the Marriage.* And in fact he was forbidden proſecuting that Negotiation; which never-

nevertheleſs was concluded ſome Years after. *The Biſhop was preſs'd to give his Anſwer in writing, but he refus'd to do it.*

In the Year 1586, ſome of the Electors, Princes and Towns of *Germany*, ſent a very ſolemn Embaſſy to King *Henry* III, to entreat him to abate a little of the rigorous Perſecution of thoſe of the Reform'd Religion. The Embaſſadors were ſomewhat too vehement in their Diſcourſe for the Ears of a King, who was accuſtom'd to the groſſeſt Flatteries, *and left it him in Writing.* The next Day the King ſent them an Anſwer by one of his Secretaries of State, who read it in the Preſence of the Embaſſadors, but *he refus'd to leave them a Copy of it*, tho' they urg'd it very much. In the Year 1589, the ſame King (who had rid himſelf at *Blois* of the Duke, and Cardinal *de Guiſe*) being touch'd a little with the Death of the Cardinal, ſent to *Rome* the Biſhop of *Mans*; who in Conjunction with the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, and the Marquiſs *de Piſani*, Embaſſador in Ordinary from *France*, was to juſtify that Action, and prevail with the Pope to approve of it: But *he expreſſly forbad him to offer any thing in Writing; to the End the Pope might not imagin, that the King would addreſs himſelf to him by the way of Requeſt, or that his Intention was to ſue for an Abſolution from the Cenſures, which he did not think he had incurr'd.* Thus the Pope *Clement* VIII. *would never give any thing in Writing to the Duke of* Nevers, whom King *Henry* IV. had ſent to *Rome*, to deſire Abſolution of the Pope; who had refus'd to receive the King's Letters, or to do any thing that could give ground to believe he acknowledg'd the King in that Quality.

At preſent the Negotiation by Memorial is become more in vogue than it was formerly; not only at the Court of *Madrid*, where it is now very uſual, but alſo in that of *France*. He of the Secretaries of State, who has there the Province of the foreign Affairs, had ſome Difficulty to accuſtom himſelf to it; and even at this Day, he does not carry the Memorials of Embaſſadors to the upper Council, unleſs he be oblig'd thereto for his Diſcharge; neither are they anſwer'd in Writing, unleſs the King gives his expreſs Orders for that Purpoſe. This is what is alſo practis'd elſewhere; eſpecially when the Writings may have farther Conſequences. We have ſpoken above of the Diſcontent *Boiſchot*, Embaſſador from the Arch-Duke *Albert* at *London*, had on the Account of the *Venetian* Embaſſador's being preferr'd to him, at the Feaſt that was made there, at the Marriage of the Princeſs with the Elector *Palatin*; to which the one had been invited the firſt Day, and the other on the ſecond. *Boiſchot* made great Complaints about it to the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and ſent a Writing to the Lord Chamberlain, who is he that regulates the Civilities in *England*, in which he alledg'd ſeveral Reaſons, why he ſhould be preferr'd to the Embaſſador of *Venice*. The Lord Chamberlain having read the Writing, reſtor'd it to *Boiſchot*'s Secretary, who carry'd it back. Some Days after the King caus'd an Anſwer to be made thereto, which was alſo put in Writing, wherein he juſtify'd his Procedure, and proteſted that it was not his Intention to regulate the Rank amongſt the foreign Miniſters. After the Maſter of the Ceremonies had caus'd the Writing to be read to the Embaſſador, he was for having it back; but *Boiſchot refus'd to return it, and ſaid, that his Secretary had not brought back to him that which he had ſent to the Lord Chamberlain.* Which the Maſter of the Ceremonies having reported to the Lord Chamberlain, this laſt ſent him back immediately, and ſignify'd to the Embaſſador, that he had return'd his Writing to his Secretary, and *that he likewiſe would have the King's from him. Boiſchot* having inform'd himſelf of his Secretary, what was become of his Writing, and underſtanding he had brought it away, *ſent back alſo the other.* The King was in the right to withdraw a Writing, which diſcover'd that his Procedure had ſtood in need of a Juſtification.

The Negotiations that are made in Aſſemblies in neutral Towns, or that are conſider'd as ſuch; and by the Miniſters of ſeveral Princes who are at War, have their particular Forms; and the Practice and Manner of them is not always the ſame. Sometimes the Embaſſadors, or Plenipotentiaries meet to negotiate, and treat in effect; and then the Negotiation is perform'd by the help of Mediators, at leaſt for the moſt part; notwithſtanding the Parties are agreed as to the moſt eſſential Points; as at *Munſter*, at *Cologne*, at *Nimeguen*, and at the Congreſſes, which have been made within theſe many Years for Treaties of Peace between the *Northern* Crowns. But when all things are agreed upon: ſo that there is nothing in all likelihood that can break off the Negotiation, the Meeting is only to conclude, and finiſh the Treaty with more Solemnity. *Lionne* had begun to treat at *Madrid*, and *Pimentel* had made an End at *Paris*, ſo that the two firſt Miniſters being well aſſur'd that they ſhould not ſeparate till they had given the laſt Perfection to the Treaty, made no Difficulty to repair to the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms; to conſer and to ſettle between themſelves certain Points upon which they knew very well no Rupture would enſue. The Mediators who were at *Vervins*, and at *Aix la Chappelle*, had adjuſted the moſt difficult Articles, nay almoſt all, before the Miniſters of the Princes concern'd came to the Place appointed for the Congreſs; and were there chiefly, but to the End that by ſigning the Treaty with the Embaſſadors of the Parties, they might reap the Honour that was due to their glorious Labour. *Commines* inlarges pretty much on the Particulars of an Aſſembly and Negotiation, which happen'd on the part of *Charles* VIII, and the Confederate Princes of *Italy*, after the unfortunate Expedition of *Naples:* but as this Matter is different from that which is treated in this Chapter, I ſhall reſerve it for another.

I ſhall make hereafter ſome Reflections on the Negotiation at *Munſter*; but I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay here, *That the firſt Propoſitions that* d'Avaux *and* Servien *made there, were communicated to the Mediators in Writing.* But foraſmuch as on both ſides they began to be long-winded in their Diſcourſes, and to make Anſwers and Replies, as in a juridical and formal Proceſs; *the Court of* France *ſent Orders to its Plenipotentiaries, to negotiate no more by Writing*, and barely to communicate the Demands and the Pretenſions; reſerving to themſelves

to

to back their Reaſons by Word of Mouth, when they ſpoke to the Mediators. Thoſe of *Sweden* declar'd, on the contrary, that they could negotiate no other way than in Writing; as well becauſe it was the Cuſtom of *Sweden*, and of all the North, as becauſe that at *Oſnabourg* there were no Mediators to whom they might give their Reaſons by Word of Mouth, to have them reported to the Parties. The Embaſſadors of *France* reply'd, *That their Orders did not permit them to negotiate in Writing:* That the *Swedes* might indeed follow therein the Cuſtom of their Countrey, but that they could not pretend to ſubject *France* thereto: So that on each ſide they ſhould be allow'd to do what they thought fit in that reſpect. They repreſented to the Miniſters of *Sweden*, that thoſe Writings would take up a great deal of Time, and that that Method of Proceeding would partake more of the Chicane and Cavil than of Negotiation. The *Swedes* at laſt ſaid, that it was not their Intention to ſpin out Affairs in Length, but that they were oblig'd to make the principal Propoſitions in Writing; as well to gratify the Allies, who made preſſing Inſtances that it might be ſo, as becauſe the Intereſt of both Crowns was concern'd therein.

In the Year 1646, the ſame Plenipotentiaries of *France*, perceiving that the Difference that was between the Miniſters of *Sweden* and *Brandenburg* concerning *Pomerania*, was a powerful Obſtacle to the Peace, reſolv'd to write into *Sweden*, in order to prevail with the Queen to abate a little of that Rigour with which ſhe treated the Elector: A Peace was deſir'd in *France* with the greater Earneſtneſs, becauſe the Finances there were in a bad Condition, and that it had agreed with the Elector of *Bavaria* concerning the Satisfaction of that Crown. *D'Avaux*, who took Delight in Writing, and who expreſs'd himſelf well in Latin, made afterwards the Draught of a long Letter, which the Plenipotentiaries were to write to the Queen of *Sweden:* But *Servien*, who found Fault with every thing that came from the Pen or Wit of his Collegue, ſaid, *That the King had expreſſly forbidden them to negotiate in Writing:* That he had had but too much Complaiſance, when he ſign'd the circular Letters they had written immediately after the opening of the Aſſembly at *Munſter*, which had had ſo ill an Effect: That indeed it had been reſolv'd between them, that a Letter ſhould be ſent into *Sweden*; but that that might be done without writing to the Queen: That the King had his Embaſſadors at *Stockholm*, to whom a Letter might be written: That the Letter of which *d'Avaux* had made a Draught not being capable of being alter'd nor favourably interpreted, might paſs there for an Invective, and be conſider'd as a Juſtification of the Procedure of their common Enemies, to the Prejudice of their Allies: That the Embaſſador might tell by Word of Mouth the whole Contents of the Letter, and that with more Succeſs; becauſe he might do it either all at once, and at the ſame Time, or at his Conveniency, and according to the Impreſſion he found his Diſcourſe made upon the Queen's Mind: That he might rectify thoſe Paſſages he ſhould find too ſtrong or too violent; whereas the Letter might produce a quite contrary Effect, even with thoſe, who being convinc'd by the Strength of the Reaſons and of the Truth, yet would not be able to approve of the Manner of acting of the *French* Plenipotentiaries.

La Tuillerie, the *French* Embaſſador, having prevail'd with the two Northern Kings to ſend their Commiſſioners with full Power to *Bremſebro*, on the Frontiers of both Kingdoms, in order to treat there of a Peace; brought them to agree mutually to three Things. The firſt, that at their firſt Interview they ſhould take one another by the Hand, and ſhould pay each to the other the Civilities that ſhould be concerted between them. The ſecond was, that their Powers ſhould be exchang'd by the Hands of *la Tuillerie*; and the third, that they ſhould approve of the Manner of negotiating, of which he ſhould make uſe in this Aſſembly. He deſir'd and obtain'd of the Parties, *that they ſhould negotiate in Writing*, and that the Propoſitions ſhould be lodg'd in his Hands; for fear leſt in the Conteſtation they ſhould be tranſported to Reſentments more capable of breaking than concluding the Treaty.

We have ſpoken of the Inſtructions in the firſt Part of this Treatiſe, where we obſerv'd that it was a private Inſtrument, which the Embaſſador ought not to communicate. I here ſay the ſame of all the Orders that are ſent him, becauſe they make a part of his Inſtructions. This is what the Miniſter ought to obſerve in the whole Courſe of his Employment; and he ought even to avoid giving Copies of his Letters. *Doſſat* having receiv'd a Letter, which he thought might pleaſe the Pope, reſolv'd to read it to him. However, as he therein committed an Irregularity againſt his Function, he was deſirous to juſtify himſelf to the King, to whom he wrote in the following Terms. *Altho' it be not a thing cuſtomary, nor that ought to be eaſily done, and which I ſhould be leſs liable to do than any body elſe, yet for this Time, which ſhall be no Precedent, I thought I ought to do as I did,* &c. *to avoid having it ſaid in* France, *that I had omitted remonſtrating any thing they had a mind I ſhould remonſtrate; or being calumniated here, for having added any thing of my own.* Cardinal *Aldebrandin* ask'd him for a Copy of the Letter; and *Doſſat* ſaid, that he made no Difficulty to give it *for that once, which ſhould be no Precedent in other Caſes.* From whence one may conclude, that a publick Miniſter cannot be compell'd to ſhew his Orders, without doing Violence to the *Law of Nations*, and without injuring the Prince, whoſe *Credentials* he preſented at the Entry of his Embaſſy.

The Embaſſador that negotiates by word of Mouth, does it either with the Prince himſelf in private Audiences; or with the firſt Miniſter, with the Secretary of State, or with ſome other Miniſter, or with the Council, or with Commiſſioners at Conferences. In Chapter VII. of the firſt Part, I recommended to the Embaſſador, or to him that pretends to take this Employment upon him, the Reflexions, and moral Maxims of one of the firſt and moſt illuſtrious Perſonages of our Time. To ſhew how the Miniſter may benefit thereby, in reference to this Chapter, I ſhall here ſet down the 141 Maxim, where he ſays, " That there is ſcarce " any Body, but who thinks rather on what

" he has to ſay, than of anſwering preciſely to " what is ſaid to him; and that the moſt capa- " ble and moſt complaiſant are contented to " ſhew an attentive Mien, at the ſame Time " that one may ſee in their Eyes, and in their " Mind, an Inattention to what is ſaid to them, " and a kind of longing to return to what they " have to ſay; inſtead of conſidering that it is " but a bad Mean to get the Good-will of " others, or to perſuade them, to ſeek ſo ea- " gerly to pleaſe ones ſelf; and that to hear- " ken well, and to anſwer well is one of the " greateſt Perfections of Converſation." The Moral here has only for Object, Converſation, and endeavours to form a well-bred Gentleman; but in my Opinion one may extend this Maxim even to Politicks; and ſay, that it is a neceſſary part in a publick Miniſter, who will never paſs for a Man of Ability, nor reaſonable, unleſs he has in Conferences and Audiences the ſame Command of himſelf that a well bred Gentleman ought to have in private Meetings. The Precipitancy in anſwering, of which *M. L. D. D. L. R.* ſpeaks in this Maxim, is not equally common to all Nations. The *French* are a little more ſubject to it than the others; and yet we ought to admire the Attention of *Doſſat*, not only in the Audiences he has of the Pope, and his Miniſters, where he takes notice of all the Circumſtances, and even the leaſt Words: but the ſame Attention is to be obſerv'd, and the ſame Patience, and the ſame Reſervedneſs and Modeſty in the Audiences he gives.

The Embaſſador ought never to preſent himſelf to Audience, till he has deſir'd it, and he has had an Hour aſſign'd him for that purpoſe. The Duke *de Monteleon*, Embaſſador of *Spain* in *France*, was ſo aſſiduous at the *Louvre*, that there did not paſs a Day, that he did not ſee the Queen Mother, *Mary de Medicis*. The Day that the Mareſchal *d'Ancre* was kill'd he came into the *Louvre* on Foot; but *Vitri*, who obſerv'd that he took the Way to the Apartment of the Queen Mother, call'd to him and told him, it was not to that but to the King's he ought to repair; which he was oblig'd to do. He was at the ſame Time given to underſtand by *Villeroy*, that it was not reaſonable he ſhould be ſeen ſo often at the *Louvre*: That it was ſufficient for him to come thither once a Week for ordinary Audiences; and when he had a mind to have extraordinary ones, he might make an extraordinary Demand for them: That the other Embaſſadors took theirs but once a Fortnight; and that the Court was diſpos'd to have a particular Conſideration for him. The Duke made Anſwer, That it was not as Embaſſador, but as *Majordomo Major* to the Queen Regnant, that he came ſo often to the *Louvre*. Hereupon he was told, That the Quality of *Majordomo* was not known in *France*; and that it did not belong to the King of *Spain* to aſſign Officers to the Queen of *France*; and that he would not be allow'd to take a greater Liberty than was given to the *French* Embaſſador at *Madrid*. At preſent there is no ſet Day for Audiences, and Embaſſadors have none, unleſs they demand 'em. The Miniſter of the ſecond Order, who has not a Character that obliges him to concert with ſo much Exactneſs all his Steps, and all his Actions, ought not however to expoſe himſelf; but he may ſeek an Occaſion to ſpeak to the Prince, or his Miniſter, provided he do not occaſion himſelf to be repuls'd; and that in his Perſon no Affront is offer'd through his Means to his Maſter. This is what ought to be underſtood of a regular Court, where every Body knows what is due to foreign Miniſters; becauſe the moſt conſummate Prudence cannot ſecure an Embaſſador, or other Miniſter, from the Inſult of a violent Prince, or of an ignorant and paſſionate Miniſter; who inſtead of being ſcrupulous in declining all Occaſions of Scandal, runs to meet them, and is not afraid of offending thoſe ſacred Perſons.

Charles Sforza, Prior of *Lombardy*, commanded three Galleys in the Service of *Henry* II. King of *France*; and in the Deſign he had to retire to follow his Brother's Fortunes, who were in the Emperor's Intereſt, he thought he ſhould make himſelf more valuable to the Party, and to his new Friends, by being guilty of an ill Action, and carrying off the three Galleys, and preſenting them to the Emperor. *Sforza* deſpair'd of bringing into his Meaſures *Nicholas l'Alleman*, who commanded the Galleys under him; ſo that not daring to ſpeak to him of it, he oblig'd him to conduct them to *Civita Vecchia* under Pretext to refit them there, before he brought them into *Province* to be laid up. While they were in the Port, *Charles*'s Brothers made themſelves Maſters of 'em, and were for ſending them to *Naples*, to *Bernardin de Mendoſſe*, who commanded there in the Abſence of the Duke of *Alva*: But the commanding Officer would not ſuffer it without an expreſs Order from the Count *de Montorio*, the Pope's Nephew, who was chief Governor of *Civita Vecchia*. The Count gave his Leave for the carrying off the Galleys, but the *French* Miniſters complain'd thereof ſo loudly, that the Pope ſignify'd to the Cardinal *de St. Flore*, Brother to *Charles*, that if the Galleys were not reſtor'd he would come upon him for them. The Cardinal inſtead of obeying got together the Night following all his Friends; all the *Imperial* and *Spaniſh* Cardinals; the Marquiſs of *Sarria*, the Emperor's Embaſſador; the Count *de Chincon*, Embaſſador of Obedience from *Philip*, and all the Partiſans of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. In this Aſſembly the Pope was ſpoke of with ſo much Paſſion and Inſolence, that *Paul* IV. was no ſooner inform'd thereof the next Day, than he reſolv'd to reſent it. In the mean time the Count *de Montorio* fearing the obſtinate and irreconcileable Humour of his Unkle, found a Mean to withdraw the Order he had ſent to the Governor of *Civita Vecchia* in reference to the three Galleys, and to put in the Room thereof one which charg'd *Lotin* with this Seizure. This *Lotin* was Secretary of the Cardinal *de St. Flore*, (who as it was ſaid had chang'd it againſt the Count's Intention) which oblig'd the Pope to ſend the Secretary to Priſon. The Emperor's Embaſſador, being adviſ'd thereof, *Sent to deſire Audience; and altho' it was refus'd him, yet he order'd his Coach to be got ready, and repair'd to the Antichamber to demand it himſelf; but it was refus'd him again, ſo that he was forc'd to retire.* Upon this Affront he ſent an Expreſs to the Emperor, who order'd him to leave *Rome*; as well

well on this Account, as for ſeveral other Affronts which were offer'd at that Time to thoſe who had an Affection for *Spain*. The Cardinal *de St. Flore* was one of thoſe who felt the firſt Effects thereof. Cardinal *Caraffa* under the Pretext of viſiting him, and carrying him to take the Air, got him out of his Houſe, and conducted him to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, where he left him, till he had oblig'd *Mendoſſe* to ſend back the Galleys, which were reſtor'd to *Nicholas l'Alleman*.

The Marquiſs of *Sarria* had no Reaſon to complain of the Refuſal the Pope had made to give him Audience at the Moment he ask'd it; becauſe that depends on the Prince, who conſults his Conveniency on that Point: And it is the Practice of all Courts to do ſo, tho' there are ſome Occaſions where Audience can neither be refus'd nor delay'd, unleſs a Rupture be deſign'd: And this was the Intention of *Paul* IV, who had already arreſted the Abbots *Berſegue* and *Nanni*, the firſt of whom was Agent to the Duke of *Alva*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Lieutenant General to the Emperor in *Italy*. He had alſo arreſted *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, who did the King of *Spain*'s Buſineſs at *Rome*. But the Pope ſaid, that the two Abbots being Eccleſiaſticks, he had a Juriſdiction over their Perſons, and could cauſe them to be proſecuted in Form: That the Abbot *Berſegue* did no longer act for the Duke, and that *Garcilaſſo* had firſt violated the *Law of Nations*, which forbids publick Miniſters undertaking any thing againſt the Quiet of the State where they reſide; becauſe as the Miniſter finds his Safety in the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, ſo ought the Prince to find his in the Conduct of the Miniſter.

What I have here ſaid of private Audiences, may be alſo apply'd to the publick, which may be deferr'd, and even refus'd without Violation of the *Law of Nations*, nay without ſo much as offending againſt Civility. In the Year 1638, the Pope ſent Nuncios into *France* and *Spain*, to exhort the two Kings to a Peace. The Nuncio *Scotti* who was in *France could not obtain Admittance*, becauſe it was known there, that the Nuncio who was to go to *Spain* was not yet ſet out from *Rome:* and the King would not have the World think that he was leſs inclin'd to a Peace than the King of *Spain*, and ſo wanted more Exhortation thereto than the other. It may be ſaid that the Prince that does not admit the Miniſter of another Prince, or who after having admitted him delays or refuſes to give him Audience, offends againſt Cuſtom and againſt Civility; but I dare not warrant that theſe Refuſals or Delays violate the *Law of Nations*, unleſs a very large Signification be given to the Words Violate and Violence; tho' it cannot be deny'd that he that deſpiſes the Miniſter, offends at the ſame Time the Maſter. In the Year 1658, the Miniſters of *Brandenburg*, who had been ſent to the King of *Sweden* the Year before, not being able to obtain Audience, gave out, That the *Law of Nations had been violated* in their Perſons, by the Refuſal the King of *Sweden* made to hear them, after having admitted them. On the contrary, the Miniſters of *Sweden* ſaid, That it was not only lawful for the King their Maſter to act as he had done; but alſo that it would have been a great Imprudence to have heard them: That he had been inform'd, that the Elector had treated with the King of *Poland*; and being thereby become his Enemy, nothing could oblige him to do Civilities to the Miniſters of a Prince with whom he was going to break, and with whom he had no longer any Meaſures to obſerve: That the King their Maſter had not refus'd the Audience to the Elector's Miniſters, but had a mind to be ſatisfy'd, before he granted it, how he ought to treat them, whether as Friends or as Enemies; and that the Embaſſadors, for fear of being oblig'd to explain themſelves, had rather ſtoll'n away than retir'd: That the *Law of Nations* had not been violated, becauſe all Princes take their own Conveniency for Audiences: That the King might delay for ſome Days that of the Miniſters of a Prince, who had treated with their common Enemy, who had committed Hoſtilities againſt him: That it is true, the Embaſſador of an Enemy may be admitted, but there is no Obligation to do it; and that Audience might be refus'd him without Violation of the *Law of Nations*, whoſe Protection extends no farther than to the Safety of the Embaſſador's Perſon, and of his Retinue; ſince he may be even forc'd to depart out of the Countrey, as has been ſaid in Chapter XXX. of the firſt Book.

The Prince who has a mind to live in a good Underſtanding with another Prince, ſhall receive his Miniſter very well, ſhall hear him favourably, and do him Civility: but on the contrary he that does not fear offending the other, ſhall ſhew no Conſideration for his Miniſter, without violating for that the *Law of Nations*. In the Year 1586, *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Count *de Montbeliard*, *Wolfgang* Count *d'Iembourg*, and ſome other Noblemen of the firſt Quality, were ſent into *France* on the part of ſeveral Princes and States of the Empire. King *Henry* III, having Advice that theſe Embaſſadors came to ſpeak to him, concerning the Intereſt of his Proteſtant Subjects, remov'd from *Paris* under the Pretext of going to drink the Waters of *Bourbon*, and ſent the Queen to *Chemonceaux*. The Embaſſadors being arriv'd at *Paris*, were told they muſt have a little Patience, till the King return'd, who would be back in three Months. The Duke and the Count ſeeing they were treated ſo unworthily, wrote to the King, that their domeſtick Affairs not permitting them to make ſo long a Stay in *France*, they were oblig'd to ask Leave to be gone, and ſet out forthwith. Their Collegues who waited for the King's Return, were very ill us'd; but neither the ones nor the others complain'd that the *Law of Nations* had been violated in reference to them.

The Emperor *Charles* V. had ſent to *Trent Nicholas Perenot de Granvelle*, one of his truſtieſt Miniſters, and *Anthony de Granvelle*, Biſhop of *Arras*, the Son of *Nicholas*. Theſe Embaſſadors demanded Audience as ſoon as they arriv'd; but the Legates who judg'd that this publick Action would be an Opening of the Council, which they had a mind to delay for ſome time, made ſome Difficulty to grant it them; and told them the Reaſon why: repreſenting to them, that there were as yet ſo few Prelates at *Trent*, that they could not make the Appear-

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ance of an Oecumenical Council. *Granvelle*, ſurpriz'd and incens'd at the Refuſal, told the Legates, *That they could not oppoſe their having Audience, unleſs they had a mind to affront the Emperor and his Embaſſadors*, who repreſented the firſt Monarch of *Chriſtendom*, and a King who was Lord of a great Part of the World; ſince *they could not refuſe it to the Miniſter of any Prince whatſoever:* That if they continu'd to refuſe it to them, they would faſten a Writing on the great Gate of the Cathedral Church, wherein they would proteſt the Nullity of the Council. The Legates finding themſelves urg'd in this manner, gave them Audience the very next Day; but it was in a great Room at Cardinal *Pariſioes*, who was the antienteſt Legate; and not in the Place where the Prelates were to aſſemble for the Council. The Threats of their Proteſtation were founded on the Emperor's being Protector of the Council, and that he, and *Philip* his Son, had been nominally invited to ſend their Embaſſadors thither. They did not ſay, that by ſuch Refuſal the *Law of Nations* was violated; but *that their Maſters were affronted thereby.*

Theſe Refuſals happen every Day; and one might compile a Volume of Examples of them. In the Year 1614, the Queen Regent of *France* ſent the Marquiſs *de Coeuvres*, known ſince under the Quality of Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée*, to the Princes of *Italy*, on the Occaſion of the War of *Montferrat*. The Duke of *Savoy*, *Charles Emmanuel*, who knew that this Embaſſador had nothing that was very agreeable to ſay to him, went to *Nice* to avoid ſeeing him; and by that means did not give him Audience, till after the Difference he had with the Duke of *Mantua* had been in ſome Meaſure adjuſted; and when the Marquiſs, having ſeen the other Princes of *Italy*, was returning back to the Court of *France*. In the Year 1641, the Emperor being at the Diet at *Ratisbonne*, refus'd to give Audience to the Embaſſador of *Denmark*; becauſe the King did not in his Credentials give him the Title of Majeſty, but only that of *Imperial Dignity*. The King of *Denmark* gives to all the other Kings the Title of *Royal Dignity*; at leaſt it was his Practice ſome Years agoe; and even the Princes of the Empire made uſe of this Style; but they have ſince chang'd it, becauſe they think there is full as much Civility as Deference, in the Honours they pay to crown'd Heads. The Kings of *Denmark* have not always been ſo difficult. Letters may be produc'd, where they give the Title of Majeſty to the King of *France*, for above ſixſcore Years paſt. The Manner of Speaking and Writing, in reference to Titles, change ſo often, that the moſt knowing Princes have hardly ever ſubjected themſelves thereto; but have been very prodigal of Civilities when they have been of any Utility to them. There is no kind of Liberality that incommodes leſs, and acquires more Friends.

The ſubaltern Repreſentants, or thoſe of the ſecond Order, do not ſo often ſee the Sovereigns as Embaſſadors do; but they are nevertheleſs ſometimes admitted to Audiences, and invited to ſolemn Aſſemblies. There is only the Pope that thinks it beneath him to treat with this ſort of Miniſter. At the beginning of the War of *Caſtro*, the Republick of *Venice* had no Embaſſador at *Rome*, by reaſon of the Difference the laſt Embaſſador had had with the Prince Prefect; ſo that ſhe caus'd her Affairs to be done *by a Secretary, to whom ſhe had given the Quality of Reſident.* This Secretary obtain'd Audience of the Pope, upon the Orders the Senate ſent him to repreſent to his Holineſs the diſmal Conſequences of the War. But Cardinal *Barberin*, writing on this Subject to the Nuncio, order'd him to ſignify to the Senate, that it was a Favour the Pope had done him, *ſince it was not the Cuſtom to give Audience to Reſidents*, nor to negotiate with Miniſters of that Quality. Notwithſtanding which the Pope gave him ſeveral Audiences ſince. The Maſter of the Chamber *refus'd to demand Audience of the Pope for the Secretary* Monguidi, whom the Duke of *Parma* had left at *Rome*, to ſolicite his Affairs there; and the Pope complain'd ſince to *Lionne*, of the Duke's making uſe of a Secretary to negotiate with him: But *Lionne* made anſwer, That it was at the Liberty of Princes to make Choice of their Miniſters, and to give 'em what Quality or Character they pleas'd. The Abbot of St. *Nicolas* was no Embaſſador, and yet for all that he negotiated with the Pope.

After all, it is not in publick Audiences that the main part of a Negotiation is perform'd. They for the moſt part conſiſt only in Ceremonies, and only ſerve to make a Complement; or at moſt to make ſome Declaration to the Prince, or to get one from him. That which the Embaſſador of the United Provinces had in the Year 1657, on the Account of the Depredations the *French* made in the Mediterranean; and that which the Marquiſs *de Fuentes*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, had in the Year 1662, concerning the Satisfaction the Catholick King gave to the King of *France*, about the Precedency, are very remarkable; but yet not ſo much as the Circumſtances of an Audience, which *Henry* III, King of *England*, gave to the Pope's Nuncio. The Miniſters who were on the part of the See of *Rome* in *England*, were ſo inſolent, that their Tyranny was one of the principal Cauſes of the continual Inſurrections that diſturb'd the Tranquillity of his Reign; ſo that for fear of being dethron'd by his Subjects, he was ſometimes neceſſitated to deliver up the Nuncio's to them, who liv'd there as in a conquer'd Countrey. The Pope had ſent thither one Maſter *Martin*, whom the *Engliſh* nick-nam'd Maſter *Maſtin*, (which in *Engliſh* ſignifys a Maſtif-Dog) becauſe he was continually gaping after Benefices and Prebends. This Man had render'd himſelf ſo odious by his Pillagings and Rapines, that ſome Noblemen ſent him word by a Gentleman, that if he did not leave the Kingdom in three Days, he ſhould be cut in Pieces with all his People. Hereupon he demanded Audience, to get from the King a Declaration, whether it was by his Order that Meſſage had been brought him. The King told him he knew nothing of it; but that the Actions of the Pope's Miniſters had ſo incens'd his People, and eſpecially the Nobility, that being ready to take up Arms againſt him, he was of Opinion that the Nuncio's Life was not in Safety. Hereupon the Nuncio intreated the King to give him ſome Perſon of Quality to conduct him ſafe as far as *Dover*; but the King told

told him, That he gave him the Devil, who ſhould conduct him to Hell. However he gave him a Gentleman, who conducted him to the Place of his Imbarcation.

The Embaſſador, whether he negotiates by Memorial, or treats by word of Mouth, ought not to play the Orator, nor affect to be Eloquent; his Diſcourſe and his Reaſoning ought to be nervous and ſuccinct. He that takes Delight in being heard, or in hearing himſelf; or that makes Harangues, or is too verboſe, often contradicts himſelf, or makes Overtures which cannot be agreeable to his Prince. The Word *Dicerie*, which the *Italians* give to this kind of Diſcourſe, expreſſes wonderfully well the Vanity thereof. He muſt have a great deal, who can imagin, that he has alone Wit enough to bring into his Sentiments, not a Crowd of People, which is eaſily won by the Ear, but five or ſix Miniſters, whom a wiſe Prince has choſen out of his Council, to preſerve and ſecure his Intereſt and Reputation againſt the Pretenſions of Foreigners. The Strength of Reaſon is loſt in the Multiplicity of Words, and in Confuſion: and beſides that this Flux of the Mouth is ungrateful, it is putting the Mind upon the Rack, to undertake to drag it along *per* force, inſtead of bringing it over by a gentle and inſinuating Violence. I took notice in Chapter VII. of the firſt part of this Treatiſe, that the Negotiations of Cardinal *Doſſat*, and of Preſident *Jeannin*, are almoſt alone capable of forming a perfect Embaſſador: and I have given Proof thereof when Occaſion has offer'd; and as ſhe offers her ſelf very favourably here, I ſhall obſerve another Place which affords him two important Leſſons. *Doſſat* was yet but Miniſter of *France*, when Pope *Clement* VIII. ſpoke to him of the Peace which *Henry* IV. was about making with the King of *Spain*; and of the Conqueſt of *England* which *Philip* II. was to undertake. And upon *Doſſat*'s repreſenting to him, that the King could not break the Alliance he had lately made with the Queen of *England*, the Pope let ſlip from him ſeveral pernicious Maxims, which were unworthy of any honeſt Man. Whereupon *Doſſat*, writing to *Villeroy* on the 1ſt of *February*, 1597, ſays, He had but too much to reply to all that; but that he thought he ought not to ſtop in ſo ſlippery a Place: thereby inſtructing all Miniſters, and teaching them, not to take notice to the Prince who ſpeaks to them, that they have obſerv'd either the Weakneſs of his Reaſoning, or his dangerous Maxims; far from dwelling on them as it were to reproach him therewith. The other Leſſon which he gives to new Embaſſadors is, That they let the Prince have the laſt Saying, that they may not paſs for obſtinate and uncivil. After he has related in the ſame Letter all the Pope's Diſcourſe, and what Anſwer he had made, he adds, *I could have reply'd to all that, as to many other things, but I would not have the laſt Word, as well to obſerve that Civility and Reverence which became me, more eſpecially at a time where nothing was to be decided, as alſo to preſerve in him that Facility of Communicating himſelf, and making known his Intentions.* Where we muſt take notice of what *Doſſat* ſays by the by, *That they were deciding nothing*; giving thereby to underſtand, that in the Caſe of Deciſion it is allowable to reply ſtrenuouſly, provided the Embaſſador keeps within the Bounds of Reſpect and Civility, and takes care to avoid Cavils and obſtinate Conteſtations, which are of no Utility, but unworthy an honeſt and well-bred Gentleman. He therefore ſays in another Place, That when he treats or negotiates, *he grants at the very firſt what he finds to be reaſonable and juſt*; but beſides that, nothing can be obtain'd from him if he treats for another.

There are a great many things to be ſaid concerning the Language which Embaſſadors and publick Miniſters make uſe of in their Negotiation. There is hardly any Court where there is not a different Practice, as well in publick Audiences, as in Memorials and private Negotiations. At the Court of *Conſtantinople* all the Miniſters have their Dragomans. The *Turks* know no other Tongue than their own, neither do they admit any other. The Harangue which the Embaſſador of Obedience makes in the Conſiſtory, or that he cauſes to be made there, is in *Latin:* but all the Negotiations that are carry'd on, as well with the Pope as with the Cardinal Nephews, are expreſs'd in *Italian*. In *France* all the Miniſters negotiate in *French*; and ſpeak all *French* in their Audiences, and in their Memorials. The Count *de la Garde*, Embaſſador of *Sweden*, ſpoke in the *Swediſh* Language in the firſt Harangue he made to the King and to the Queen Regent, in which he did ſomething for the Dignity of the Crown of *Sweden* in appearance; but it was found fault with, that he ſhould make uſe of a Language which not one of the King's Subjects could underſtand nor interpret. He afterwards made a long Diſcourſe to the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Lieutenant General throughout his whole Kingdom; and he ſpoke nothing but *French* in all the Sequel of his Negotiation. In *England* almoſt all the Miniſters negotiate in *French*; which is allow'd there, as well becauſe it was formerly the Language of the Countrey, as becauſe the *French* Tongue has in ſome manner ſucceeded to the *Latin*, and is become common. At *Madrid* they negotiate in *Spaniſh*, tho' the *French* Embaſſador makes uſe of the Language of his own Countrey; and the Miniſter of the United Provinces, who have no Commerce with the King of *Spain*, but as he is Duke of *Burgundy*, preſents his Memorials either in *Flemiſh* or in *French*, with a *Spaniſh* Tranſlation. In this the Miniſter muſt follow the Cuſtom of the Court where he reſides, and accommodate himſelf to the Practice thereof. *M. de la Court*, who had alſo the Quality of Embaſſador of *France* at *Munſter*, but not that of Plenipotentiary, having one Day preſented to the Deputies of the States of the Empire a Memorial in *French*, they were very much ſcandaliz'd thereat, and made a great Murmuring againſt the Deputies of the Elector of *Mayence*, who having the Direction of the Chancery, had receiv'd and carry'd it to the Aſſembly. They reſolv'd it ſhould be ſignify'd to the *French* Miniſters, *That it was an ancient and inviolable Cuſtom of the Diets of the Empire, not to hear any Propoſition made either by word of Mouth or in Writing, unleſs it were expreſs'd in the Language of the Countrey, or elſe in* Latin; becauſe if they ſhould admit of the *French* Tongue likewiſe, the *Spaniards*, the *Italians*, and afterwards the *Hungarians* and the *Swedes*,

would also pretend to utter themselves in their own Language. At *Vienna* the *German* and the *Latin* Tongue is us'd, and sometimes the *Italian*, which is there familiar enough. At the Northern Courts the foreign Ministers never make use of the Language of the Countrey, but of their own, the *German* or the *Latin*. The *Latin* Tongue is familiarly spoken in *Poland*, and Embassadors make use of no other; and sometimes of the *Italian*, but rarely, except it be in Conversation. At the *Hague*, where there are Ministers almost from all the Parts of *Europe*, the *French* Tongue is more made use of than any other. Those Ministers who are skill'd in it use no other. *Le Brun*, Embassador of *Spain*, *Friquet* and *Lisola*, the Emperor's Ministers, were all three *Burgundians*; so that the *French* Tongue being natural to them, they us'd no other in all their Negotiations. Those of *Spain* express themselves in their own Language, in their Memorials; but then they accompany them with a *French* Copy. The *English* Ministers speak also *English* and *French*; wherefore the States, in communicating their Resolutions to the Emperor's Ministers, and those of those three Crowns, cause them also to be translated into *French*. The Envoys and Residents of *Sweden* and of *Denmark*, have sometimes spoken *French*, sometimes *Latin*, and sometimes also *Flemish*, or *German* with a *Flemish* Translation.

Princes very much affect to speak in their own Tongue in Treaties, or at least to make use of a Language that is commonly spoken. In the Year 1647, when they began at *Munster* to set down some Articles in Writing relating to the Peace which was to be made between the two Crowns, the Count *de Pegneranda* urg'd very much that they might also be put into *Spanish*. The Duke of *Longueville* said, That therein, nor in such like Matters, *France* did not pretend any Advantage over *Spain*; but also that he would not suffer a Novelty to be introduc'd, nor that any thing should be done contrary to what had been practis'd in former Treaties, which had been all express'd in the *French* Tongue; as would appear, recourse being had to the Collection thereof, which was printed at *Antwerp*. The *Spaniards* reply'd, That of all the Treaties that had been concluded between *France* and *Spain*, only that of *Vervins* had been compris'd in *French*; and that too, *because it was not the King who had treated therein directly, but the Arch-Duke with the King's Procuration*. This was a very weak Reason. That King who gives a Power to treat, altho' he gives it to a Prince, or to an Embassador directly and immediately, does nevertheless treat in Person. *Philip* II. treated at *Vervins* as well as at *Chasteau* in *Cambresis*; and they were his Embassadors, and not those of the Arch-Duke, that contested the Precedency with the Embassadors of *France*. The Duke of *Longueville* had Reason to alledge the *Antwerp* Collection, because therein are to be found several Treaties which were concluded between the Emperor *Charles* V. and King *Francis* I, who follow'd therein the Example of the Kings of *France*, and of the Dukes of *Burgundy* their Predecessors. The *Pyrenean* Treaty was put into both Languages; and it is certain it is what has been observ'd on many other Occasions, as well in reference to *France*, as to several other Kings and States; and it is what cannot be refus'd when the Parties are of equal Dignity.

The Embassador, whose Collegues are compris'd in the same Commission with him, cannot negotiate without their Participation; nor even receive Overtures but in their Presence, without committing a Crime. The Duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* caus'd *Otto Brugman* to be try'd, and to have his Head cut off at his Return from his Embassy at *Persia*; and one of his greatest Crimes was to have negotiated without his Collegue, as well at *Ispahan* as in *Moscovy*. In the Year 1646, the Count *de Pegneranda* signify'd to the Duke of *Longueville*, that if he would receive, under the Promise of Secrecy, the Proposition he would make him, he would tell him in Confidence upon what Foot a Peace might be made between the two Crowns. The Duke made Answer, *That he could not receive it without communicating it to his Collegues*; and that he would be also Security for their Secrecy. But this was what the Count would not be contented with, so that it came to nothing. In President *Jeannin*'s Negotiations *this Minister is frequently seen in Conferences, and in private Visits with Prince* Maurice *and with Count* William *of* Nassaw, with the first Minister of *Holland*, even with *Richardot* and with others: But besides that he was one of the trustiest Ministers *Henry* IV. had, he had also the Secret of the Embassy, and express Orders for those private Negotiations. In the same manner President *Richardot*, in whom the Arch-Duke put his chief Confidence (notwithstanding the Marquiss *Spinola* was the Head of the Deputation, and that *Mancidior* acted for the King of *Spain*) paid every Day private Visits to President *Jeannin*, and had secret Meetings with him: But then the Arch-Duke approv'd thereof, and would not have his Collegues privy to these Conversations, wherein those two able Ministers made the greatest Progress in Affairs. It is also customary for all the Embassadors to sign, not only the Treaties they conclude, but also the Memorials they present, and the Letters they dispatch in common. However it is what is not so absolutely necessary, in reference to Memorials, but that they may do otherwise if they think fit. While the Marriage of Prince *William* of *Orange* was negotiating in *England*, in the Year 1641, none but *Aarssens* alone sign'd the Memorials; because, as *Brederode* and *Heemvliet* were no great Clerks, they rely'd upon their Collegue; who drawing them up alone, sign'd them also alone.

Here would be a proper Place to speak of the Advantage Princes have to negotiate their most important Affairs, by Ministers of the second Order, if I had not spoken thereof in Chapter V. of the first Book. There I have told the Reasons why, and alledg'd Examples thereof. So that I shall add nothing to what I have there said, but that whoever has the least Knowledge of what passes in the World, will find that the greatest part of the most important Affairs have been transacted or prepar'd by unknown Persons, or subaltern Ministers. *Lewis* XI. and *Charles* Count of *Charolois* not being able to adjust the Differences between them, employ'd therein two Gentlemen, Subjects to the Duke

Duke of *Burgundy*. They had been in *Charles*'s Service, who had been oblig'd to diſmiſs them to gratify his Father; and *Lewis* had receiv'd them and entertain'd them very well: So that being agreeable both to the King and to the Count, they made up the Differences between thoſe two Princes. The Emperor *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand the Catholick* had ſubmitted to *Lewis* XII, and the Cardinal of *Roüen*, the Difference that was between them for the Regency of *Caſtile*, during the Minority of the Arch-Duke *Charles* their Grandſon, after the Death of *Philip*, who was Son to the one, and Son-in-Law to the other. But the Princeſs *Margaret*, *Philip*'s Siſter, caus'd this Affair to be negotiated under-hand by a Gentleman whoſe Name was *Claudius de Chilly*. This Miniſter without Quality going to *Ferdinand*, adjuſted the Difference ſo well, that the King of *France* and the Cardinal had no Concern therein, nor any thing left to do, but to pronounce on what *Ferdinand* had already agreed to. It is not to the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, and thoſe of the Crowns of *France* and *Sweden*, that *Germany* was oblig'd for the Peace that was concluded at *Munſter* about thirty Years ago. It was to the ſecret Negotiations which the Elector of *Bavaria* carry'd on at *Paris* by his *Confeſſarius*, by the Nuncios, and by other clandeſtine Miniſters, that this great Work was owing; becauſe without them the Emperor would never have conſented to the Conditions, which were the Cauſe of the Peace between the Parties. The Aſſembly at *Nimeguen* is compos'd of as great Perſonages as have been ſeen in any other; but I don't believe that they pretend to regulate the Differences between the Princes at Variance. They may perhaps ſign the Peace, but they ſhall not be the Authors of it. They are terrible Miniſters that are concern'd therein.

On theſe Occaſions Princes ought not to employ all Perſons indifferently, but they ought to make Choice of able Men; eſpecially when they are to ſpeak, or give any Advice by Word of Mouth. The Duke of *Brittany* made uſe of a Footman to acquaint the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Intelligence, he ſaid *Lewis* XI. had in the Towns of *Bruges*, *Antwerp* and *Bruſſells*. This Footman, who had no Credentials, meeting the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Fields, deliver'd this important Meſſage. *Charles* was extremely angry hereat, and ſaid nothing elſe to the Meſſenger but that he ſhould tell his Maſter, that he was not well inform'd of his Intentions, nor of the State and Condition of his Towns. *Philip de Commines* takes notice of it as of a groſs Overſight, and a very imprudent Neglect in the Duke of *Brittany*; and ſays elſewhere, that the ſame Duke of *Burgundy*, while he was ſtill but Count of *Charolois*, caus'd his Intereſts to be negotiated with *Lewis* by two Perſons of very mean Condition, during the War for the publick Good; and that the Princes his Allies were ſo ſcandaliz'd thereat, that they met two or three Times without the Count; and would have abandon'd him if he had not chang'd his Conduct. The Gentlemen here meant were thoſe I juſt ſpoke of.

What we have hitherto ſaid is concerning the Form of Negotiation; but as for the Eſſence thereof, there is neither Precept nor Example to be given, becauſe it changes with the Affairs the Embaſſador has to negotiate, which are innumerable, and almoſt all of a different Nature. However, as the Embaſſador ought not only to ſecure the Intereſt of his Maſter, but alſo do his beſt for that of his Subjects, I am of Opinion that the Embaſſador may make ſome Diſtinction therein, and that he ought to follow the Counſel the Cardinal of *Florence* gave to *Doſſat* in the Year 1599. *Henry* IV. made continual Inſtances to have the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* tranſfer'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Sens*. This Prelate had given Abſolution to the King at St. *Denis*, and was thereby become the Pope's Averſion, who look'd upon him to have incroach'd upon his Authority; ſo that he could hardly bear the very mentioning of it to him. The Cardinal who knew that the Pope would never conſent to this Tranſlation, unleſs he were forc'd thereto, ſaid to *Doſſat*, who ſolicited for it, *That all Affairs ought not to be treated after the ſame manner: That thoſe of private Perſons ought to be treated as private, and thoſe of the King and Kingdom as regal and publick:* Becauſe it often happen'd, that by obtaining a Favour for private Perſons an Obligation was incurr'd, which ought to have been reſerv'd for Occaſions of Importance. This Remonſtrance made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion on the King's Mind, that he deſiſted from the Proſecution he had begun in Favour of the Archbiſhop. The Embaſſador may make his Advantage hereof if he thinks it proper.

CHAP. IV.

The Embaſſador ought not to meddle with the Domeſtick Affairs of the State where he negotiates.

QUeen *Elizabeth*, from whom the wiſeſt Princes may borrow Examples of Prudence and Circumſpection; intending in the Year 1570, to ſend *Francis Walſingham* to the Court of *France*, recommended to him particularly the Intereſt of thoſe of the Reform'd Religion. This was a domeſtick Matter, and a very nice one; ſo that notwithſtanding ſhe put it into the Hands of a very able Miniſter, yet ſhe thought fit to give him an Inſtruction, which carry'd the Face as if it were out of an Exceſs of Affection which the Queen had for the King in particular, and the Good of his Kingdom, that ſhe ſpoke in the Behalf of the

King

King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the other Lords, who made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion. King *Charles* IX, with whom *Walſingham* was to negotiate, was ſo ſenſible in this part, that when the Embaſſadors or Deputies of the Princes of *Germany* repreſented to him the Intereſt he had to preſerve and ſpare his Proteſtant Subjects, he told them, That being the moſt Chriſtian King, and born a Catholick, he was oblig'd to ſecure the Religion in which he had been educated: That he could not be hinder'd from employing the ordinary Method of Juſtice againſt Hereticks, who under the Colour of Religion were contriving a Rebellion in his Kingdom, and *that he did not want Tutors to teach him how he ought to govern at home.* Some Princes of *Germany* were for doing the ſame Offices with King *Henry* III, in the Year 1586, but they were not better receiv'd than the others. The *German* Miniſters having obtain'd Audience at St. *Germain in Laye*, told the King, That Liberty of Conſcience was taken away from thoſe of the Religion in *France* to gratify the Pope's Ambition, and that of ſome other Lords of the Kingdom, in Prejudice of the Promiſe which had been made them, and of the Edicts which had been granted them; and intreated his Majeſty to give them Peace, and to lay thereby the Foundations of that everlaſting Friendſhip which the Princes intereſted in the Cauſe of Religion pretended to entertain with *France*. The King, who was very much offended at this Diſcourſe, and at the Reproach of being worſe than his Word, anſwer'd them in a haughty manner, *That he was reſponſible for his Actions to none but God: That he could give Laws to his Subjects and aboliſh them, as he ſhould think fit: That till then he had reign'd with Sovereignty, and without Dependence, and that he pretended to do ſo ſtill; and that thoſe who ſaid he had been worſe than his Word, ly'd:* That that was all the Anſwer he had to make them, and that they ſhould forthwith depart out of his Dominions.

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M. Chanut, Embaſſador in *Sweden*, who was a very able Miniſter, and a zealous Catholick on the Principles of *Deſcartes*, knew how to excuſe himſelf from the Offices ſome People would have put him upon, for the Advancement of the *Roman* Religion, which they were for introducing into that Kingdom, *becauſe it was a domeſtick Affair*. Thoſe of the Congregation, which is call'd *de propaganda fide*, having reſolv'd at *Rome* to ſend into that Kingdom three Jacobins diſguis'd, as Miſſionaries, got *Gueffier*, Reſident of *France* at *Rome*, to deſire *Chanut* to ſecond their good Intentions. *Chanut* made anſwer, That he could not give a Retreat to theſe Religious without the expreſs Orders of the King his Maſter, who without doubt would not ſend him any, in the State Affairs were then in: That he look'd upon it *to be a domeſtick Affair, and that it was dangerous to hazard, under the Name and Authority of the King, a Miſſion which would be of no Utility: That the Chancellor* Oxenſtiern, *who had always endeavour'd to ſtifle the ill will he had for* France, *would not fail to ſhew it on this Occaſion, to render the very Name of a* French *Man odious there, and to recommend his Perſon and Zeal to the Clergy of the Countrey: That the ſame Reaſon that had oblig'd the* Swedes *to aboliſh the ancient Religion would oblige them to maintain the new one, which was ſo well eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdom, that it ſeem'd as if there had never been any other there: That not one of the native Inhabitants was ſuffer'd to make Profeſſion of the Roman Catholick Religion; inſomuch that, among ſo many Millions of Souls, he knew but one that had the Sentiments thereof: That the Ignorance of the Language of the Countrey was abſolutely againſt the Deſign which was form'd at* Rome: *That the Court of* Stockholm *not being accuſtom'd to the Sight of a great Confluence of Strangers, thoſe Religions would no ſooner appear than their new and unknown Faces would excite the Curioſity of thoſe, who would be for knowing their Profeſſion, as well as the Subject of their Voyage thither; and if at any time they ſhould enter upon Controverſy, which is very ſeverely forbidden by the Laws of the Kingdom, they would expoſe their Perſons to manifeſt Dangers, and the King's Authority to an inevitable Affront: That all the Favour that could then be obtain'd for them, would be to have them expell'd the Countrey with Shame and Scandal: That withall, the Crown of* Sweden *would have Reaſon to complain of the King for ſuffering his Embaſſador to intrude himſelf into the domeſtick Affairs of the Kingdom, and inſtead of labouring to preſerve a good Underſtanding among the Allies, to give Sanctuary and Shelter to Perſons who were capable of troubling the Quiet of the State, even againſt the Intereſt of* France *it ſelf.* Of all the Affairs that can employ an Embaſſador, thoſe that regard Religion and the Religious are the niceſt. The *Latin* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, intending to ſend ſome Jeſuites to *Pera*, pray'd *Doſſat* to recommend them to *de Breves*, the *French* Embaſſador, that they might find a Protection in his Character. *Doſſat* made anſwer, That he did not dare to write on that Subject without the King's Orders; and that if he did write, *Breves* would have no Regard to his Letters, nor ought not to have any, till he had inform'd himſelf of the King's Pleaſure: That the Jeſuites had the Character of being Partiſans of *Spain*, and that the *Turk* being at War with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it was probable theſe Religious would be no very agreeable Sight at *Conſtantinople*.

Before I leave *Sweden*, I ſhall take notice of an Affair in which it bore a good part. The beginning of the Troubles of *France* were by ſo much the more dangerous, that the King having left *Paris* on the Eve of the *Epiphany*, laid Siege to that Town, the Capital of the Kingdom. *Sbering Roſenhan*, Embaſſador of

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reign Power, of whom they had no Dependence, nor reclaim its Protection. The Pope ſhew'd ſufficiently that he yielded only to the Importunities of the *French* Miniſters, when he told thoſe of *Venice*, and of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, That he would never admit of their Mediation nor Offices, *and that it was as much as he could do to ſuffer the Interceſſion of* France, *for whoſe Sake he was willing to pardon the* Barberins, *but not to enter into a Capitulation with them.* So that ſeeing after their Return the *French* Embaſſador did not leave off ſpeaking in their Behalf, he told *M. de Gremonville*, *That it did not belong to Foreigners to meddle with his domeſtick Affairs, and ſpoke to him in ſuch ſtrong Terms, that the Embaſſador was for getting up, and going away, very little ſatisfy'd with the Pope.*

Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*, who could diſtinguiſh extraordinary Subjects, who admir'd them, and who had a very particular Eſteem for the Prince of *Condé*, and for his Virtues and heroick Actions, being inform'd that during the Troubles of *Paris* he had been confin'd to the Caſtle of *Vincennes*, with the Prince of *Conti* and the Duke of *Longueville*, ſhe was touch'd with Compaſſion for him, and ſignify'd that ſhe ſhould be glad to intercede for his Liberty, and uſe her good Offices to reconcile him with the firſt Miniſter, if the Queen Regent approv'd of it. But *Chanut*, the *French* Embaſſador, who had a great deal of Power over the Queen's Mind, made her lay aſide that Thought, and the frequent Revolutions that happen'd in *France* took away the Opportunity of executing it. But at laſt the Prince being ſet at Liberty, retir'd to his Houſe at St. *Maur*, and from thence out of the Kingdom; and then ſhe deſir'd the Sieur *Piques*, Reſident of *France*, to try to know whether the Queen Regent would like that ſhe ſhould uſe her Endeavours to adjuſt the Differences that divided *France*, and gave ſuch great Advantages to her Enemies. *Piques* wrote about it, and receiv'd Orders to thank Queen *Chriſtina* for her good Will, and to tell her that the Affairs of the Kingdom being on the Point of an Accommodation, it was not neceſſary that her Majeſty ſhould give her ſelf any Trouble therein. She was ſenſibly touch'd hereat, and ſaid, That ſince the moſt Chriſtian King did not approve of her meddling therewith, ſhe would ſay no more of it. Some time after, the *French* Reſident diſcourſing on this Subject with *Salvius*, one of the Senators of *Sweden*, and one of the Miniſters the Queen repos'd the greateſt Confidence in; this laſt told him frankly, That it had not been by his Advice that the Queen had offer'd to do this Office, and that it was not his Opinion the King ought to accept it, *becauſe a Prince ought never to ſuffer a foreign Prince to intermeddle in his domeſtick Affairs.*

M. Chanut, Embaſſador in *Sweden*, who was a very able Miniſter, and a zealous Catholick on the Principles of *Deſcartes*, knew how to excuſe himſelf from the Offices ſome People would have put him upon, for the Advancement of the *Roman* Religion, which they were for introducing into that Kingdom, *becauſe it was a domeſtick Affair.* Thoſe of the Congregation, which is call'd *de propaganda fide*, having reſolv'd at *Rome* to ſend into that Kingdom three Jacobins diſguis'd, as Miſſionaries, got *Gueffier*, Reſident of *France* at *Rome*, to deſire *Chanut* to ſecond their good Intentions. *Chanut* made anſwer, That he could not give a Retreat to theſe Religious without the expreſs Orders of the King his Maſter, who without doubt would not ſend him any, in the State Affairs were then in: That he look'd upon it *to be a domeſtick Affair, and that it was dangerous to hazard, under the Name and Authority of the King, a Miſſion which would be of no Utility: That the Chancellor* Oxenſtiern, *who had always endeavour'd to ſtifle the ill will he had for* France, *would not fail to ſhew it on this Occaſion, to render the very Name of a* French *Man odious there, and to recommend his Perſon and Zeal to the Clergy of the Countrey: That the ſame Reaſon that had oblig'd the* Swedes *to aboliſh the ancient Religion would oblige them to maintain the new one, which was ſo well eſtabliſh'd in the Kingdom, that it ſeem'd as if there had never been any other there: That not one of the native Inhabitants was ſuffer'd to make Profeſſion of the Roman Catholick Religion; inſomuch that, among ſo many Millions of Souls, he knew but one that had the Sentiments thereof: That the Ignorance of the Language of the Countrey was abſolutely againſt the Deſign which was form'd at* Rome: *That the Court of* Stockholm *not being accuſtom'd to the Sight of a great Confluence of Strangers, thoſe Religious would no ſooner appear than their new and unknown Faces would excite the Curioſity of thoſe, who would be for knowing their Profeſſion, as well as the Subject of their Voyage thither; and if at any time they ſhould enter upon Controverſy, which is very ſeverely forbidden by the Laws of the Kingdom, they would expoſe their Perſons to manifeſt Dangers, and the King's Authority to an inevitable Affront: That all the Favour that could then be obtain'd for them, would be to have them expell'd the Countrey with Shame and Scandal: That withall, the Crown of* Sweden *would have Reaſon to complain of the King for ſuffering his Embaſſador to intrude himſelf into the domeſtick Affairs of the Kingdom, and inſtead of labouring to preſerve a good Underſtanding among the Allies, to give Sanctuary and Shelter to Perſons who were capable of troubling the Quiet of the State, even againſt the Intereſt of* France *it ſelf.* Of all the Affairs that can employ an Embaſſador, thoſe that regard Religion and the Religious are the niceſt. The *Latin* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, intending to ſend ſome Jeſuites to *Pera*, pray'd *Doſſat* to recommend them to *de Breves*, the *French* Embaſſador, that they might find a Protection in his Character. *Doſſat* made anſwer, That he did not dare to write on that Subject without the King's Orders; and that if he did write, *Breves* would have no Regard to his Letters, nor ought not to have any, till he had inform'd himſelf of the King's Pleaſure: That the Jeſuites had the Character of being Partiſans of *Spain*, and that the *Turk* being at War with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it was probable theſe Religious would be no very agreeable Sight at *Conſtantinople.*

Before I leave *Sweden*, I ſhall take notice of an Affair in which it bore a good part. The beginning of the Troubles of *France* were by ſo much the more dangerous, that the King having left *Paris* on the Eve of the *Epiphany*, laid Siege to that Town, the Capital of the Kingdom. *Sbering Roſenhan*, Embaſſador of

Sweden, apprehending left these Diſorders ſhould hinder the Exchange of the Ratifications, and the Execution of the Treaty of *Munſter*, while *France* was ſtill at War with *Spain*; and that *Sweden* ſhould remain alone expos'd to the Emperor's Reſentment, ſpoke thereof with ſo much Warmth to Cardinal *Mazarin*, that this told him, he queſtion'd very much whether the Queen of *Sweden* would ſtand by him in all he advanc'd. *Roſenhan* was for obliging the Queen Regent to come to an Accommodation with the Parliament, and with thoſe who had declar'd againſt the Court; and that upon Conditions which incroach'd upon the Royal Authority. The Cardinal hereupon wrote to *Chanut*, who ſpoke of it to Queen *Chriſtina*; but in ſuch general Terms, that the Queen not being able to comprehend by his Diſcourſe what had happen'd between the two Miniſters, only made this Anſwer, That ſhe hop'd *Roſenhan* had neither ſaid nor adviſ'd the Queen Regent to any thing that could make it be thought he had a greater Conſideration for the Subjects Intereſt than for the King's Dignity; and that if he had, *or offer'd to meddle with what did not belong to his Miniſtry, ſhe diſavow'd him.* She alſo offer'd her Mediation to reconcile the Difference between the Court and the Parliament of *Paris*: But *Chanut* did not declare himſelf upon thoſe Offers; as well becauſe he had no Orders to that Purpoſe, as becauſe he judg'd *that thoſe foreign Meditations were diſagreeable in domeſtick Affairs.*

They are ſo in effect: Nay, it is very dangerous to admit a foreign Miniſter to the important Deliberations of a State, whatever may be the Link of Friendſhip or Intereſt with its Maſter. The Counts of *Gayazze* and of *Beljoyeuſe*, Embaſſadors from *Lewis Sforza*, Regent of the Dutchy of *Milan*, were preſent at all the Councils *Charles* VIII. held about the Affairs of *Italy*. The two Miniſters who then govern'd the King, *viz. Stephen Devers* and *Briçonnet*, did not only ſuffer them to be there, but even ſummon'd them thereto, till they perceiv'd that *Lewis* (who had brought the Arms of *France* into *Italy* but only for his own particular Intereſt) betray'd the King, and croſs'd the Deſigns which had been founded on his own Advices and Counſels, by the Means of thoſe treacherous Counſellors who had been corrupted by *Lewis*'s Money. *Commines* ſays, That theſe two Counts were not ſuſpected till *Lewis* withdrew from Court, to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*; and that it was then it was reſolv'd to exclude them from the Council, after they had done all the Miſchief they could. The Council of State, which makes ſo conſiderable a part of the United Provinces, was not leſs incommoded by the Preſence of the *Engliſh* Embaſſador, during the time he was allow'd to ſit there, than a natural Body may be ſuppos'd to be, when a foreign and unnatural Body crowds in, or is bred there.

At the beginning of the laſt Commotions in *England*, the Pope ſent *John Baptiſta Rainuccini*, Archbiſhop of *Fermo*, into *Ireland*, who in a little time acquir'd ſo much Credit amongſt the Clergy of that Countrey, (which is the moſt ignorant and the moſt ſuperſtitious of all *Europe*) that he prevail'd with their Aſſembly to proteſt againſt the Peace which ſome Catholicks there had agreed to, with thoſe of the King of *Great Britain*'s Party; and even went ſo far as to excommunicate thoſe who had conſented thereto. This was not all; but he afterwards remov'd with the whole Aſſembly to *Kilkenny*, and there ſummon'd the Generals of the Army; and having with them compos'd a Council for the Direction of Affairs, as well Civil as Military, *he made himſelf the Head thereof*, contrary to the Pope's expreſs Orders, who had forbidden him exceeding the Bounds of his Profeſſion. He had procur'd to himſelf the Diſpoſal of all the Revenues, of all the Places and Employments; and he acted with ſo much Empire, that of his own Authority he committed to Priſon the Baron of *Monſquerry*, Brother-in-Law to the Marquiſs of *Ormond*, with eight other Catholick Lords who had conſented to the Peace; and it was only by a kind of Miracle that the Viceroy (making his Eſcape) depriv'd him of the Means of beſtowing *Ireland* on whom he pleas'd. But the ill Succeſs of the Siege of *Dublin*, which he had adviſ'd, his unequal and irregular Conduct, the Averſion the People had to the Government of a Prieſt, and chiefly the Liberty and Juſtification of the Noblemen he had cauſ'd to be took up, made him loſe his Authority, and ruin'd his Credit with the Parliament, as well as the Hopes that were entertain'd at *Rome* of the Re-union of that Kingdom. So that the Nuncio being become the Averſion and Contempt of the People, a thouſand Inſults and Affronts were offer'd him, to that Degree, as even to break his Windows. *This Miniſter did not only go beyond the Sphere of his Orders, but alſo of the Functions of his Embaſſy, which did not allow him to make himſelf the Head of a Party, and to conſtitute himſelf Preſident of the Council of State, in a Countrey where he was a Stranger, and where his Maſter had no Command.*

This is what an Embaſſador ought to avoid, as the moſt dangerous Rock in the whole Courſe of his Negotiation. He is not allow'd to concern himſelf in the Parties that are form'd in a Court, nor to enter into the Factions that divide a State where he negotiates. He ought to have no Communication with the Party that declares againſt the Sovereign or againſt his firſt Miniſter. In the Year 1584, Pope *Sixtus* V. having recall'd *James Ragazzoni* Biſhop of *Bergamo*, his Nuncio in *France*, ſent in his room *Fabio Munto de Frangipani*, Archbiſhop of *Nazareth*, who had been Nuncio there before. King *Henry* III, who was not pleas'd with the Nomination of this Prelate, as well becauſe he was a *Neapolitan*, and a Subject of the King of *Spain*, as becauſe in his firſt Nunciature he had not carry'd himſelf ſatisfactorily, ſent Orders to the Cardinal *d'Eſte*, and to the Marquiſs of *Piſani*, his Embaſſadors, to deſire the Pope to ſend him a Miniſter whom he had not ſo much Reaſon to ſuſpect; he not being able to bear with this, on the account of his violent Temper. The Pope told them, That he could not be hinder'd from employing what Miniſter he thought fit; and ſo notwithſtanding the King's Requeſt ſet him out, proteſting at the ſame time, that if the King did not admit him, he would not give any farther Audience to his Embaſſador. *Henry* believ'd that the Nuncio was very much inclin'd to the Party of the League;

League; wherefore upon the Advice he had that he had set out from *Rome*, he sent an Express to meet him, to desire him to stop at the Place where the Courier should find him, and not to leave it till farther Orders. The Nuncio, who was come to *Lyons*, was surpris'd thereat; but taking into Consideration, that on the one side he had to do with a Master that would be obey'd; and on the other with a Prince who was as easy as he was inconstant, he gave Advice to the Pope of what had happen'd; and wrote to the King, that he knew his Orders; and that nevertheless he would pursue his Journey, as accordingly he did. As soon as the Pope understood the Encounter his Nuncio had met with, he sent word to the Marquis *de Pisani*, to depart from his Dominions in three Days. The Marquis made answer, to the Person who brought him the Message, That the Pope's Territories were not so large, but he could get out of them in four and twenty Hours, and went away in effect. The Pope having recover'd himself from his Transport, employ'd *Horace Rucellay* to negotiate the Marquis's Return. In *France* also the Nuncio's Business was made up; and he carry'd himself so fairly, and with that Moderation, that the King had Reason to be satisfy'd therewith. After the Death of *Henry* III. the same Pope sent Cardinal *Cajetan* into *France* in the Quality of Legate: But this Minister of the pretended common Father, instead of visiting the Cardinals *de Vendôme* and *de Lenoncourt*, (who notwithstanding they had declar'd themselves for *Henry* IV, their lawful Sovereign, did nevertheless apply themselves to the Preservation of the *Roman Catholick* Religion) would have no Conference nor Communication with any, but the Prelates and Lords who belong'd to the League; and consulted none but the *Spanish* Ministers, who fomented the Rebellion of the Parisians, and of most of the other Towns of the Kingdom. The King meeting one Day in the Fields, as it were by accident, with *Mark Anthony Mocenigo*, Bishop of *Cenede*, complain'd to him very much of the Partiality of the Legate, with whom the Bishop was come into *France*; and told him, That altho' the Legate had no Credentials for him, it was not probable that the Pope should have order'd him to act as he did: *That it could never be the Pope's Intention, that his Minister, coming into the Kingdome, should declare himself the King's Enemy, and joyn with a Crowd of seditious People, in order to foment a Rebellion, instead of suppressing it: So that far from doing the Office of Mediator, and extinguishing the Fire of Civil War, he pour'd Oyl thereon.* This Minister did not only exceed the Bounds of his Employment and Function; but as he had no Credentials to the King, so neither had he any Character that could make him be consider'd as a publick Minister: And even if he had had one, yet by his declaring himself openly against the Sovereign, *he had no Right to the Protection of the* Law of Nations, from a Prince whom he himself did not acknowledge. The Queens *Catherine* and *Mary de Medicis*, were both weak enough to believe, that the Counsels and Power of the Court of *Madrid* were necessary to them, to maintain their own particular Authority against the Princes of the Blood, who had reason to pretend to the Regency in a Kingdom, where the *Salick Law* is as it were the Foundation of all the rest. However it may be said with Truth, that the *Civil Wars*, with which *France* has been harrass'd since the Death of *Henry* II. till the Peace of *Vervins*, or within a little thereof, *were the Effects of the Counsels* Catherine *took from the Ministers of* Spain. One Day this Princess discoursing with *Thomas de Perenot de Chantonnay*, Embassador from *Philip* II, she ask'd his Advice, in reference to the Troubles that disturb'd the Kingdom under *Francis* II. That Minister told her, he thought there was but one way to put an End to them, which was to remove the Duke and Cardinal *de Guise* from the Management of the publick Affairs, and to restore the Constable *de Montmorency*, to the Authority he had had under the late King. This Advice was very faithful in all Appearance; but was in effect very dangerous. The *Spanish* Embassador hated the Constable mortally; and he gave the Queen this Counsel to no other End, than to bring *France* into the utmost Confusion. She did not believe him, because she did not love the Constable, and did not yet fear the *Guises*: But she since gave but too much Credit to the Counsels Cardinal *de Granvelle* and the Duke of *Alva* gave her, when he conferr'd with her at *Bayonne*. *Philip*, who despis'd this Woman and her Government, had the Assurance to signify to her, that he could not approve of what had pass'd at the Conference at *Poissi*, at which she had caus'd some Protestant Doctors to assist; and that it belong'd to him to hinder (during the King's Minority) any thing from being done to the Prejudice of his Brother-in-Law. The Queen was weak, and imprudent enough to send into *Spain James de Monbarron*, Lord of *Ausance*, to give an Account to *Philip* of what had pass'd at *Poissy*. *Philip* arrogated to himself the Guardianship of *Charles* IX, altho' all the Laws, as well general as particular, *were* against his having an Administration, which could not fall into worse nor more dangerous Hands.

I said above, that the Prince who forbids his Embassador having any Commerce with the first Minister of the Court where he is to negotiate, prejudices his Affairs; but that Embassador who offends the first Minister ruins them, and renders himself incapable of negotiating. The Marquis *d'Inyosa* and *Don Carlos Coloma*, Embassadors of *Spain* at *London*, undertook to ruin the Duke of *Buckingham*, King *James*'s first Minister and Favourite, in the Mind of his Master; and this by an Accusation, destitute not only of all the necessary Proofs, but also of all the Appearances. They presented to the King, and communicated to several Lords of the Council, a Memorial, where they set forth, "That the King did not "enjoy a greater Liberty than did *John* King "of *France*, when he was a Prisoner in *Eng-* "*land*; of than *Francis* I. did at *Madrid*; be- "cause he was besieg'd and surrounded by the "Servants and Creatures of the Duke of *Buc-* "*kingham*: That the Embassadors had been in- "form'd, and knew very well, that four "Months were elaps'd since the King was to "have been confin'd to one of his Country "Houses, to divert himself, while the Govern-

"ment

" ment was put into other Hands; and that " the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Friends made no " longer a Secret of it: That the ſaid Duke " ſecur'd himſelf of all thoſe he knew to be " Enemies to the preſent Government: That " he took them out of Priſon, or got them re- " call'd from their Exile, in order to ſtrengthen " his Party in the Parliament; as for Inſtance, " the Lords of *Oxford*, of *Southampton* and " *Say*: That the Duke, to make himſelf be " conſider'd, and to leſſen the King, had often " boaſted in Parliament, That he had made " the King do this or that: That the three " Kingdoms were not govern'd by one ſingle " Monarch, but by a Triumvirate, of which " the Duke was the firſt and the chief, the " Prince of *Wales* the ſecond, and the King " the laſt; and that every Bodies Eyes were " turn'd towards the riſing Sun: That the " King, who was the eldeſt and wiſeſt Prince " in *Europe*, ought to be ſo in Effect, and free " himſelf from his Captivity, and deliver him- " ſelf from the Danger with which he was " threaten'd: That he had no other way to do " this, but by ridding himſelf of him whoſe " Grandeur ought to be no leſs ſuſpected than " his Affectation to make himſelf popular was " dangerous: That they ſhould be glad if his " Majeſty would be chary of the Secret of this " Advice, which could not take Vent, but it " muſt expoſe them to inevitable Dangers: " That nevertheleſs, if he thought it proper " for the Good of his Service to communi- " cate it, they willingly conſented thereto, be- " cauſe they were ready to ſacrifice their Lives " for him." There was nothing that one might not expect from the Marquiſs's irregular and paſſionate Temper, but I cannot imagin how he prevail'd with *Coloma* to conſent thereto, who was a wiſe and ſober Man, and an Enemy to Irregularity and Violence. There is no Likelihood that the Court of *Madrid* ſhould give them Orders to injure the Duke ſo cruelly, who was all-powerful with the King, and to bring the Prince himſelf into ſo horrible an Accuſation, which was capable of ſetting the Father againſt the Son, and caſting the whole Kingdom into the utmoſt Confuſion. They would not have done it with Impunity if they had addreſs'd themſelves to Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who in an Accuſation or Calumny of this Nature would not have much conſider'd their Character, nor the Order of the King their Maſter, even if they had had an expreſs one.

I have elſewhere ſpoken of the Count *de Benaventé*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, who diſcourſing with the Chancellor of *France*, had let ſome Words ſlip, with which Cardinal *de Richelieu*, firſt Miniſter of that Court, had Reaſon to be offended; altho' he had ſaid nothing that could render his Fidelity ſuſpected. Nevertheleſs the Cardinal caus'd Reparation to be done him, and oblig'd the Embaſſador to retire ſooner than he would otherwiſe have done. *Walter Strickland* the Parliament of *England*'s Miniſter at the *Hague*, having preſented a Memorial to the States, wherein he offended the Prince of *Orange*, they ſent for him into one of the Anti-Rooms, where they ask'd him, Whether it was of his own mere Motion, or by expreſs Orders, that he had preſented that Memorial, which ſpoke in ſuch offenſive Terms of the Prince. At firſt he told them he was not oblig'd to make any ſuch Declaration; and that if in his Memorial there was any Thing that did not pleaſe, they might complain thereof to his Principals, to whom he was oblig'd to give an Account of his Actions, and not to the States. However, finding himſelf preſs'd by the Deputies, he drew a Paper out of his Pocket, which as he ſaid contain'd the Parliaments Order. The States not being ſatisfy'd with this, declar'd by their Reſolution of *May* 7, 1643, *That what the Memorial contain'd relating to the Prince of* Orange *was falſe, forg'd, and contrary to the Truth: That a Letter ſhould be written to the Parliament to demand Reparation; and that in the mean Time they would receive no more Memorials from* Strickland. The King of *Poland* ſignify'd to the Baron *de Liſola* the Emperor's Embaſſador, *That he would admit him no more to Audience, on the Account of the Cabals he fomented in his Kingdom.* When *Robert Bowes*, Embaſſador from *England*, made Inſtance in *Scotland* to have the Duke of *Lenox* remov'd from the King, the Council of *Scotland* ſaid, *It was an unheard of thing that a Prince ſhould take upon him to regulate the Council in the Kingdom of another Sovereign:* That they could not believe the Queen had given any ſuch Orders to her Embaſſador, and deſir'd to ſee it. *Bowes*, who would not do that Wrong to the Queen's Dignity, as to produce her Inſtructions, choſe rather to retire without taking Leave of the King.

Blainville, the *French* Embaſſador, very much forgot himſelf, when he flatter'd the Queen of *England*'s little Diſpleaſures, and fomented the domeſtick Diviſions, which were the Cauſe at laſt of removing all the *French* from the Queen's Retinue, and were one of the firſt Cauſes of the War that enſu'd between the two Crowns. The Court of *France* diſavow'd the Conduct of this Miniſter, and recall'd him, becauſe that contrary to the Duty of his Office, *he had intermeddled with the domeſtick Affairs of the King of* England. It is what a prudent Miniſter will carefully avoid; and will ever delight in imitating that wiſe Embaſſador of *Spain*, who being employ'd in one of the firſt Courts of *Europe*, refus'd to gratify the Queen, who was for having him ſpeak to the King *concerning a domeſtick Affair*, which was very nice. He told her he had no Orders for that purpoſe; but even if he had a very preciſe one, he ſhould make a Difficulty to execute it, and would repreſent to the King his Maſter, that he might poſſibly receive an Anſwer which might ſhut his Mouth, and cauſe his Majeſty to repent the having given him Orders ſo contrary to his Intereſts.

In the Year 1571, the Duke of *Norfolk*, who had carry'd on Intrigues for the Liberty of the Queen of *Scots*, whom he pretended to marry, and who had caus'd ſome Noblemen in the Northern Provinces of *England* to take up Arms, was himſelf taken up and executed. At his Tryal it was prov'd, that *la Motte Fenelon*, the *French* Embaſſador, had ſent Money to the Duke's Party, and that there was a very ſtrict Intelligence between them. Queen *Elizabeth*, inſtead of expreſſing any Reſentment, was contented to complain thereof; as well as of the Zeal with which the Embaſſador proſecuted

the Queen of *Scotts* Liberty. *Walſingham*, who had Orders to make theſe Complaints, having ſpoke thereof to Queen *Catherine*, added, That he could not forbear telling her Majeſty, that it was certain that *la Motte* had had Intrigues with the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was a very dangerous Subject; and that he ſpoke ſo warmly for the Liberty of the Queen of *Scots*, who was a ſworn Enemy to the Queen his Miſtreſs, that it was reaſonable to think he did not act without the expreſs Orders of the Court, in an Affair of that Importance: from whence it might be inferr'd, *That* France *was for intermeddling in the domeſtick Affairs of* England. The Queen excus'd the Intentions and Procedure of *la Motte*; and ſaid, That if he had done any thing which could diſpleaſe Queen *Elizabeth*, it was contrary to the King his Maſter's Orders; and that the Good-will he might have in his own particular for the Queen of *Scots*, ſhould not be prejudicial to the Service of the Queen of *England*.

Here may be added to what I have already ſaid, *the Example of* Alfonſo *King of* Caſtile, *and of* Peter IV. *King of* Arragon, of whom mention is made in the Memoirs. *Peter* had reſolv'd to puniſh ſeverely the Rebellion of the Inhabitants of *Valencia*; but *Alfonſo* caus'd him to be deſir'd, by *Gomez Fernandez de Soria*, to defer the Execution of his Reſolution, till he had ſent him the *Infant Don Ferdinand*, and the Count *Enrique*, his Sons, who were to intercede for the Rebels. *Peter* made Anſwer to *Gomez Fernandez*, That he was very much ſurpriz'd the King of *Caſtile* ſhould ſend him an Embaſſy on this Account; ſince as well he as all the other Princes of the World, ought to commend the Reſolution he had taken to puniſh his rebellious Subjects, inſtead of hindering him from doing it: *That they were his Subjects, and that the Diſpoſal of them ought to be left to himſelf.*

In the Year 1650, there aroſe ſome Difference between the Prince of *Orange* and the States of *Holland*. Some of their Deputies were ſent Priſoners to the Caſtle of *Louveſtein*, and the Prince carry'd the Arms of the State before the City of *Amſterdam*. *Anthony le Brun*, Embaſſador from *Spain*, who was otherwiſe an able and wiſe Miniſter, thinking he did a very grateful Thing to the Prince, went and offer'd him the Arms of the King his Maſter, for the more ſpeedy Reduction of the Place; but the Prince anſwer'd him, *That the King of* Spain *had nothing to do to meddle with the domeſtick Affairs of the Countrey, and that neither he nor the States had any Occaſion for his Arms: That if the King ſhould cauſe his Troops to advance, their little Miſunderſtandings would ſoon ceaſe, and all the Forces of the State will be ſeen to unite to oppoſe the Foreigners.* They ſoon ceas'd in Effect, and the ſame Embaſſador, endeavouring to repair his firſt Fault, made a ſecond, by demanding Audience of the States, to complement them on the Reconciliation. It was granted him; but as ſoon as they were inform'd of the Subject of it, they ſent him Word (tho' he was already at the Bottom of the Stairs, where their Deputies were to receive him) That they were oblig'd to deſire him to approve of their remitting him to another Time; ſo that he went away with a kind of Affront, *for having had a mind to concern himſelf in a domeſtick Affair*, of which he ought not to have taken any Cognizance.

It was for the ſame Reaſon that the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg* refus'd, in the Year 1670, to admit of the Mediation of the States of the United Provinces, for the Accommodation of the Differences they had with the Capital City of their Countrey. It cannot be deny'd that it is ſubject immediately to the Princes of this Houſe; but as ſhe had obtain'd great Privileges from their Predeceſſors, (and being one of the moſt conſiderable of the *Teutonick Hanſe*) ſhe had by little and little withdrawn her ſelf from the Obedience which ſhe ow'd them, and had had the Aſſurance to oppoſe their Entrance. All the Princes of that Houſe were in Arms on the Occaſion of a Difference they had with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, for the Protection of the Town of *Hoxer*; and being ſenſible that the Town of *Brunſwick* was not in a Condition to make any great Reſiſtance, they laid Siege to it. The States of the United Provinces, who have I know not what Treaties with the Hanſeatick Towns, from which notwithſtanding they have never yet receiv'd the leaſt Advantage, had formerly caus'd the Siege of the ſaid Town to be rais'd, and imagining they ſhould ſucceed again, they ſent thither for all Succour, a ſolemn Deputation, and offer'd their Mediation for the agreeing the Differences. The Princes ſignify'd to the Deputies, *That as their High Mightineſſes would not be glad that they ſhould take Cognizance of the Differences they might have with their Subjects, ſo they hop'd likewiſe they would not intermeddle in the Diſputes they had with theirs, nor concern themſelves with their domeſtick Affairs.* They would not ſo much as ſuffer the Deputies to ſend their Letters by a Trumpeter into the Town; and this with ſo much the greater Juſtice, becauſe the States had done the ſame on ſo many Occaſions, that the Deputies (who could not be ignorant of it) might very well have forborn deſiring any ſuch Thing.

In the Month of *March* 1644, Meſſieurs *d'Avaux* and *Servien*, Embaſſadors Extraordinary from *France*, taking their Audience of Leave in the Aſſembly of the States General, to go to *Munſter*, intreated them to have a little Compaſſion and Moderation for thoſe Inhabitants of the United Provinces, who made Profeſſion of the Roman Catholick Religion. They had hinted ſome Days before that they would ſpeak to that effect, and they had been deſir'd not to do it, and to conſider that their Interceſſion would do at leaſt as much Harm as good to the Roman Catholicks. So that the States ſeeing the Embaſſadors had nevertheleſs follow'd their own Sentiments, rather than the Counſel which had been given them, expreſs'd their Diſpleaſure at it; and declar'd, by a formal Reſolution, that this Propoſition was contrary to the fundamental Laws of the State and its Repoſe: That they were ſurpriz'd thereat, and to prevent the Diſorders and Miſchiefs that might enſue, they would make ſuch rigorous Regulations, and ſuch ſevere Ordinances, that the Inſolence of the Roman Catholicks, who had begg'd this foreign Interceſſion, ſhould have Cauſe to repent it. *It was a domeſtick Matter*, which being of the laſt Importance,

oblig'd the States to ſend this their Reſolution to the Embaſſadors by eight Deputies, who added thereto by Word of Mouth, what the Reſolution did not expreſs in Terms ſtrong enough. *D'Avaux* had a little too much Devotion for a Man of his Profeſſion; and *Servien*, who adapted his to the Nature of Affairs, had been for following the Advice of thoſe who were the moſt moderate among the States; who had counſell'd them to riſque nothing in an Adventure, where there was nothing to be hop'd for. He had repreſented to *d'Avaux*, that what they ſhould do, would prove but a vain Oſtentation, of no Utility to the Catholicks, and which might produce a very ill Effect; and that it were better to be moderate in the Execution of the Orders the King had given them, by converting their publick Recommendations into private Offices, for the Relief of the Catholicks. Theſe two Embaſſadors, and thoſe who had given them theſe Orders, ought to have reflected on the Anſwer, *Charles* IX, and *Henry* III, had given to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, who had been for doing the like Offices for thoſe of the Religion in *France*.

The Embaſſador who has acquir'd the Confidence of the Court where he reſides, either by his own Merit, or by the Conſideration of the common Intereſt of the two Princes, may intrude himſelf into the Affairs of the Countrey where he reſides, if it be deſir'd of him. *Angelo Cornaro*, Embaſſador from *Venice* at *Paris*, had made himſelf ſo acceptable to that Court, that Cardinal *de Richelieu* finding his Counſels were very uſeful to him, made them even neceſſary; and deſir'd the Republick to continue him in the Embaſſy, when the Term of Years for his Service ſhould be expir'd: but on theſe Occaſions the Miniſter, inſtead of diſcharging the Function of an Embaſſador, does that of a Counſellor, and of a particular Friend. The King of *Portugal*, who dy'd laſt, had accepted the Crown, but only becauſe he ſuppos'd it would coſt him nothing to maintain himſelf in that Dignity, as long as *France* and *Spain* ſhould be at War; and that whenever *France* ſhould make a Peace, it would compriſe him therein. He was undeceiv'd, as well by the Oppoſition the *Spaniards* made againſt it at *Munſter*, as by the Difficulty Cardinal *Mazarin* expreſs'd, to engage the King his Maſter in an Alliance that could oblige him thereto. He therefore bethought himſelf of reſigning the Crown, for the Benefit of the Duke of *Orleans*, or of ſome other Prince that *France* ſhould nominate, and of retiring himſelf to the *Terceres*. He caus'd one of his Secretaries of State *to communicate this Thought to* Lanier, who reſided on the Part of *France* at *Lisbon*. The Embaſſador conſidering that it was not a random Thought that had accidentally come into the King's Head, but a fix'd Reſolution, which had been communicated to the Queen, and to ſome of the Lords of the Council, told the Secretary his Sentiments thereof; and added, that he would ſpeak to the King about it. He did ſo, and repreſented to him, as well as to the Queen, That the King his Maſter would be much ſurpriz'd to underſtand, that his Majeſty had been capable of taking a Reſolution ſo unſuitable to his Honour and Intereſt, and that without doubt by the Advice of Perſons very indifferently affected to the Good of his Service; and to ſee him entertain Thoughts ſo prejudicial to the Intereſt of both Crowns: That he would be far from imparting any thing thereof to his Court; but ſince the King had been pleas'd to intruſt him with it, he would take the Liberty to tell him: That the Deſign his Majeſty had to deſire Mademoiſelle, or elſe the Duke of *Longueville*'s Daughter, for the Prince his Son, would not ſucceed; and that he muſt not ſo much as think of giving the Command of his Army to ſome Prince or Lord of *France*, as well as the Direction of the Affairs of his Kingdom; but that he muſt commit both the one and the other to the Prince his Son, when he came to Age: That the King of *France*'s Intereſt could not ſuffer the Crown of *Portugal* to be re-united to that of *Caſtile*; and that he would without all doubt make a laſt Effort to hinder it; but that it was alſo neceſſary the King of *Portugal* ſhould help himſelf, and not forſake his Intereſt: That he had no other way to ſecure himſelf than by acting on his Part with Vigour, while *France* aſſiſted him with Men and Money, and made a powerful Diverſion, as well in *Catalonia* as in *Italy* and *Flanders*. The Revolt of the City of *Palermo*, and the Inſurrection of *Naples* were what confirm'd the King of *Portugal* and not *Lanier*'s Reaſons, who on this Occaſion did not make any Offer to intermeddle with the domeſtick Affairs of the King of *Portugal*, but only told his own private Sentiments on the Propoſition the King had made him.

CHAP. V.

The Embaſſador ought to execute his Orders, and how.

THE Embaſſador is indiſpenſably oblig'd to execute punctually the Orders of his Prince, when they are expreſs and reiterated, unleſs he be well aſſur'd he ſhall commit a greater Evil, and ſhall render himſelf more criminal in executing them, than by delaying to obey them. The *Roman*, who ſeeing the Ladders rear'd, and the Enemies in a Condition to ſurprize the Town, had no Regard to the Law that forbad him at the Peril of his Life to approach the Rampart, but ran to the Danger, repuls'd the Enemies, and flung down their Ladders. And the Magiſtrate, inſtead of puniſhing him according to the Rigour of the Laws, commended his Zeal, approv'd his Action, and rewarded the Service this good Citizen

tizen had done his Countrey. *Walſingham* writing on the 2d of *April*, 1571, to the Lord *Burleigh*, makes uſe of this Example, and ſays, That conſidering he could not execute the Queen's Orders, without failing in the Zeal and Fidelity he ow'd her, he had choſen rather to decline it, *and thereby expoſe himſelf to the Hazard of being reproach'd therenpon.* Cardinal *Doſſat*, ſpeaking of the Orders *Henry* IV. ſent him, does not ſcruple to ſay more than once, That they are Orders which he cannot execute, till his Majeſty has explain'd himſelf more expreſſly on the Remonſtrances he ſhall make, or has made to his Majeſty. And on the other ſide, he did not fear hazarding ſomething beyond his Orders whenever he thought he could exceed them, without prejudicing the King's Intereſt. The Negotiation he had Orders to carry on with the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, for the Reſtitution of the Iſlands of *Pomeques* and of *If*, was by ſo much the more difficult, as they could not be got out of the Hands of the Great Duke, without reimburſing him a good Sum of Money. The King who had no Money, had no Credit neither with the Great Duke; ſo that *Doſſat*, that theſe Places might not be left in ſtrange Hands, oblig'd himſelf to procure twelve Sureties, or Pledges for the Reimburſement of that Sum. He had no Orders for that, and he ſays, he confeſſes it was a bold Stroke, what he had done; but he adds, That he had learn'd, that in grand Affairs, to decline a great Evil, and obtain a great Good, one muſt dare to do ſomething, and take a good Reſolution to get out of a bad Caſe, as well, and as ſoon as one can. He juſtifies himſelf afterwards, and ſays he did it to ſet the King's Mind at Eaſe, and to ſecure the Coaſts of *Provence*, which would be expos'd to the Diſcretion of Foreigners, if the King did not repoſſeſs himſelf of thoſe Iſlands.

Not only the Embaſſador is not oblig'd, but he even ought not to execute all the Orders that are ſent him, if he judges that he ſhould become more criminal by obeying, than by repreſenting to his Prince the Reaſons which hinder him from obeying. King *Henry* IV. would have transferr'd the Archbiſhop of *Bourges* to the Archbiſhoprick of *Sens*, and caus'd preſſing Inſtances at *Rome* to be made for that Purpoſe. Pope *Clement* VIII, who did not love that Prelate, becauſe it was he had given Abſolution to the King at St. *Denis*, would not conſent thereto. The King, on his ſide, growing weary of the Pope's continu'd Refuſals, wrote with his own Hand to *Doſſat*, That he would not ask any more Favours of the Pope till he had obtain'd this; commanding him to read the Letter to his Holineſs. *Doſſat* was preparing to do it, but the Pope not having the Patience to hear it, commanded him to tell him the Contents thereof. *Doſſat* did ſo, but he did not ſay one Word to the Pope of the Declaration the King made therein, that he would ask no more Favours. Writing to *Villeroy*, he ſays, He omitted it on Purpoſe; as well becauſe this Declaration might be made at any time, as becauſe that when ſuch Expreſſions are ſlipt from a great Prince, they muſt either be maintain'd and kept up to, to the Detriment of ſeveral private Perſons as well as of the publick, or elſe act contrary to them with little Reputation.

In ſuch Caſes the Embaſſador muſt conſult his Prudence, and the Nature of the Affair he has to manage. The Miniſters who diſpatch the Prince's Orders, ſometimes mingle their Paſſion or Intereſt therewith; nay the Prince himſelf does not always follow Reaſon, and his true Intereſt ſo cloſe, but that he ſometimes loſes the Sight of them. His Intentions, how good and juſt ſoever they may be, may be alter'd by prejudicate Opinions, or by evil Counſels. This is the Reaſon why the King of *France*, who is the moſt abſolute of all the Monarchs of *Chriſtendom*, will have his Edicts verify'd, and regiſter'd in Parliament; and that his Orders paſs through the Hands of the Governors of Provinces, who before they joyn their Letters thereto, which authorize the Execution thereof within their Governments, obſerve whether the King's Orders have their due Forms, and whether they do not contain any thing contrary to his Intereſts, to Juſtice, and to the Laws of the Kingdom. The King ſuffers alſo his Parliament to make Remonſtrances to him, and the Governors to repreſent either the Injuſtice that reſides in the Orders, or the Difficulty that will be found in the Execution of them. In the ſame manner a Prince, that ſends his Orders to his Embaſſador, is willing he ſhould examine them, and judge whether they can be executed without prejudicing his Affairs, that he may not ruin them by an imprudent Zeal, or by a giddy and blind Obedience. King *Henry* IV. knew full as much as the ableſt of his Miniſters, and *Villeroy*, who had the principal Direction of the foreign Affairs under him, was a conſummate Miniſter; and nevertheleſs when they ſend Orders to Preſident *Jeannin*, they almoſt always tell him, That ſuch is their Opinion, and that it is his Buſineſs to judge whether they are conſiſtent with the State of the Affair he has to negotiate. Provided the Embaſſador does not exceed the Bounds of his Power, and that he does not act contrary to the Intentions, and againſt the Dignity of his Prince, he ought to ſhew himſelf eaſy, and avoid Cavilling and Conteſtation. The Affair of *Henry* IV's Abſolution was very nice, becauſe the Intereſt and Reputation of the Crown of *France* was to be taken Care of, and it was neceſſary at the ſame time to give to the See of *Rome* what was its due. Wherefore the King's Sollicitors (without exceeding their Power, and ſecuring the Dignity of the King, and of the Crown of *France*,) ſay, They had refus'd nothing of what belong'd to the Dignity of the Holy See, and of the Pope, as far as their Power could extend. As in effect an Embaſſador who has Merit, and underſtands his Buſineſs well, will paſs over a great many ſmall Matters, which would ſtop and puzzle an ignorant Head, or a ſlender Ability.

Pope *Pius* V, who could not wean himſelf of the ill Habits he had contracted in his Convent, being inform'd that ſome Regulations were to be made in Reference to Religion, at the Diet which had been ſummon'd at *Ausburg*, in the Year 1566, wrote to Cardinal *Commendon*, who was with the Emperor, to proteſt againſt whatever ſhould be done there, and to declare to the Eccleſiaſtical Princes, That he would make uſe of the Spiritual Sword againſt them, and againſt the Emperor firſt of all:

That he would deprive him of the Imperial Dignity, diſpoſſeſs him of his Kingdoms and hereditary Countreys, and would declare him incapable of ſucceeding to the Crown of *Spain*, when the Succeſſion ſhould happen. *Commendon*, who was a *Venetian*, that is to ſay, neither giddy-brain'd, nor a Bigot, judging that the Execution of the Pope's Orders would only ſerve to exaſperate the Minds ſtill more, communicated them to the Emperor; and it was agreed between them that he ſhould write to the Pope, *That he was of Opinion, That after the Aſſurance the Emperor had given him, that no mention ſhould be made of Religion in the Diet, it was not proper to make a Proteſtation, which would be of no Utility.* The Pope, who could not endure a Contradiction, repeated his Orders to him, and added thereto, That if the Emperor ſuffer'd Religion to be ſo much as ſpoke of in the Diet, altho' they came to no Reſolution therein, he ſhould excommunicate the Emperor immediately, with all the other Catholick Princes. *Commendon however did nothing of all this*, but behav'd himſelf with the ſame Prudence, of which we ſee ſo many Inſtances in all his Negotiations, where may be diſcover'd throughout the whole, the Air and Genius of his Countrey. It is true that, before the Arrival of the laſt Orders, it had been reſolv'd, That the Affair of Religion ſhould be referr'd to another Diet; but it did not ſtick at the Pope, that the Cardinal, by executing his precipitate Orders, had caus'd all the Catholick Princes of *Germany* to revolt againſt the See of *Rome*.

In fact, the Embaſſador may do as much Harm to his Maſter's Affairs, by executing his Orders with too much Precipitation and Exactneſs, as in eluding them by an affected Diſobedience. The Count *de Trautmanſdorf*, the Emperor's chief Embaſſador at the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*, labour'd with a continual Application, and with Succeſs enough at the Peace of the Empire. There was no Advantage which he did not offer to the *Swediſh* Miniſters, out of a Deſign, and in hopes of ſeparating that Crown from the Intereſt of its Allies; to the end there might be no Obligation to give to *France* the Satisfaction the Elector of *Bavaria* made it hope for. He met therein almoſt inſuperable Obſtacles. But in the Year 1647. he lighted on ſo favourable a Conjuncture that he might in a manner have been ſure of the Succeſs of his Negotiation. *France* had very particular, and very ſtrict Engagements with the Court of *Munich*, of which the *Swedes* were ſo jealous, that *Oxenſtiern* did not ſcruple to ſay, That *Sweden* would rather chuſe to have the Imperial Dignity perpetuated in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, than to ſee it paſs into that of *Bavaria*, while this had ſo cloſe an Union with *France*. Moreover the *Swediſh* Army was ſo embaraſs'd in *Bohemia*, that it was doubted whether it could well diſengage it ſelf; and Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was ever a good Husband, and ſparing out of Seaſon, had ſignify'd to the Court of *Sweden*, That *France* was not in a Condition to continue to it the Payment of the Subſidies. This Declaration, which incommoded and provok'd the *Swedes*, was contrary to the Treaties, whereby *France* oblig'd it ſelf to pay them till the Peace was concluded. So that *Trautmanſdorf* might have made an Advantage of this Diſcontent, and have been in Hopes of bringing the *Swedes* to conſent to a ſeparate Treaty, had it not been for the Order the Emperor ſent him by an Expreſs, to delay the Concluſion thereof, becauſe he had already corrupted *John de Weert*; and he believ'd he ſhould be able to bring over to his Service all the Troops of the Elector of *Bavaria*; the abſolute Diſpoſal of whom, promis'd him infallible Progreſſes in the Empire, and incomparable Advantages over his Enemies. The Count obey'd punctually his Maſter's Orders, whoſe Affairs receiv'd irreparable Prejudice by this Punctuality, becauſe he thereby loſt the Opportunity he had of gaining the *Swedes*, and of fortifying the bad Underſtanding, which was then conſiderable between the Miniſters of the two Crowns. *Trautmanſdorf* was ſo much in the Favour of the Emperor his Maſter, that notwithſtanding his Remoteneſs, the *Spaniards* who did not love him, could not ruin his Credit at the Court of *Vienna*; but yet *he did not dare to run the riſque of delaying the Execution of his Orders*; altho' by making a ſeparate Treaty with *Sweden*, he would have acquir'd to himſelf a glorious and everlaſting Reputation, and to his Maſter an Advantage, that could neither be ſufficiently rewarded nor acknowledg'd.

The Embaſſador who has a perfect Knowledge of the Intereſt and Humour of his Prince; of that of his firſt Miniſter, and of the Conſtitution of his Council, may take his Meaſures, and judge to what Degree he ought to defer to the Orders of the one or the other. The Duke of *Alva*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Lieutenant General to *Philip* II. in *Italy*, had reſolv'd to break with the *Caraffas*, who had done a thouſand Indignities to the Emperor's Miniſters and thoſe of the King of *Spain*; and having a mind that every body ſhould believe he was forc'd thereto by Pope *Paul* IV, he ſent to *Rome Pirro Loffredi*, Marquiſs of *Trevico*, to make ſome Overtures of an Accommodation to the Pope and to the Cardinals. *The Duke gave him expreſs Orders to remain at* Rome *but four Days, whether he had an Anſwer or not.* But the Pope (who expected every Day an Account of the Succeſs of the Negotiation he was practiſing in *France*, not daring neither to break nor conclude with the Marquiſs) repreſented to him, that it was impoſſible to give him an Anſwer in four Days to the Propoſitions he had made him; becauſe being oblig'd to communicate them to all the Cardinals, it would require ſome time to confute the Sentiments of thoſe who were not well intention'd. This Miniſter, who did not know the Viceroy's Deſign, and who vainly flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes of reconciling the jarring Minds, ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſuaded to remain ſome Days longer at *Rome*, beyond the Term his Maſter had allotted him. The Duke who had not the leaſt Thought of coming to an Agreement with the Pope, ſeeing his Man did not come back at the End of four Days, invaded the Eccleſiaſtical State. Hereupon the Pope arreſted the Marquiſs, as the Miniſter of him who made War with him without any previous Declaration, and at the ſame time that he amus'd him with a Negotiation. The Miniſter who did not ex-

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ecute his Orders, by remaining at *Rome* beyond the Term which had been preſcrib'd him, and who might thereby have diſconcerted all his Maſter's Deſigns, was become a Criminal; and juſtify'd alſo the Pope's Procedure, who was not oblig'd to conſider him as a publick Miniſter, after the Hoſtilities his Maſter committed, and after the Declaration he had himſelf made, that his Commiſſion was but for four Days.

King *Henry* IV. had reduc'd the Duke of *Savoy* to ſuch great Extremities, that without the Pope's Conſideration, he had forc'd him, not only to treat with him, but to receive what Law the Victor pleas'd. In this Condition the Duke ſent to the King *Francis Arconnas*, Count *de Touſaine*, and *René de Lucinge*, Lord *des Alymes* his firſt Steward, with Power to make an Exchange for the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*; and he even ſent them Orders to ſign the Project which had been drawn up for that Purpoſe; *but three Days after he alter'd his Mind and recall'd it.* Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, who was there as Mediator on the part of the Pope, conſidering that the Duke's Procedure might be capable of rekindling the War between the two Crowns, was ſo diſhearten'd thereat, that he declard to the Embaſſadors of *Savoy*, that he would meddle no more in the Affair, till they had promis'd him in Writing to ſign whatever he ſhould ſettle with the King's Commiſſioners. The Embaſſadors had no ſooner made this Promiſe, than they receiv'd *freſh Prohibitions not to ſign any thing*; and accordingly, after the Legate had concluded the Treaty, they refus'd to ſign it. The Legate was extremely diſſatisfy'd, and us'd all ſorts of Promiſes, Threats and Commands, to oblige them to ſign, but all to no Purpoſe; but at laſt he bethought himſelf to promiſe them in Writing, that he would prevail with the Duke to approve of, and ratify whatever they ſhould ſign: That he would ſecure to them their Offices and Dignities: That he would protect them from any Perſecutions they might apprehend; and to declare that what they had done had been *per* force, and in purſuance of the Order they had receiv'd, to ſubmit to the Cardinal's Authority.

The Embaſſadors ſign'd at laſt the Treaty; but they ſoon repented it; becauſe the Duke diſavow'd them, and was ſo incens'd at the Diſobedience of his Miniſters, that *Arconnas* had much ado to reſolve to preſent himſelf before him; and *des Alymes*, who was become the Subject of the King of *France*, on account of the Lands he held in *Bugey*, would return no more to *Savoy*.

The Treaty which had been made at *Vienna* in the Year 1602, concerning the Affair of the *Uſcoques*, and that which was concluded ſome Years after at *Aſt* about the *Monſerrat*, not having been executed; *France* fearing leſt ſhe ſhould be oblig'd to carry her Arms into *Italy*, to oppoſe the predominant Power of *Spain*, made the Court of *Madrid* conſent to a Treaty, which was finiſh'd at *Paris* in the Year 1617. The Republick of *Venice* was very much intereſted therein, and ſhe found her Ends in the Treaty; but *Ottavio Bon* and *Vincent Guſſoni*, her Embaſſadors, had Orders to ſign nothing, without an effectual Reſtitution of what Depredations had been made upon their Subjects in the Gulf. The King of *France* promis'd them to uſe ſuch preſſing Inſtances with the King of *Spain*, his Father-in-Law, that they need not doubt of the Reſtitution: but this Aſſurance was not able to make them go beyond their Orders. However the ſame Embaſſadors conſidering ſince, that if the Duke of *Savoy*, who found his Account in the Treaty, ſhould accept it, the Republick would remain alone expos'd to the Reſentment of the Arch-Duke, and of the King of *Spain*, reſolv'd to ſign it. They were very glad of it at *Venice*; becauſe ſhe got out of Trouble with all imaginable Advantages: and yet for all that, the Senate deliberating on the Circumſtances of the Negotiation, and judging that the Marks of Obedience were wanting which Embaſſadors owe to the Republick; ſent them Orders to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners to anſwer for their Diſobedience. It alſo ſent the Chevalier *Simon Contarini*, as Embaſſador Extraordinary to the King, to acquaint him with the Reaſon that oblig'd it to proceed in this Manner againſt *Bon* and *Guſſoni*; but the King order'd *Contarini* to remain at *Lions*, till the Senate had given up her Reſentment to the Interceſſion his Majeſty made for the Embaſſadors; whoſe Intentions had not only been innocent, but alſo beneficial. The Senate was contented to recall the Embaſſadors, and to ratify the Treaty in the Manner we ſhall relate hereafter. The Embaſſador can find his Safety only in the punctual Execution of his Orders. There is no Warranty that can ſkreen him from the juſt Indignation of the Prince, which he ſhall draw upon himſelf by his Diſobedience.

As on the one ſide the Embaſſador who has expreſs and preciſe Orders, ought to execute them punctually, if he is very well perſuaded of the Intention and conſtant Will of his Maſter; ſo ought he on the other, to act with great Circumſpection, and with great Reſervedneſs, *in thoſe Affairs concerning which he has no Orders at all.* In the beginning of the *Candian* War, *la Haye Vantelay*, Embaſſador of *France*, had gain'd a *Turkiſh Dragoman*, who govern'd the Firſt Vizir, and had diſpos'd him to hearken to ſome Propoſitions on the part of the Republick; ſo far that the Firſt Vizir ask'd the Interpreter, what the Senate of *Venice* would give in Lands and Money for a Peace. The *French* Embaſſador, who manag'd this Intrigue, thinking he had procur'd a mighty Advantage to the Republick by the Vizir's Declaration, communicated it to the Baylo: and this anſwer'd haughtily enough, That it belong'd to the Grand Seignior, who had begun the War, to ſay what he pretended to have. *La Haye* look'd upon this to be reaſonable; and that it was what was practis'd every where elſe: but he thought likewiſe that the Affair would be far advanc'd in the Seraglio, if the Embaſſador gave him the Power to ask for Peace in the Name of the Republick; to the End he might carry the Project thereof to the firſt Miniſter. The Baylo reply'd that that was impoſſible; *That he had no Orders to demand a Peace*; and ſo he ſhould be far from making any ſuch Advance. Hereupon the *French* Embaſſador declar'd, That neither he nor the Interpreter who had acted the Mediator, could meddle no farther in this Affair; becauſe there was no likelihood that the *Turkiſh* Emperor would conſent to a Peace,

if he was not beſought thereto with the Reſpect he thought was due to his Grandeur. The Baylo *Soranço* allow'd it to be true; but he ſaid, *He had no Orders*, and that the Affair muſt remain as it was till he had given Advice thereof to the Senate. There are no Miniſters more ſcrupulous on this Subject than thoſe of *Venice*; becauſe the Republick exacts from them an Obedience by ſo much the more punctual, that the leaſt Indulgence ſhe ſhould have for thoſe who are all equal by Birth, would diſconcert the Harmony by which ſhe ſubſiſts. I have ſpoken elſewhere, and ſhall ſpeak again hereafter of *Octavian Bon* and of *Vincent Guſſoni*, whoſe Hiſtory is very ſingular in all its Circumſtances.

In the Year 1558, the States of *Scotland* ſent into *France* the Archbiſhop of *Glaſcow*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and the Earls of *Rothesay* and of *Caſſelles*, with ſeveral other Noblemen, to be preſent at the Marriage of their Queen, who was to eſpouſe the *Dauphin*, eldeſt Son to *Henry* II. After the Conſummation of the Marriage, the Embaſſadors were ſent for to the Council, where they were told, That the King deſir'd they would cauſe the Crown and other Ornaments to be brought to *France*; becauſe he had a mind to have his Son crown'd King of *Scotland*. The Embaſſadors having made Anſwer, *That they had no Orders concerning that Affair*, thoſe of the Council reply'd, That what the King deſir'd now of them, was that they would give their Word, that when the Matter ſhould be debated in the Council or in the Parliament of *Scotland*, they would back the King's Intention with their Votes, and that they would ſign a Writing that ſhould be offer'd them to this Purpoſe. The Embaſſadors ſaid, *They had their Orders, and that they could not exceed them:* That they would willingly do what the *French*, their ancient and faithful Friends and Allies, ſhould deſire of them; but that they hop'd alſo, That nothing would be requir'd of them that could prejudice their Honour or Conſcience.

The Miniſter who undertakes an Affair for which he has no Orders, is reſponſible for the Succeſs thereof; whereas he who only executes the Orders that are given him, how unjuſt or unreaſonable ſoever they may be, charges his Maſter therewith. I cannot tell how *Gabriel d'Aramont* could juſtify himſelf to King *Henry* II, in reference to the Commiſſion he took in the Year 1551, of the Great Maſter of *Malta*. *Gabriel* was returning to *Conſtantinople*, where he had already been in the Quality of Embaſſador; and having in his Voyage put into the Harbour of *Malta*, the Great Maſter pray'd him to go to *Sinan Bacha* and *Dragut*, who beſieg'd the Town of *Tripoli*, and to prevail with them to raiſe the Siege. There was an Alliance between *Henry* and *Soliman:* but I muſt own I cannot comprehend, how *d'Aramont* could imagin, that at his Inſtance thoſe two Generals ſhould raiſe the Siege of an important Place, without neceſſity, and without their Prince's Orders, upon the bare Requeſt of an Embaſſador, who had no Powers in that Reſpect from the King his Maſter, nor any Credentials for them: And indeed he receiv'd an Affront for his Pains, and brought one upon the King; becauſe *Sinan* continu'd the Siege, and oblig'd *d'Aramont* to remain as a Priſoner in the Camp, till after the Reduction of the Place.

There are however ſome Occaſions where the Embaſſador ought to riſque ſomething; becauſe it is impoſſible for the Prince to foreſee all Accidents, and all Occurrences, ſo as to be able to inſtruct his Embaſſador concerning all that may happen. And ſometimes he has not leiſure allow'd him to wait for his Prince's Orders, but is oblig'd to make a Choice; and it is on theſe Occaſions that the Miniſter ſhews what he is good for, and what he can do. In the Year 1645, the States of the United Provinces put it in debate, Whether they ſhould not Intereſt themſelves in the *Northern* War; and whether they ſhould not change their Mediation into a Rupture. *D'Eſtrades*, who at that time diſcharg'd the Function of Embaſſador, tho' he had not the Character, repreſented to the States, That the Treaties they were ingag'd in with *France*, oblig'd them to employ all their Forces againſt the *Spaniards*; and that they would very much weaken thoſe they had in *Flanders*, if they ſent any of them into Parts ſo remote from the Frontiers of *France*; and made them comprehend ſo well the Prejudice they would thereby do to the Common Cauſe, that he made them lay aſide the Thoughts they had to declare themſelves. The Court of *France* drew a very great Advantage therefrom; and yet it ſeem'd not to be much ſatisfy'd with ſome Expreſſions which he had been forc'd to make uſe of, and which were not very obliging to a Crown ally'd to *France*. But beſides that *d'Eſtrades* had acted therein in concert with the Prince of *Orange*, the Council of *France* it ſelf confeſs'd, that he had not only done a ſignal Service to the King, but alſo that it was impoſſible to have proceeded with more Addreſs and Prudence. He had no Orders; but if he had not ſpoke the States had declar'd themſelves, and *Sweden* would have been oblig'd to have drawn its Forces out of *Germany*, where they would no longer have been able to ſecond the Arms and Intentions of *France*.

The Embaſſador ought chiefly to take care not to engage himſelf, without expreſs Orders, in Negotiations, the Conſequences whereof may be of great Importance, and the Succeſs uncertain; and to conſider that the Effects of a falſe Zeal and of Imprudence, are often as dangerous as thoſe of Infidelity. The Emperor *Ferdinand* II. told *Don Balthaſar de Zuniga*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, and ſignify'd the ſame to the King of *Spain* himſelf by Father *Hyacinte*, that the Elector *Palatin* could not be reſtor'd, but the *Roman* Religion muſt ſuffer extremely by it; and the Houſe of *Auſtria* receive the utmoſt Prejudice thereby. It is what the Earl of *Briſtol*, Embaſſador of *England* at *Madrid*, could not be ignorant of. He knew alſo that *Ferdinand* had effectually diſpos'd of the *Upper Palatinate*, and of the Electoral Dignity it ſelf: That he could not diſpoſſeſs the Elector of *Bavaria* thereof, without reimburſing him ſeveral Millions of Crowns, which he had lent him ſince the Troubles of *Bohemia*; and that the *Spaniards* themſelves had no great mind to quit the lower *Palatinate* which they were in poſſeſſion of: He knew likewiſe that the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* with the *Infanta* of *Spain* would come to nothing without this Reſtitu-

tion, and unleſs on the other ſide the *Roman Catholicks* of *England* were allow'd the Exerciſe of their Religion. Theſe Difficulties were invincible, but yet they did not hinder the Earl from putting the Affair of the Marriage in Negotiation, and from hearkening to the Propoſitions the Duke of *Lerma* made him on that Subject, as a thing which he thought he could bring about; and of which he created himſelf a Difference with the Count *d'Olivarés* under *Philip* IV. The Paſſion the Earl of *Briſtol* had to oblige the *Engliſh* of his Religion, and to render his Perſon neceſſary, was ſo great, that he engag'd the Prince, preſumptive Heir of the Crown of *Great-Britain*, to travel into *Spain*, and to put himſelf into the Hands of People who hated his Religion, and could not love his Perſon. He had never got from 'em, if his Deſtiny had not reſerv'd him for a more unhappy End, and if the Court of *Madrid* had not made it known on this Occaſion, (from whence ſhe might have drawn incomparable Advantages) that ſhe preferr'd this Appearance of Honour to all other Conſiderations. I would not ſay the Earl of *Briſtol*'s Intention was bad; but it cannot be deny'd, that his Proceedure was very imprudent, and that the Negotiation he continu'd to carry on after the Prince was gone from *Spain* was criminous. He was well enough acquainted with the Court of *Madrid*, to have no room to doubt, that the Difficulty the Court of *Rome* made concerning the Diſpenſation, was only an Artifice of the *Spaniards*; it being certain that there was no other, than what the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition and the Count *Duke* caus'd to be ſtarted. The Marriage of *Margaret* of *Valois* with *Henry* King of *Navarre*; that of *Catherine*, Siſter to the ſaid *Henry*, with the Prince of *Lorrain*; of *Henrietta* of *France* with the aforeſaid Prince of *Wales*; and of the Princeſs of *Portugal* with the King of *England*, make it plain enough that the Difference of Religions does not hinder the Court of *Rome* from giving its Diſpenſations, when they are demanded regularly and in form.

If the Embaſſador ought not to act without Orders; and if he cannot, without neceſſity, avoid executing thoſe that are given him, he cannot, without a Crime and without Treaſon, act directly contrary to his Maſter's Orders. The Count *Albertin de Boſſchetto*, whom the Confederate Princes of *Italy* ſent to the Camp of *Charles* VIII, that under the Pretext of going to ſee his Son, who ſerv'd in the *French* Army under *John James Trivulce*, he might deſire a Paſſport for the Deputies who were to aſſiſt at the Congreſs; after he had ſhewn his Commiſſion to the King, demanded a private Audience, wherein he inform'd him of the bad State of the Confederates Army, and of the Diviſions of the Generals, and exhorted him to grant them nothing; becauſe their Troops would diſperſe themſelves in a few Days, and they would be oblig'd to raiſe the Siege of *Novarra*. This Miniſter, whoſe buſineſs it was to promote a Peace, endeavour'd to break off the Treaty before it was begun.

There is nothing riſqu'd in following the Example of *M. Chaunu*, becauſe he was a wiſe and skilful Miniſter; I ſhall therefore ſet down what was his Practice, in Reference to the Orders which were ſent him. He was yet but Reſident in *Sweden*, when he was commanded to feel the Pulſe of that Court, and endeavour to find out whether it would approve of *France*'s making a Treaty of Friendſhip with the King of *Poland*, and allowing him Subſidies to carry on a War againſt the *Tartars*. The Queen of *Sweden* liv'd in a perpetual Diſtruſt of *Poland*, and had even deſir'd *Chaunu* not to ſpeak of an Accommodation, becauſe ſhe would have none with the King, till a Peace had regulated the Affairs of *Germany*. *Chaunu*, on his part, was every Day telling the Queen of the Difficulties *France* had to find Money; becauſe ſhe was continually talking to him of the Subſidies, which ſhe pretended to have augmented, and made preſſing Inſtances at that Court for that Purpoſe. So that *Chaunu*, judging that he ſhould expoſe himſelf if he ſaid that *France* would aſſiſt the King of *Poland* with Money, at the ſame time that he was every Day proteſting that it had none to pay the *Swediſh* Subſidies, had a great Mind to ſay nothing of it to the Queen; but taking it afterwards into Conſideration, *that the Orders he had receiv'd were very expreſs*, he reſolv'd to ſpeak to her about it, and ſucceeded therein better than he expected. The Queen, who knew Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Humour, and who was ſenſible he was not a Man that would give Money to the King of *Poland* to do nothing, while *France* had ſo much Difficulty to pay what it ow'd to *Sweden*, whoſe Friendſhip was ſo neceſſary to it, made Anſwer, That ſhe was glad that *France* made it ſelf Friends, and that ſhe ſhould not at all be jealous of a Treaty, which would have a greater Appearance than Effect. *Chaunu* knew that the Cardinal would have the Orders he gave in the King's Name executed; for which Reaſon he alſo maintain'd himſelf better than that other Miniſter, who neglected executing the reiterated Orders which where ſent him, to uſe his Endeavours to procure the Revocation of an Embaſſador, who was not agreeable at the Court. Almoſt at the ſame time that *Chaunu* ſpoke to the Queen about the Alliance of *Poland*, he receiv'd alſo Orders to urge, that the two thouſand *German* Horſe of Mareſchal *de Turenne*'s Army, (who having mutiny'd, had joyn'd that of *Sweden*) might return to the King's Service. He ſpoke accordingly to the Prince *Palatin* about it, who was going into *Germany* in the Quality of Generaliſſimo of the Armies of that Crown, and he found him inclin'd enough to gratify *France* therein, in purſuance of a Command the Queen had given him to that Effect. But upon the Prince's adding, That the readieſt Means to bring thoſe Mutineers to their Duty, would be to aſſure them that they ſhould never be call'd to an Account for this Mutiny and Deſertion, any way whatever; and that he, *Chaunu*, ſhould remain as a Pledge for the Execution of what Promiſes the King ſhould make them; Here *Chaunu* would promiſe nothing, but ſaid, *He had no Orders for that*. He did not doubt of the King's granting them an Amneſty, and he conſider'd alſo that it would be a Mean to gain the Affection of the *German* Troops, who after the Empire was in Peace, might go into the King of *Spain*'s Service; but then he alſo reflected, that the King's Word did not want a Security, and that he could make no Promiſes

miſes without expreſs Orders. *La Haye Vantelay*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Conſtantinople*, ſignify'd to the Emperor's Reſident, that he could not remain Security for a private Debt without the King his Maſter's Orders.

The ſame *Chanut* had been nominated in the Year 1651. to the Embaſſy of *Lubeck*, to do there the Office of Mediator on the Part of *France* between *Poland* and *Sweden*; but foraſmuch as it was not believ'd at *Paris* that the Embaſſadors of the Parties concern'd would be very punctual in their coming to the Place of the Congreſs, they had neglected in *France* ſending him the neceſſary Orders for his ſetting out. In the mean Time Advice came to *Stockholm*, that the Miniſters of *Poland* were ſet out from *Dantzick*; ſo that the Queen fearing leſt they ſhould be out of Patience (if at their Arrival at *Lubeck* they found neither *Swediſh* Embaſſador nor Mediator,) and ſo return home again, deſir'd and preſs'd *Chanut* to ſet out. She repreſented to him, That having been nominated to this Embaſſy, and knowing it was the Intention of the King his Maſter, that he ſhould go thither, he ought to make no Difficulty to ſet out, nor delay his Voyage, under Pretext that he had not yet receiv'd his Orders for that Purpoſe, ſince without all doubt he would find them either at *Lubeck* or at *Hamburgh*. But he told the Queen, *That as he was far from going about an Action of this Importance without expreſs Orders*, and without Inſtructions, all that he could do was to hold himſelf ready, and to ſet forwards as ſoon as he ſhould have receiv'd them; and that in the mean Time he would ſend a Secretary to *Lubeck*, to aſſure the *Poliſh* Miniſters that he was ready to follow. And in Fact he did not ſet out till he had receiv'd his Orders.

Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Orders were ſometimes admirable, but very perplexing. This Miniſter being willing to make an Advantage of the laſt Commotions in *Naples*, and at the ſame Time unwilling the World ſhould believe his Intention was to make uſe of this Occaſion, to retard the Concluſion of the Peace that was negotiating at *Munſter*, wrote to the Marquis *de Fontenay Marüeil*, That if he thought he could do the King any Service by going in Perſon to *Naples*, *without hazarding at the ſame Time the Dignity of his Character*, he might tranſport himſelf thither in a Man of War which he would give Orders to be ready for him; and that thoſe who manag'd the King's Affairs in *Italy*, and commanded there his Armies, as Cardinal *Grimaldi*, the Duke of *Modena*, *Deſtrades*, &c. ſhould be order'd to give him all the Aſſiſtance he ſhould require of Men, Proviſions and Ammunition. The Cardinal, after he had tack'd to this odd Order an Inſtruction relating to the Manner in which he was to ſpeak of the Affair of *Naples* to the Pope, and how he was to deal with the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, and the Republick of *Venice*, ſays, He muſt not be overhaſty in concluding a Treaty with the People of *Naples*, till Affairs were better ſettl'd than they then were: *However, as he referr'd to him the Matter of the Voyage, ſo likewiſe did he that of haſtening or retarding the Treaty*: as well becauſe being almoſt upon the Place he was a better Judge therein than they could be at *Paris*; as becauſe the King would nevertheleſs do for the *Neapolitans*, without Agreement, all that could be ſtipulated with his Majeſty by a formal Treaty. *But he muſt above all things take care, that the Negotiation of* Munſter *was not thereby diſturb'd or delay'd.* The Cardinal recommended the ſame thing to him in a Letter he wrote to him with his own Hand; *Repreſenting to him however, that ſuch an Opportunity ought not to be let ſlip, from whence* France *might draw ſo many great Advantages.* He moreover own'd, *that there was ſome Contradiction in his Orders*; but he hop'd the Embaſſador's Prudence would diſtinguiſh it and take it right. It was not the Conſideration of the Treaty of *Munſter* which hinder'd the Cardinal from engaging in the Affair of *Naples*; but it was becauſe he did not ſee to the Bottom of all thoſe Commotions. Some Meaſures had been taken with ſome *Neapolitan* Noblemen; but they were broke by the Inſurrection of the People, who were more furiouſly tranſported againſt the Nobility than againſt the *Spaniards*. But what moſt diſpleas'd the firſt Miniſter was the Duke of *Guiſe*'s going thither, which made it apprehended in *France* leſt he ſhould either marr the Affairs, or make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom. Thoſe Orders wherein there is a Contradiction, Obſcurity or Ambiguity, perplex an Embaſſador, if he has not Leiſure granted him to be better inform'd: but when the Execution of ſuch Orders depends on the Embaſſador, and that it is left to his own Choice to take the ſureſt ſide, it is no very hard Matter for him to elude the Intention of thoſe who would be for charging him with the Event of a bad Buſineſs. One of the Orders, the Execution whereof is very difficult, is that which is given to an Embaſſador to diſpoſe of a certain Sum of Money, which is put into his Hands to be employ'd as he ſhall think fit, without any particular Directions; becauſe there is no OEconomy ſo nice, as to be able to ſatisfy the Mind of a Prince ever ſo little ſaving and diſtruſtful. Cardinal *Mazarin*, who diſpos'd of ſo many Millions by his Teſtament, and who had given ſuch vaſt Fortunes to his Nieces, ſaid, He could not find in his Heart to lay out one hundred Crowns of the King's Money, unleſs he knew that they were well employ'd. He had order'd three thouſand Piſtoles to be given to the Abbot *Bentivoglio*, which were to be laid out in buying up Horſes for the Recruits of the Army in *Italy*, and were alſo to ſerve to gain ſome Miniſters of the Princes in thoſe Parts. The Abbot was likewiſe to take the Expences of his Journey out of this Sum, and nevertheleſs the Cardinal recommended to him not to be at any unuſeful Expence. King *Lewis* XI, was extremely miſtruſtful and ſaving; but then he was prodigal, and entruſted his Money with any body when he had a Mind to gain any foreign Miniſter.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Prudence and Cunning.

IN the foregoing Chapter I have ſaid that the Embaſſador in receiving his Prince's Orders, ought to conſult his Prudence before he executes them. I ſhall add in this, that it ought to ſerve him for a North Pole in the whole Courſe of his Negotiation. It is ſhe alone can make it ſucceſsful, and it is ſhe alone is capable of forming a perfect Embaſſador. She holds the firſt Rank among politick Virtues, and can alone ſupply all that is wanting in the Embaſſador; ſo that one may very well ſay with the Poet, *Nullum numen abeſt ſi ſit Prudentia.* But as it is ſometimes difficult to diſtinguiſh true Virtue from Appearance, ſo it is eaſy to be miſtaken in this, by taking Cunning for Prudence. The one is a great Virtue, and the other is a Vice, which partakes very much of Cowardiſe. Cunning is in effect but a baſtard Prudence; a falſe Niceneſs, and the Product of a lowly and abject Mind, incapable of great Things. *Bonjani Gianfigliazzi*, Embaſſador of the Duke of *Florence* at *Rome*, was a very prudent and very skilful Miniſter, and made the firſt Breach in the Fortune of the *Caraffa*'s. *Coſmus* his Maſter, who was not leſs dextrous than himſelf, and who had a mind to join the Town of *Siena* to what he already poſſeſs'd in *Tuſcany*, happily made Uſe of the Prudence of this Miniſter, to compaſs his Intention. *Coſmus* had contributed very much to the driving the *French* Garriſon out of that Town, by the Means of his Troops, his Proviſions, and Ammunition, and by advancing conſiderable Sums of Money, which he had lent to the Emperor *Charles* V, and *Philip* his Son, from whom he now and then demanded the Repayment thereof. Theſe two Princes grew weary of the Expence they were oblig'd to be at for the Subſiſtence of the Garriſon of *Siena*; they therefore willingly hearken'd to the Propoſitions of thoſe who counſell'd them to ſell the Town to the *Caraffa*'s, and thereby gain the Friendſhip of *Paul* IV. *Coſmus* being inform'd thereof by the Duke of *Alva*, who was his Wife's Relation, repreſented to *Philip* by *Alfonſo Tornabon*, who reſided with him in *England*, the Wrong that was done him by ſuch Advice, and the Prejudice he did to his Affairs, in preferring to his ſincere Friends and Servants inſolent and haughty People, who would requite him with Ingratitude. It was no hard Matter for him to break off this Bargain, becauſe at that Time the *Caraffa*'s were ingag'd in the *French* Intereſt; but all the Difficulty was to prevail with *Philip* to give *Siena* to *Coſmus*, who to remove it made uſe of the dextrous Prudence of *Gianfigliazzi*. This Miniſter, to make *Philip* believe that *Coſmus* intended to enter into the King of *France*'s Intereſt, made there ſome Overtures of an Accommodation, and deſir'd the Pope to be Mediator therein; recommending to him particularly to get it ſpeedily concluded, and above all Things to keep the Secret; that the *Spaniards* (whoſe Neighbourhood was troubleſome to him, by reaſon of the Places they held on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*) might not take Umbrage thereat, nor be inform'd thereof till after the Affair was concluded. The Pope, who did not diſtruſt *Coſmus*, communicated the whole Negotiation to the *French* Miniſters, who did not fail to diſpatch an Expreſs to the King about it, and preſs him to ſend ſome Perſon ſpeedily, who might have Power to grant the Duke whatever he deſir'd. *Charles de Marillac*, Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, whom the King caus'd to ſet out immediately, was no ſooner come to *Rome*, than the *French*, who imagin'd that *Coſmus* could not fall off when the Negotiation ſhould be made publick, ſpoke of it as of a Thing agreed upon. This anſwer'd the Intention of the Duke of *Florence*, and made his Miniſter's Game; becauſe *they deſir'd the King of* Spain *might hear of it*, *and be alarm'd thereat*; that thereby they might gain their Ends, and the Advantage they immediately reap'd from it. For *Philip* being inform'd of the Rumour of this Negotiation, and fearing leſt *Coſmus* ſhould conclude his Treaty with *France*, reſolv'd to put him in Poſſeſſion of *Siena*, and to this effect gave Orders to Cardinal *de Burgos* (who commanded there) to march out the *Spaniſh* Garriſon. The Cardinal obey'd, but not without Regret.

Theſe Dexterities, far from being criminal, are very commendable; and theſe Artifices; provided they are not accompany'd with Roguery and Knavery, acquire a great Reputation to the Embaſſador. Cardinal *Alexander Bichi* had a particular Genius for Negotiation, and a Prudence that made him be admir'd. Pope *Urban* VIII. did not dare to admit the Biſhop of *Lamego*, Embaſſador from the new King of *Portugal*, nor would not ſuffer him to enter *Rome*, for fear of offending *Spain*. *France* was for having him admitted, and employ'd for that purpoſe the Marquiſs de *Fontenay Marüeil* to the Pope; but he that procur'd him Leave to come to *Rome* was Cardinal *Bichi*. He was Comprotector of *France*; and being ſenſible that the Pope was very uneaſy ſince the Biſhop's Arrival at *Civita Vecchia*, he went to the Pope and told him, *That being inform'd that the Biſhop intended to come to* Rome, *and that the Pope had reſolv'd not to admit him*; *he was willing to acquaint his Holineſs*, *That if he caus'd the Biſhop to be lodg'd in the Countrey*, *he would be oblig'd to allow him Guards*, *to protect him againſt the Inſults the* Spaniards *might offer him*, *unleſs he would ſuffer his Dignity to be violated in the Perſon of this Prelate: That it muſt be own'd the King of* Portugal *did not know very well yet how to act the King*, *ſince he employ'd in this Embaſſy the Money which he might have laid out to greater Advantage*, *in buying of Arms*, *and fortifying his Frontiers: That there was alſo ſome Imprudence in his ſending this Embaſſy*, *before he had taken Care to know whether it would be agree-*

able or not: But that at the ſame Time it muſt be acknowledg'd that this Simplicity was a Token of an extraordinary Devotion, from whence the Holy See receiv'd the Satisfaction to behold this Prince paſs over all thoſe important Conſiderations of State, to give an illuſtrious Proof of the Reſpect and Veneration he had for the See of Rome; *out of a Deſign to make it known to the World, that he would begin his Reign by ſo conſpicuous an Action of Piety, That in order to ſecure the Biſhop from the Violence of the* Spaniards, *and to quiet his Holineſs's Mind, there was no better way than to permit the Biſhop to come to* Rome; *and that thereby his Holineſs would eaſe himſelf of a great Expence, which he would be oblig'd to be at, in allowing the Biſhop a Guard in the Countrey.* There can be nothing more prudent nor more ingenious. All the Cardinal's Reaſoning was grounded on this Principle, That the Biſhop of *Lamego* would not be in Safety out of the City of *Rome*. It ſeems as if this Principle was not very true, becauſe the *Spaniards* had no other Intereſt than to hinder the Biſhop from coming to *Rome*, and appearing there in the Quality of a publick Miniſter; becauſe by that Mean the Pope declar'd himſelf againſt the Uſurpation. The more he blames the Precipitation and Imprudence of the King of *Portugal*, the more he heightens his Zeal and Piety, and obliges the Pope to make a ſerious Reflection thereon. The Biſhop came to *Rome* in effect, but he would have been ſafer in the Countrey.

The Treaty of *Vervins*, wherein *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* had caus'd himſelf to be compris'd, made the Pope Arbitrator of the Difference the Duke had with the King about the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*; and the King caus'd his Intereſts to be ſolicited at *Rome* by the Marquiſs of *Sillery Brulart*. The two Princes concern'd were in equal Apprehenſion leſt the Pope ſhould deſire to have the Marquiſate put into his Hands by way of Sequeſtration: and *Sillery* dreading every Thing from the Duke's Wit and Artifices, prevented him in this manner. *He gave out that the King's Intention was to inveſt one of the Pope's Nephews with the Marquiſate, as ſoon as he ſhould have gotten Poſſeſſion thereof.* This ſo alarm'd the Duke of *Savoy*, that he order'd his Embaſſador to tell the Pope, That he was in hopes his Holineſs would have made no Difficulty to pronounce on the Poſſeſſion, and to maintain him in it. The Pope made Anſwer, He would do what Juſtice requir'd, and upon that Foundation he would endeavour to preſerve Union between the Chriſtian Princes. The Embaſſador of *Savoy* not being ſatisfy'd with this general Anſwer, reply'd, That if his Holineſs adjudg'd the Marquiſate to the Duke, he might diſpoſe of it in favour of one of his Nephews, or of ſome of his other Relations. This ſo offended the Pope, who thereby judg'd that the Duke of *Savoy* thought him capable of being corrupted, that he declar'd, That from that very Moment he was no longer Arbitrator, nor would be any farther concern'd in the Matter, ſince he was thought partial and intereſſed. *Sillery*'s Addreſs had a good Effect, and occaſion'd the Duke to commit a Fault groſs enough, for a Prince who had a great deal of Wit, and who was willing to know that he had it.

Coſmus and his Miniſter made uſe of very lawful Means to oblige the King of *Spain* to withdraw his Garriſon from *Siena*. *Philip* could not pretend to keep that Town, as well becauſe it was of no Utility to him, as becauſe he could not enlarge his Dominions that way without giving a Jealouſy to all the reſt of *Italy*. *Coſmus* had contributed very much to the Reduction of the Town, and had lent conſiderable Sums of Money to *Philip*, as I ſaid before. It was not Cardinal *Bichi*'s Intention to deceive the Pope, when he adviſ'd him to let the Biſhop of *Lamego* come to *Rome*; and *Sillery* only prevented the Duke of *Savoy*'s Artifices. Theſe are Strokes of Dexterity that are allow'd, and even neceſſary to the Embaſſador.

The two following Examples are taken from the Negotiation of a Miniſter, whoſe Probity and Ability were without Reproach. His publick Employment under *Henry* IV, began from an Order that was given him to penetrate into the Pope's Sentiments, as well in reference to the Abſolution which the King had reſolv'd to ſue for, as concerning the Conditions under which he might have the ſame. The Letters which were written to him on this Subject, paſs'd through the Hands of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who recommended to him the Secret thereof, as of a Thing on which depended the whole Succeſs of the Affair. The Pope and Cardinal *Aldobrandin* told him as much, ſo that he ſpoke to no Body of the Diſpatches he had receiv'd. But Cardinal *de Gondy* having written to two Perſons of Quality, and very well affected to *France*, that ſuch Orders had been ſent to *Doſſat*, and even that the Letters made mention of the Conditions of the Abſolution, of all which he had taken no notice neither to the Pope, nor to the *Cardinal Patron*, becauſe he had receiv'd no Orders for that purpoſe, *Doſſat* found himſelf in ſo much the greater Perplexities, becauſe theſe two Gentlemen were for ſpeaking both to the one and the other of it. A Miniſter leſs prudent and leſs able had not known what to do. He had kept the Secret very religiouſly, even to the uſing Violence to his own Judgment, in perſiſting to deny that he had receiv'd the Letters, of which Cardinal *de Gondy* made mention in his. But what gave him the greateſt Uneaſineſs was, the Fear he had that the Pope and his Miniſter ſhould take a Handle from thence to doubt of his Sincerity; becauſe when they learnt from other Hands thoſe Things which he had not imparted to them, they might either think him double, by reaſon of his diſguiſing the King's real Sentiments to them; or elſe Coward enough not to dare to execute the Orders he had receiv'd. To ſhew that he was neither the one nor the other, and that together with his Sincerity and Courage, he had Dexterity and Prudence enough to get out of ſo intricate an Affair, he went to Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, and told him, That being oblig'd to keep the Secret, to the King his Maſter, to the Pope and to himſelf, who was firſt Miniſter to his Holineſs, to whom he had promis'd it, he found himſelf reduc'd to the Neceſſity of going beyond the King's Commands, and to communicate to him ſome Particulars of his Diſpatches to clear himſelf of the Suſpicion which

which might be otherwiſe had of his Sincerity. That were it not for this he would not take the Liberty to ſpeak without Orders, of thoſe Things which he had been written to about, but only to know his own particular Sentiments, and of which he could not have diſcours'd with his Holineſs, without being wanting in ſome meaſure to the Reſpect that he ow'd him. After that he enlarg'd very much on the Doubts the Court of *France* had, that the Court of *Rome* intended to tack to the Affair of the Abſolution certain Conditions, which neither the King nor the Kingdom could accept of. *Doſſat*'s Diſcourſe was very well receiv'd; he div'd into the Pope's Intentions, and carry'd off from his Conference the Satisfaction he had reaſon to promiſe himſelf from his Prudence.

It was moreover apprehended in *France*, and not without Cauſe, that the Pope, when he gave his Abſolution, would annull that which the Prelates of *France* had given the King at St. *Denis*. *Doſſat* fear'd it likewiſe, and very much diſtruſted the Intentions of the Court of *Rome* in that reſpect: He therefore gives the King ſeveral Precautions which might be taken againſt the Artifices of thoſe People. I ſhall here ſet down only two of them, which denote a refin'd Prudence. The one relates to the Terms of the Act of Abſolution, and the other to the Procuration the King's Miniſters were to bring to *Rome*. As to the firſt, he ſays, That the King's Sollicitors, after having debated all the Words of the Abſolution, might carry it away, ſuch as it was given them; and that after ſome Time the Attorney General might provide in Parliament againſt the prejudicial Clauſes the Court of *Rome* ſhould have ſlipt into the Bull; or elſe make the States of the Kingdom interpoſe to have them taken out. *Doſſat* adds, that this Expedient is not according to his Humour; but that in Affairs of this Nature there is ſometimes a Neceſſity to make uſe of worſe Means than this. He likewiſe ſays, in reference to the Procuration, That the King may cauſe the Abſolution to be ask'd for, pure and ſimple; ſo that no Prejudice could be drawn from thence againſt the firſt Abſolution: and to the End the Court of *Rome* might take no Advantage of thoſe general Terms, the King might explain his Intention by a ſecret Act, which he ſhould paſs before his Embaſſadors ſet out. But foraſmuch as this manner of acting is not very natural to *Doſſat*, he ſays, That it is not without ſome Confuſion that he mentions this Act, becauſe he knows that the King's Magnanimity and Generoſity will not without Difficulty conſent thereto: but when one has to do with People who deal in nothing but Artifices, there is a Neceſſity to make uſe of other Artifices to deſtroy theirs; as one may make uſe of offenſive Arms, and even kill with Impunity, while one remains within the Bounds of a lawful and neceſſary Defence; ſo in caſe of Neceſſity one may employ Means which would not be allowable nor lawful without that.

It is a Stroke of the moſt refin'd Prudence, to make it be believ'd that one neglects thoſe Things which one moſt deſires; that one looks upon them with Indifferency, and that even one has ſome Averſion for them. If I might be allow'd to make uſe of the familiar Compariſon of the Rowers, who turn their Backs to the Place they deſign to land at, I think it may be very well apply'd here. Cardinal *Mazarin* help'd himſelf wonderfully by this Artifice, and he gave an excellent Proof thereof, at the Congreſs of the *Pyrenees*. In the Treaty *Pimentel* had adjuſted at *Paris* with *Lionne*, the Intereſts of the Prince of *Condé* had alſo been regulated; and it was agreed to that he ſhould return to *France*, and ſhould be repoſſeſs'd of his Eſtate, but not of his Employments and Governments. *Don Lewis de Haro* had given his Word to the Prince, that he would procure him both the ones and the others; and the Negotiation *Lionne* had carry'd on ſome Years before at *Madrid* was broke off, but on account of this Difficulty. When the two Miniſters met upon the Frontiers, to put the laſt Hand to the Treaty, and to concert the Execution of what had been reſolv'd on at *Paris*, *Don Lewis* made again freſh Inſtances for the entire Reſtoration of the Prince. The *Cardinal expreſs'd ſuch a Reluctancy to that*, that *D. Lewis* told him, in the Heat of the Debate, that the King his Maſter would ratify without any Difficulty what *Pimentel* had agreed to; but at the ſame Time his Majeſty could not be hinder'd from rewarding the Prince, by giving him ſome Places in Sovereignty on the Frontiers of the Kingdom and of the *Low Countries*. This Reply amaz'd and perplex'd the Cardinal: He conſider'd that the Prince, who was to return to *France* by virtue of the Treaty, could not live there in a private Capacity: That the Government of *Burgundy*, which he had before that of *Guyenne* was given him, was no great matter: That his Place of Great-Maſter did not make him more conſiderable than his Quality of firſt Prince of the Blood: That by reſtoring him to his Places and Dignities he was more ſtrongly link'd to the King's Service; and that if he reſum'd them by his Mediation, he, the Prince, would be oblig'd to him, and become his Friend; for which Reaſons *he paſſionately deſir'd to do him this good Office:* But that he might draw from thence ſome Advantage to the King, *He proteſted he would never conſent thereto, and expreſs'd an utter Averſion to all the Overtures ſhould be made him on that Subject.* This manner of acting was ſo natural to Cardinal *Mazarin*, that he had no Difficulty to perſuade the firſt Miniſter of *Spain*, that to diſingage his Word which he had given the Prince of *Condé*, it ſhould coſt the King his Maſter ſomething; as in effect it did, for to obtain a Reſtoration, which no way incommoded *France*, and which the Cardinal deſir'd at leaſt as much as *Don Lewis*, this laſt yielded up ſome other Places, which cover'd the new Conqueſts. I cannot tell whether one might not ſay that it coſt the King of *France* at leaſt as much, who had declar'd, He had rather be without the Peace and Marriage, than ſuffer the *Spaniards* to have the Advantage of reſtoring the Prince of *Condé:* yet nevertheleſs they had it, and thereby were too many for the Cardinal's refin'd Policy. If this Miniſter had negotiated the private Intereſt of the Prince with the Prince himſelf, he had thereby gain'd the Friendſhip of ſo great a Subject, and had procur'd the King an Advantage incomparably greater than that which he receiv'd from the Acqui-

Acquiſition of two or three ſorry Places, which his Arms would have reduc'd in the Year 1667, without the leaſt Reſiſtance.

Prudence has that in common with all other Virtues, that there is no ſeparating from it ever ſo little, without ſtriking into Vice, and making it dwindle into Timidity, or degenerate into *Cunning*, and even into *Roguery*. In the beginning of the Year 1573, King *Charles* IX. ſent into *England Albert de Gondy*, Count *de Retz*. He was an ingenious *Florentine*, who, under the Pretext of getting the Treaty confirm'd, which had been concluded at *Blois* the Year before, had Orders to juſtify what had paſs'd at the Maſſacre of St. *Bartlemy*. He found Queen *Elizabeth* at *Canterbury*, where the Birth-Day of that Princeſs was to be celebrated by the Archbiſhop of the Place, who gave her a magnificent Entertainment. The *French* Embaſſador, who was invited to it, found an Opportunity to put the Queen upon the Diſcourſe of that horrible Day, and had the Art to give ſo admirable a Turn to that inhuman Action (the Cauſe whereof he caſt upon thoſe of the Religion) that the Queen remain'd in a manner convinc'd of what he ſaid; or at leaſt ſhe was willing to make it be believ'd ſhe was, that ſhe might thereby have a Pretext not to ſuccour the *French* Proteſtants, of whom ſhe was not very well ſatisfy'd. This Action of *Charles* IX. could not be juſtify'd, and a Man of Honour would not have undertook to do it. What the Pope *Clement* VIII. ſays thereof to Cardinal *Doſſat*, makes it appear to be the baſeſt Treaſon that ever was heard of.

In the Year 1583, the Duke *de Joyeuſe*, one of *Henry* III's Favourites, having a Deſign to procure to himſelf a Settlement ſuitable to his Fortune, caſt his Eye upon the Government of *Languedoc*, and not being able to prevail with the Duke *de Montmorancy* to part with it, he try'd to diſpoſſeſs him of it by indirect Means, by making the Pope believe that that Nobleman was a Friend and Partizan of the King of *Navarre*, and of the Prince of *Condé*, who were Enemies to the Roman Catholick Religion. The King, and Queen-Mother, who did not love the Houſe of *Montmorancy*, and who had a Mind the Duke *de Joyeuſe* ſhould appear in *Italy* with diſtinguiſhing Marks of Favour, ſeconded his Deſigns, and gave him Letters of Recommendation to the Pope, and to all the other Potentates in thoſe Parts. The Duke ſpeaking to the Pope, told him, That the King his Maſter's Thoughts were wholly intent upon the Preſervation of the Catholick Religion, and the Authority of the Holy See; but *that his good Intentions were always croſs'd or eluded, and that chiefly by the Duke of* Montmorancy, *who ſuffer'd the Hugonot Religion to ſettle it ſelf in his Government, with more Liberty than at* Geneva: That the King had for a long time been thinking how he ought to expreſs his Reſentment, but would not come to any Reſolution without the Pope's Participation, and without taking his Advice, in Reference to the Conduct he ought to obſerve therein. The Pope, who had had Advice of the Subject of the Embaſſy, and of the Intention of the Embaſſador, told him, after ſome Words of Civility, That he believ'd the King had not been rightly inform'd about the Duke of *Montmorancy*: That he was not to be impos'd upon, who had a perfect Knowledge of the Duke's Piety, and Proofs of his Zeal. Inſomuch that he would joyn his Prayers to thoſe of all Perſons of Worth, that the King, by continuing to honour the Duke with the Affection his Services and thoſe of his Predeceſſors deſerv'd, might not reduce him to the Neceſſity of caſting himſelf into the Arms of the Enemies of Religion, and there to ſeek his Safety. The Pope ſaid ſo much to *Joyeuſe*, that that young Nobleman, ſeeing the Court of *Rome* had not the ſame Conſideration for him, nor the ſame Sentiments as that of *France* had, remain'd without Reply, and retir'd with Confuſion. He had the Quality of Embaſſador; but the Subject of his Embaſſy was not very honourable, nor his manner of acting very prudent.

D'Avaux and *Servien* were, without doubt, very great Miniſters, who, in the whole Courſe of the Negotiation of *Munſter*, gave every Day freſh Proofs of their Sufficiency; but they one Day bethought themſelves of an Artifice, wherein there was at leaſt as much Cunning and Subtilty as Prudence. They had written Circular Letters to all the Princes, and all the States of *Germany*, to deſire them to ſend their Deputies to the Aſſembly, that they might there deliberate with them on the Means that might reſtore them to their ancient Dignity and Liberty. After ſome of the Deputies were arriv'd at *Munſter*, an odd Thought enough came into the Heads of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who imagin'd they ſhould ſhew a fine Stroke of State Policy, if they declar'd that the King their Maſter, to give the Princes of *Germany* an illuſtrious Mark of his Diſintereſtedneſs, and of his Royal Benevolence, offer'd to withdraw all the Troops he had in the Empire, if the Emperor on his Side would grant a general Amneſty, and conſent that Affairs ſhould be put in the ſame State they were in, in the Year 1618, and that Means ſhould be agreed upon for the Security of the Execution, and Duration of the Peace. They ſuppos'd they hazarded nothing, becauſe they were well aſſur'd that the Emperor and Duke of *Bavaria* would never conſent thereto; that nevertheleſs, by theſe ſpecious Offers they ſhould procure to the King their Maſter the Affection of the Princes of *Germany*, and by making him Guarantee for the Execution of the Treaty, make him Arbitrator of the Affairs of the Empire. However as the *Swedes* were very much concern'd therein, ſince this Propoſition ſent them back to the other ſide of the *Baltick*, the *French* Miniſters judg'd, that they ought not to proceed without the Participation of their Allies, nor indeed without the Advice of their Court. But the Cardinal, who had his particular Views, and was at leaſt as refin'd as themſelves, repreſented to them, That theſe Offers could not be made without offending the Duke of *Bavaria*, and without unlinking him quite from the King's Intereſt; becauſe they depriv'd him of the Electoral Dignity, of the *Upper Palatinate*, and of all the Advantages he had acquir'd during the War: That the ſaid Offers would be ſuſpected, and appear ridiculous, even to thoſe who would hardly believe that *France* would be ſo complaiſant as to reſtore *Briſac*, and all the other Places of *Germany*; and who knew that

that *Pomerania* was offer'd to the *Swede*, with with ſome Maritim Towns, beſides a good Sum of Money: That he was indeed of Opinion the Emperor would not approve of it, but however he believ'd that the Council of *Vienna* would be artificial enough to give out that he accepted the Condition, on purpoſe to put the *French* upon a Neceſſity of contradicting themſelves, or elſe to make ſome foul Step, which would blacken their Intentions, and ſully their whole Conduct. He thereunto added many other Reaſons, which plainly diſcover'd the Vanity of this Artifice, which would be ſo far from perſuading the World of any Inclination *France* ſaid ſhe had for a Peace, that it would convince 'em of quite the contrary. *Doſſat*, at his firſt Entrance on the Negotiation of the Affairs of *France*, not being able to demand Audience of the Pope without giving ſome Umbrage to the *Spaniards*, deſir'd it as if he had Occaſion to ſpeak to the Pope on the Part of the Queen *Dowager* of *France*, who had given him in Charge the Solicitation of the Honours ſhe had a Mind to pay to the Memory of the deceas'd King. When he was at the Pope's Feet, he told him, He had made uſe of this Pretext, that under the Colour thereof he might have Acceſs to his Holineſs, without any wiſe alarming the *Spaniards*; but that he had Orders from the King to ſpeak to him about his Concerns. However, that he might not paſs for an Impoſtor in the Pope's Thoughts, and even in the King's, he told him, That he had really receiv'd, within four Days, the Queen's Commands to make freſh Inſtances; ſo that what he had caus'd to be ſaid to his Holineſs was true; as it would be alſo, when he ſhould ſay at his going from his Audience, That he had ſpoke to him of the Queen's Buſineſs. There are but few Miniſters, at this Day, that would make that Scruple.

There is a Species of Addreſs, that is rather Roguery than either Cunning or Artifice. In the Year 1662, the Count *d'Ognate*, Embaſſador of *Spain* at *Rome*, when he did Homage for the Kingdom of *Naples* on St. *Peter*'s Eve, preſented indeed the *Spaniſh Gennet*, but the ſeven thouſand Crowns, which ought to have accompany'd it, were not ready. The Treaſurer of the Apoſtolick Chamber acquainted the Pope therewith; and moreover ſaid, That the Embaſſador had aſſur'd him that nothing was wanting to the Bill of Exchange but the ſigning, but that he would ſign it, and the Money ſhould be forthwith paid; in the mean time he humbly intreated the Pope to accept of the *Spaniſh Gennet*, without Prejudice to his Rights. The Embaſſador's Intention was to gain thereby a Title, which ſhould free the Kingdom of *Naples* from that annual Tribute. But the Pope made Anſwer, That he would not do that Wrong to the Apoſtolical Chamber, and that the Embaſſador ſhould pay the ſeven thouſand Crowns immediately, or elſe he might take away the *Spaniſh Gennet*; and that he would not receive the Homage without the Money: That the Banker *Saccheti*, who was there preſent, ſhould take upon him to pay the Money, not in Conſideration of the Pope, but ſhould take the Embaſſador's Security; without which, he would do nothing in it. The Embaſſador, who thought to bubble the Pope, procur'd to himſelf a great Affront, being forc'd to make uſe of the Credit of a Banker to get out of an unlucky Buſineſs, wherein a Miniſter, more prudent and leſs cunning, would have been far from engaging himſelf.

From theſe little Tricks and Knaveries, which one endeavours to palm upon the World for Gallantries, one eaſily paſſes to groſſer Impoſtures, which are unworthy of a Miniſter who has ever ſo little Honour and Reputation to husband. For if the Embaſſador is unhappy enough to loſe that, and to paſs once for an Impoſtor or a Lyar, he can no longer either negotiate or appear; becauſe he has thereby loſt all Confidence and Credit, which is the Foundation of all the Commerce that paſſes among Men, of what Nature ſoever it may be. Where there are perpetual Diſtruſts, there is a Deſign to deceive, or an Apprehenſion of being deceiv'd; ſo that it is impoſſible to be ſucceſsful in a Negotiation where they have any Share. For whether the Embaſſador follows therein his Prince's Orders, or acts in Conformity to his own Humour and Genius, it is impoſſible but he muſt be ſuſpected and thereby become incapable of negotiating. The Embaſſador is not oblig'd to diſcover all his Thoughts, and he is allow'd, or rather under a Neceſſity, to diſguiſe them ſometimes; but I don't know whether he be allow'd, on any Occaſion whatever, to act contrary to the Principles of Honour; that is to ſay, whether he can deſtroy the Truth by a Lye. *Philip de Commines* being Embaſſador from *France* at *Venice*, and obſerving Couriers continually going and coming, had no great Difficulty to gueſs that there were Intrigues on Foot againſt King *Charles* VIII, his Maſter. For his better Information he endeavour'd to make ſome Diſcovery by the Means of the Embaſſadors of the Duke of *Milan*, who was *Charles*'s Ally. Theſe Gentlemen were not contented to counterfeit the Ignorants, and to ſignify to *Commines*, That they were not leſs ſurpriz'd than he was, at the Goings and Comings of ſo many Embaſſadors; but they even ask'd him, What the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador had to do at *Venice*, tho' they knew he had paſs'd through *Milan*, and that he had there conferr'd with the Duke. At laſt, finding themſelves preſs'd to tell what they knew of the Negotiation which was carry'd on at *Venice*, becauſe *Commines* declar'd to them, That he would acquaint the King his Maſter with what paſs'd there, *They proteſted, with a great many Oaths, that there was nothing negotiating againſt the King's Intereſt. Commines* ſays *they ly'd*; that is to ſay, that they were guilty of an infamous Action, unworthy of a Miniſter or an honeſt Man.

Cardinal *d'Amboiſe* coming to the Emperor *Maximilian* I. at *Trent*, in the Year 1509, it was put into Debate what ſhould be done with the Republick of *Venice*. The Cardinal was for having it deſtroy'd utterly. It was not the Opinion of *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who had given Orders to *James de Conchillos*, Biſhop of *Catania*, his Embaſſador, to propoſe to the Emperor an Accommodation with the Pope, and with the Republick, in Order to ſtop the Progreſs of *Lewis* XII's Arms, who had already made great Conqueſts in *Italy*, before the other Allies had put themſelves in a Condition to execute the Treaty of

Cambray; excepting the Pope, who had taken ſome Places in *Romania*. This Embaſſador who had his Orders, who knew the Intentions of the King his Maſter, and who was very reſolv'd to follow them, was nevertheleſs of the Cardinal's Opinion; with a Deſign to deceive him, and to keep from him the true Sentiments of the Catholick King, who betray'd the King of *France*. He knew he could do no Prejudice to his Maſter, becauſe he was aſſur'd that the Pope would never conſent to the Ruin of the Republick: but that did not hinder there being in his Procedure an Inſincerity unworthy of an honeſt Man.

The ſame *Commines*, ſpeaking of himſelf, ſays, That while he was yet in the Service of the Duke of *Burgundy*, he was ſent to *Calais*, where he found that *Vanclerc* Governor of the Place, and all the *Engliſh* Officers had taken the Earl of *Warwick*'s Device, which was a black Staff: That they made this open Declaration, becauſe they had been aſſur'd that King *Edward* IV. had been kill'd in the Battel he had given the Earl. *Commines* adds, *That he told them this News was true, altho' he knew the contrary, and that he was ſure* Edward *was in* Holland. He had no Difficulty to cauſe what he ſaid to be believ'd, becauſe every Body knew that the firſt News the Duke of *Burgundy* had receiv'd of the Defeat of *Edward*, had been accompany'd with that of his Death. But I cannot tell whether his Procedure can be juſtify'd. The Embaſſador may and ought to diſſemble: and inſtead of being oblig'd to tell all, his Silence makes a part of his Fidelity. He may conceal a Truth that would be prejudicial to his Maſter's Service; but I ſhould think a Lye can never be juſtify'd.

In the Year 1646, the Embaſſador of *Spain*, who was at *Venice* at that time, having procur'd Audience in the College, on the Account of the Deſcent the *French* had made on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*, and of the Paſſage the Republick of *Genoa* gave to their Troops, ſays, That now was come to paſs what he had foretold long before, concerning the Intention of the *French*: That they had no other, than to weaken the Forces of the Princes of *Italy*, thereby to put them out of a Condition to oppoſe thoſe of the *Grand Seignior, with whom they had reſolv'd upon the War of* Candia. So groſs and imprudent a Falſity ſtrips the Embaſſador at once of all his Credit, and all his Reputation. *Doſſat*, who utters nothing but Oracles for thoſe who have the Management of Affairs, or pretend to be concern'd therein, ſays, in the Letter he writes to the King on the 23d of *December* 1594, That after the Promiſe he had made to the Pope and to Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, to ſpeak to no body of the Diſpatch he had receiv'd from the King, he had thought himſelf oblig'd to be as good as his Word; thereby to give them Reaſon to believe he would never deceive them: That he was ſecret and true: That for the time to come they might ſpeak to him with the ſame Confidence and Aſſurance they had done. And in fact, it is impoſſible that the Embaſſador ſhould acquire the leaſt Credit or Belief in the Court where he negotiates, if he wants either of theſe two Qualities. I know very well *that all Men are Lyars:* and that *Doſſat*, who with the Qualities of an able Miniſter, had alſo that of a Man of Honour, ſays in his Letter of the 4th of *January* 1595, that he had firmly deny'd to *Lomelin* and to *Dalbene* to have receiv'd the Diſpatch, the Contents whereof he had communicated to the Pope: which ſeems not to be very ſuitable to the prudent Man, of which he made Profeſſion, and of which he gives ſo many Tokens in the whole Courſe of his Negotiation. But I am not afraid to ſay, That in that he did not injure his Reputation: And I dare add, without acting the Caſuiſt, That we muſt diſtinguiſh firſt between the Habit and the Action. Secondly, It is one thing to deny a Truth, and another to tell a Lye. In the third Place we muſt conſider, That *Doſſat* in diſguiſing the Truth offended no body: And finally, That he muſt either have been unfaithful to the King his Maſter, and not have kept his Word; or muſt not have told the Truth: which is not lying, except it be in a Signification improper enough.

There are Embaſſadors who think themſelves very prudent, and that they do an important Service to their Prince in ſpreading falſe Rumours; imagining thereby to get a great Advantage over their Enemies. *D. Bernardin de Mendoſſe*, Embaſſador of *Spain*, came to the very *Louvre* to aſſure the King, that that formidable Fleet of the Year 1588, had made a Deſcent in *England*; that the whole Kingdom was up in Arms againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, and that the Conqueſt of the whole Iſland was certain. A *Spaniſh* Religious, preaching at *Milan* in the Preſence of the Governor and the Magiſtracy, told it as Goſpel; and yet every body knew the contrary. There are others who do not ſcruple to give out Letters, which they pretend to have been intercepted, to leſſen the Circumſtances, and diſparage the Conduct of thoſe whoſe Proſperity is troubleſome to them. During the *Barberin*'s War, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador diſpers'd a Letter in *Venice*, wherein Cardinal *Mazarin* exhorted Cardinal *Bichi* to act with Addreſs in his Negotiation, and to precipitate nothing; to the End, that the Princes of *Italy* conſuming and devouring one another, *France* might gain its Point. Theſe Letters were ſent to all the Courts of *Europe*, but the Roguery was ſoon diſcover'd; becauſe it was not the Intereſt of *France* to protract the War in *Italy*, where ſhe would have been oblig'd to have taken a Side, and to have employ'd ſome part of her Troops. *Le Brun*, Embaſſador of *Spain* at *Munſter*, proceeded there with greater Dexterity, but with as little Succeſs. He knew the *French* Plenipotentiaries were not ſatisfy'd with thoſe of *Sweden*, and that they would not fail to expreſs it in their firſt Diſpatches to Court; wherefore he found the Means to get one of them, which ſpake in very high Terms of the Humour and Procedure of *Oxenſtiern*, and of the Chancellor his Father. *Le Brun* thought he ought to aggravate what the Letter ſaid; for which Reaſon he alter'd ſome Paſſages thereof: ſo that it was not only capable of offending extremely thoſe two Miniſters, but alſo of ſetting the two Crowns in Alliance, at variance. He did too much; and gave by that Means a great Advantage to the *French*, who being eaſily able to diſcover what was falſe therein, had no Difficulty to render all the reſt ſuſpected;

ſuſpected; and to make it be believ'd it was all impoſture.

At the beginning of the War with which *Chriſtendom* is ſtill afflicted, a Miniſter of the Court of *Vienna* contriv'd a very ſcandalous Writing, under the Title of a Diſcourſe, which the Commander *de Gremonville*, the *French* Miniſter, had made to the Emperor's Council againſt the State of the United Provinces. But it was ſoon found to be nothing but a very groſs Piece of Roguery; and that it was the Work of a Man, all whoſe Products ſhew'd a great deal of Wit, and Knowledge enough, but very little Judgement and Conduct. The Embaſſador ought to ſeek his Maſter's Glory and Advantage on all Occaſions. He may magnify the Succeſs of his Arms, conceal and diſſemble his Loſſes and Diſgraces; but he cannot forge nor contrive falſe Pieces, without diſhonouring his Character. A publick Miniſter ought to deteſt ſuch Impoſtures, and criminal Artifices; and he ought to be above thoſe little Cunnings and Duplicities, which are only the Products of a weak and ill turn'd Mind.

Towards the End of the laſt Century *Sigiſmund Battory*, not being able to maintain himſelf in the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, reſign'd it to Cardinal *Andrew Battory* his Relation. The Emperor *Rodolphus*, who had a Mind to annex this Province to his Kingdom of *Hungary*, made uſe of *Michael*, Lord of *Walachia*, to hinder him from taking poſſeſſion thereof. The Cardinal on his ſide employ'd the Pope's Nuncio, to endeavour to perſuade *Michael* not to intermeddle in this War. The Nuncio to ſucceed therein, *told* Michael *that he had an Order from the Emperor, wherein he deſir'd the Cardinal might not be diſturb'd in his Poſſeſſion. Michael* having deſir'd to ſee the Order, the Nuncio told him, he had left it in the Cardinal's Hands; that he would go and fetch it in a few Days, and that at the ſame time he would diſpoſe the Cardinal to come to an Accommodation with the Emperor. The Nuncio's ill Luck would have it, that *Michael* receiv'd an Order, by which the Emperor commanded him to drive out the Cardinal; ſo that he was preparing to give him Battel. The Nuncio oppos'd him again, and going into all the Quarters of the Army, and repreſenting to the Officers the Horror of the Effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian Blood, endeavour'd to hinder them from conſenting to a Battel: But *Michael*, to remove from before his Eyes an Object that hinder'd him from executing the Emperor's Orders, gently ſeiz'd the Perſon of the Nuncio, had him led to his Quarters, and commanded his Son to guard him during the Fight, which was fatal to the Cardinal. The Nuncio ly'd againſt his Honour: and withall took a Side contrary to his Inſtructions: He was diſavow'd for his Pains, and relegated to his Biſhoprick.

The Prudence of an Embaſſador conſiſts chiefly in knowing how to elude the cunning Strokes of others, and to avoid the Snares that are prepar'd for him: That is to ſay, to hinder his being deceiv'd and impos'd upon. He is not always deceiv'd, tho' he be deceiv'd in effect. He is not deceiv'd, when diſcovering the Artifice of the Impoſtor, he gives him to underſtand, that Violence may be offer'd to him, but that his Ability is not to be ſurpris'd. *Corvitz Ulefeld*, Great-Maſter of *Denmark*, being oblig'd to make his Eſcape, found his Safety at *Stockholm*, in the powerful Protection of Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*, who receiv'd and careſs'd all Strangers, and was very liable to beſtow her Eſteem on the laſt Comer. She did not make a Myſtery of it to the *Daniſh* Embaſſador, who was extremely ſcandaliz'd thereat; but one Day ſhe bethought her ſelf of ſending the Maſter of the Ceremonies to the ſaid Embaſſador, and to ſignify to him, That ſhe had effectually found out, that *Ulefeld* was an ill Man and a Raſcal, unworthy of her Protection: That ſhe was reſolv'd to withdraw it, and to declare it to him herſelf in the Embaſſador's Preſence, if he would come to Court the next Day. *The Embaſſador ſeem'd to be very much ſurpriz'd at a Diſcourſe ſo different from that the Queen had held to him ſome Days before; and did not diſſemble to the Maſter of the Ceremonies, the Diſtruſt he had of the Queen's Intention*; however he told him, That he would not fail to be at the Caſtle, becauſe he aſſur'd himſelf that the Queen's Intentions were ſincere, and that ſhe would not ſuffer *Ulefeld* to juſtify himſelf, nor to ſay any thing againſt the Honour and Reputation of the King his Maſter. On the ſame Day he receiv'd Advice that the Queen had been at *Ulefeld*'s Lodgings, had taken him in her Coach, and carry'd him to take the Air: he therefore ſent for the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and made the ſame Proteſtations to him which he had already made, that he would not ſuffer *Ulefeld* to do any thing to the Prejudice of the King his Maſter. He told him likewiſe the Grounds he had to diſtruſt the Queen's Intention. Neverthleſs upon the freſh Aſſurances the Maſter of the Ceremonies gave him, he went the next Day to the Caſtle; but he was hardly got into the Queen's Chamber, when ſhe ſent for *Ulefeld*, to whom ſhe gave leave to juſtify himſelf, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Embaſſador; who not being able to get out of the Room, becauſe he was hinder'd by ſome Noblemen who guarded the Door, he went to a Window, and there fell a raving till *Ulefeld* had made an end of reading a Paper. Afterwards he went out and retir'd to his Lodgings, without ſaying one word of the Cauſe of the Aſſembly; but he complain'd loudly to ſome of the Senators of the Queen's Procedure. She did not deceive him, becauſe he diſtruſted her. One is deceiv'd and cheated, but when one believes one is not. Prudence, how conſummate ſoever it may be, cannot warrant us from Treachery; but he that publiſh'd this Hiſtory did not very much oblige this great Princeſs. There is no Occaſion for a great deal of Wit and Refinedneſs for ſo groſs an Artifice.

What the Diſpatches of the *French* Plenipotentiaries ſay, of the ſhameful Artifices with which the Miniſters of the United Provinces cover'd the Intrigues they carry'd on with thoſe of *Spain* at *Munſter*, is ſo ſcandalous, that I wonder that hitherto no body has undertook to juſtify their Procedure, to vindicate the Honour of the State. A modern Author ſpeaks of 'em in theſe Terms. *Whatever Warmth might be remark'd in the Conduct of the* French *Plenipotentiaries, might be excus'd, if after all*

the Lenitives they had employ'd ſtrong Medicines, with People who were reſolv'd to conclude at any rate, and who, not remembring the Obligations they had to France, *nor the Treaties which ought to have hinder'd them from thinking of a ſeparate Treaty, carry'd themſelves ſo diſobligingly to her. If on the contrary, they might by more ſafe and honourable Means obtain, with the general Applauſe of the whole World, all their Pretenſions, they ought not, by indirect and uncertain Ways, draw upon themſelves the Averſion and Deteſtation of all honeſt People; by leaving with ſo ill a Grace a Friendſhip and Alliance, which was ſo much for their Purpoſe, and even neceſſary to them. If while they thirſted after Repoſe, they judg'd that the firſt Miniſter of* France *oppos'd it; and if they believ'd in fine, that the prodigious Greatneſs of that Crown was a Misfortune to them, they might have found their Account after a more honourable Way, without having Recourſe to a kind of Felony and Perjury, and without giving to the Univerſe ſo ill an Opinion of their Duplicity. With what Horror will Poſterity read in Hiſtory, the Infamy with which theſe People, their Miniſters, their Deputies and the Chief of their State, ly'd and took falſe Oathes every Moment, and committed Treacheries every time the* French *Miniſters claim'd the Execution of the Treaties they had made with the King?* It is true that the Plenipotentiaries who were on the part of the United Provinces at *Munſter*, did themſelves a great deal of Wrong on many Occaſions, where they made very ſolemn Proteſtations of the Sincerity of their Intention, tho' their Actions gave them openly the Lye. Whatever Treaties the States might have with *France*, they were not oblig'd to make them Inſtruments of the Ruin of their Republick: but they might have got off of their Engagement, by following the Example of *Henry* IV, who having a Mind to treat with *Spain*, ſignify'd to the Queen of *England*, and the United Provinces, his Allies, that the State of his Affairs did not permit him to continue the War. That Prince who would have his Ally ruin himſelf for his ſake, would be unjuſt; and he that ſhould ruin his Subjects for the ſake of his Allies, would not be leſs ſo.

One of the things the Embaſſador ought to be moſt cautious of in his Negotiation, *is not to be miſtaken.* I mean, that he muſt not ſuffer himſelf to be amus'd in the Conferences he has with the Miniſters, or at the Audiences the Prince gives him. All the Civilities, all the Careſſes, all the Digreſſions that baffle and elude his Inſtances; all the ſham Puts-off, all the Proteſtations, and with much more Reaſon, all the ambiguous Anſwers, ought to be ſuſpected by him: Nay he ought to look upon all Entertainments and Diverſions, as ſo many Obſtacles that are oppos'd to the Execution of his Orders. *Whitlock*, who was Embaſſador from *England* in *Sweden* in the Year 1653, complain'd to every body, that in his Audiences the Queen ſpoke to him of nothing but Philoſophy, and entertain'd him with nothing but her Balls and her Diverſions, and that ſhe never ſaid to him neither Yes nor No. The Duke of *Guiſe* ſays in his Memoirs, That Tears coſt Pope *Innocent* X. nothing, and ſpeaks of him as of a Man that acted very well all kinds of Perſonages. Cardinal *Mazarin*, who knew him perfectly well, recommended conſtantly to the Abbot *de St. Nicolas*, afterwards Biſhop of *Angers*, who ſolicited the King's Affairs at *Rome*, *Not to ſuffer himſelf to be deceiv'd: to put up his Tranſports, and to applaud the Diſcourſes, the Flatteries and Proteſtations of the Pope: but to take in payment nothing but Effects, to purſue his Point, and not to leave him till he had explain'd himſelf, and had got a categorical Anſwer from him.* If it was ever neceſſary for an Embaſſador to take theſe Meaſures, it was with the ſaid Cardinal *Mazarin*. He did not give Audience to foreign Miniſters till they had ask'd it ſeveral times, and till he ſaw, as one may ſay, the Doors of his Appartment forc'd: And when he admitted them, inſtead of giving them Audience he began to ſpeak firſt; and did not leave off entertaining them with indifferent things, to gain time, and to deprive the Miniſter of the Leiſure and Means to do their Maſter's Buſineſs. He would take a Turn round *Europe*, and relate all ſorts of News; ſhewing a great deal of Countrey to thoſe who would follow him: So that for the moſt part the Embaſſadors and Miniſters, had much ado to find a Moment to acquaint him with a very ſmall Part of their Affairs. He was beſides, the cloſeſt Man in the World. His Thoughts and his Intentions were impenetrable to his greateſt Confidents; neither was there any Certainty in his Word, nor in his Oaths how great ſoever they might be. This is what *Vittorio Siri* ſays of him: and I know part of it to be true by Experience.

In the Year 1646, the Abbot *Bentivoglio*, one of Cardinal *Mazarin*'s greateſt Confidents, after *Zongo Ondedei*, was ſent to ſome Princes in *Italy*, to prevail with them to enter into the King's Intereſts, while the Arms of *France* ſhould act upon the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*. He had Orders to do the ſame Offices with the Great Duke, who was the moſt wary and moſt reſerv'd Prince in the World; who told him, *That he requir'd ſome time to deliberate concerning the Propoſitions the Abbot had made him, and to reflect on the Advantages, he had told him the Princes of* Italy *would find in the Neighbourhood of the Arms of* France: *That if they were employ'd in the Kingdom of* Naples *or in* Sicily, *perhaps he might not meddle; but if they attack'd any Place on the Coaſt of* Tuſcany, *the Treaties he had with* Spain, *and the Obligation he had on the Account of the Town of* Siena, *would hinder him from explaining himſelf ſo ſoon concerning the Neutrality* France *ſolicited him for: That he had Lands in the Kingdom of* Naples, *and that the King of* Spain *ow'd him five Millions of Gold; which perplex'd him, and oblig'd him to think of him. The Abbot anſwer'd him, That he deſir'd his Reſolution, and not Words: That he did not know what the Naval Forces were to undertake: But he was willing to let him know, That in what Place ſoever it landed, they would treat as Enemies all thoſe who ſhould have directly or indirectly ſuccour'd the King's Enemies.*

I'll give an Inſtance of what I juſt ſaid concerning Entertainments and Diverſions. After the Death of *Henry* King of *Portugal*, the Pope *Gregory* XIII, ſent into *Spain* Cardinal *Riario*, in the Quality of Legate. The Count *de Saſtago*, Viceroy of *Arragon*, treated him ſo magnificently as ſoon as ever he enter'd into his Government, that the Cardinal intruſted him

him with the Secret of his Legation. The Pope's Intention was to make himself Judge, and to pronounce definitively concerning the Right of the Princes who pretended to the Crown of *Portugal*. The Count gave the King Advice thereof, who on his part gave Orders to make him a solemn Entry in all the Towns through which he pass'd, where they made such vast Preparations, so many Entertainments, so many Bull Fights, and gave so many other Diversions, that the King had the Leisure to enter into *Portugal*, and to push his Conquests before the Cardinal could come up with him.

In the Beginning of the Year 1660, two Embassadors of one of the Northern Crowns, being in *Holland*, to endeavour to prevail with the United Provinces to declare themselves in Favour of the King their Master, went to *Amsterdam*, in order to dispose the Magistrates of that Town to forward their Pretensions in the Assembly of the States of the Province. They were very well receiv'd; they were feasted, defray'd, carry'd to the Play-house, and entertain'd with several other Diversions; and as for the matter of their Negotiation, they were sent back with very general Assurances of the good Intention of the Magistrates: but they were but indifferently satisfy'd with the Treaty which was concluded afterwards, at the Instance of the Crowns of *France* and *England*, and with the Consent of the States. The Entertainments and Diversions were all the Embassadors got for the Fatigue of their Journey, and the King for the Honour he had done the Town to write to it.

There is another Vice very contrary to Prudence, and which nevertheless masks it self with it sometimes, *viz.* Timidity, when the Embassador has not the Assurance to execute the Orders he receives, and to deliver them with all the Vigour he owes to his Employment. This is properly speaking an infamous Cowardice, and unworthy of the Character. *I would not*, says *Dossat*, *have the Pope believe me Coward enough not to dare to carry him the King's Commands in the same Terms I receiv'd them.* And in Fact, the Minister who has so mean a Soul as not to follow the Orders which are given him, is so far from passing for prudent, that he does not deserve the Post with which he is honour'd. He says in another Place, I am preparing my self to execute the Commands your Majesty sends me by *M. du Perron*, in order to serve your Majesty under him with all the Powers of my Soul. In which Service, Fidelity, Integrity and Zeal shall never be wanting in me; nor (whatever Difficulty I may apprehend therein) Boldness neither. On the contrary, one cannot enough esteem the Generosity of those who speak with Freedom and Courage for the Interest and Dignity of their Master: of which we shall have occasion to speak in the following Chapter.

The Embassador mistakes, and may be said to run Riot, not only when he suffers himself to be amus'd, but also when he is disheartened and tires. Cardinal *Barberin* own'd, That it was one of the Secrets of his Ministry, as well as of the Government of the Pope his Uncle, to know how to free themselves from the Importunity of publick Ministers, by tiring them out with Refusals which were not very reasonable; or else by Procrastinations and affected Delays. For which Reason Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was the ablest Negotiator in the World, recommended very much to the Abbot of St. *Nicolas*, whom I lately mention'd, not to seem to be uneasy at the Pope's tiresome way of Proceeding, or to shew that it was capable of discouraging him so far as to lay aside going to Audience, because he could not please the Pope better.

It is also a great piece of Prudence to know how to palliate or hide an Evil which one cannot remedy. The Embassador who is among Barbarians who have no Respect for the *Law of Nations*, cannot always avoid those Injuries and Outrages, which he would have no Reason to fear in a civiliz'd Nation; but he must be cautious of demanding Reparation, unless he be sure of obtaining it. In dissembling the Matter, he suffers; but in demanding Reparation he engages the Name and Dignity of his Master: and if he obtains nothing, he makes him receive an Affront, which obliges the Prince to shew a Resentment, and the Minister to retire. *The* Turks *had compell'd the Embassadors of* France, *of* England, *and of* Venice *to appear before the Judges in Ordinary.* A greater Affront could not be offer'd neither to the Sovereigns nor to the Ministers; but the Court of *France* wrote to the Embassador to dissemble the Matter, because the King's Affairs would not permit him to resent it. The Earl of *Carliste*, Embassador from *England* in *Moscovy*, being already on Horseback, and having advanc'd some part of the Way towards making his Publick Entry, was interrupted, and oblig'd to go and lodge in a sorry Village near the Town. He complain'd thereof in Writing, and demanded Reparation: and by requiring Reason from those who had none, and by procuring a Denial, he made a real Affront of that which was before but a piece of Clownishness and Rusticity, which a prudent Dissimulation would have pass'd off for an Oversight or a Blunder. We shall have an Occasion hereafter in Chapter X, to speak of the false Prudence of an Embassador, who for want of making a Report of what the Emperor had said to him, made his Master receive a very gross Affront. But then true Prudence does not permit an Embassador to write to his Prince all that passes. *M. de Foix* says, it is sufficient to acquaint one of the Ministers, in whom the Prince has the greatest Confidence therewith, till his Address supplies him with a Remedy. On *June* 2, 1616, King *Lewis* XIII, sent for the Duke *de Monteleon*, the *Spanish* Embassador, and told him, That as he was Guarantee for the Execution of the Treaty of *Asti*, he could not suffer the Catholick King to disturb the Duke of *Savoy*; and that he was resolv'd to succour him, since his good Offices for the Continuation of the Repose of *Italy* had been ineffectual. The Embassador made Answer, That he would always contribute as much as lay in his Power to Peace; but as for the Declaration his Majesty had made to him, that he would send Succours to the Duke of *Savoy*, he intreated him to notify it to his Master by some other Hand, because he could not change his Quality of Embassador into that of a Herald, especially to

the Prince he ſerv'd. The King reply'd, That he had told him his Intention, and he might acquaint the King of *Spain* therewith if he thought fit. The Embaſſador's Anſwer was very prudent, becauſe the King of *France* ought to have given that Commiſſion to the Miniſter who was on his part at *Madrid*; but however the Embaſſador could not avoid giving Advice thereof to the Duke of *Lerma*.

Prudence has ſo vaſt an Object, that one may ſay it is almoſt infinite. The Embaſſador ought not only to conſider that the Principles of Reaſoning in Policy are as uncertain, as thoſe of the Mathematicks are infallible; but he ought to know alſo, that the ſtrongeſt Reaſons, and which are in a manner demonſtrative, are not always concluding. It is a fundamental Maxim in the Government of the United Provinces, that thoſe Reſolutions that are taken with the Conſent and expreſs Order of all the Provinces, cannot be alter'd nor annull'd but with their unanimous Conſent, and expreſs Order. The Inſtructions their Plenipotentiaries carry'd to *Munſter*, had been examin'd by all the Provinces, regulated and fix'd by their Order and unanimous Conſent. It is certain that theſe Inſtructions order'd the Plenipotentiaries to obſerve punctually the Treaty of the Year 1644, and to conclude nothing without *France*. Upon theſe Principles *la Tuillerie*, Embaſſador of *France*, maintain'd, That the States Plenipotentiaries did not dare, nor could not make a particular Treaty with *Spain*. He ſaid that the whole State was not corrupted: That there were in it ſome Perſons of ſound Judgment, and of Quality, who would not allow of ſo villainous a Failure to *France*, to the Friendſhip the State ow'd it, and to the Promiſe had been made to it; eſpecially ſince the States had no Guarantee for all that *Spain* promis'd them by the Treaty, and that the Plenipotentiaries would not expoſe themſelves to Diſgrace, nor to the Enquiry might be made therein. His reaſoning was good, and becoming a Man of Underſtanding; but for all that he was miſtaken, becauſe they did conclude excluſively of *France*.

There are numberleſs Advices to be given to an Embaſſador on the account of Prudence; but I dare be bold to ſay, that there is no need to give any to a Miniſter to whom this Virtue is natural, or acquir'd by a long Habit. He forms his Conduct on his own Maxims, and behaves himſelf as Occaſions ſeem to require. He will not fail to take down in Writing whatever his Prince orders or recommends to him by word of Mouth; as well to eaſe his Memory, as for the Juſtification of his Procedure. He will be very cautious of ſpeaking too freely in a ſuſpicious Place, and will always believe that the very Walls have Ears; but he will particulary take into Conſideration what the illuſtrious Author of the excellent moral Reflections ſays, *viz. That the moſt conſummate Prudence cannot aſſure us of the leaſt Effect imaginable; becauſe, working upon a Matter ſo changeable and inconſtant, and ſo unknown as Man is, it cannot execute with any Security any of its Projects.* To this I muſt add, That there is not any that can divine, nor prevent the Artifices malicious Minds ſhall make uſe of to ſurpriſe it. I own that *Creville*, who was Gentleman, and *Richer*, who was Secretary to the Conſtable *de St. Pol*, were not great Miniſters; but it muſt alſo be allow'd, that there was no Prudence, how refin'd ſoever it might be, that could avoid the Snares *Lewis* XI. had laid for them. Their Deſign was to ruin the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Opinion of *Lewis*, and even render him ridiculous if they could. The King who hated them both alike, and had a mind to undo them, endeavour'd to render them irreconcileable, by diſcovering to the one the Duplicities and Perfidies of the other. The Sieur *de Contay* was with him on the part of the Duke; and to convince him of the Conſtable's evil Intentions, he hid this Gentleman behind a Skreen in the Chamber where he was to give Audience to theſe Miniſters. They had already told a hundred Stories of the Duke of *Burgundy*; and to the end his Miniſter might make a faithful Report thereof, the King put them upon the ſame Diſcourſe, and made them repeat the Railleries the Duke made of the King of *England*, and how much he reſented the Peace *Edward* had concluded with the King. They ſaid ſo much that there was no need of any more to perſuade *Contay* of the Conſtable's Duplicity, and to give the Duke a Diſtruſt of that Nobleman of which he could never after be cur'd.

Stephen Taverna was a very able Miniſter; but yet with all his Prudence he could not elude the Artifices of *Peter de Medicis*. This laſt was in the firſt Authority at *Florence*, and that of the Republick was very conſiderable in a Conjuncture where *Charles* VIII. was going to enter into *Italy* in order to conquer *Naples*. *Lewis le More*, who brought thither the Arms of *France*, did it only that he might not remain expos'd to the Diſcretion of *Alfonſo*, eldeſt Son to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, who could not ſuffer that *Lewis* ſhould uſurp the Dutchy of *Milan* from *John Galeas* his Son-in-Law, and Nephew to *Lewis* IV. Conſidering therefore that the Victories of the *French* might be his Ruin, he endeavour'd to prevail with *Peter de Medicis* to diſpoſe *Alfonſo* not to meddle with the Affairs of his Son-in-Law: And it was to this purpoſe that he ſent *Stephen Taverna* to him. *Peter*, who diſtruſted *Lewis*'s Intentions, who was in effect one of the moſt dangerous Men of his Time, gave Advice thereof to *Alfonſo*, and agreed with him to make known *Lewis*'s Perfidy and Treachery to *John Matteron* the *French* Embaſſador, in order to let him ſee upon what Grounds his Maſter form'd his Reſolution to paſs into *Italy:* and to the End the Embaſſador might not doubt of the true Intentions of *Lewis*, *Peter* put him into a Cloſet which was next to the Rüel of his Bed, where he kept, under the Pretext of ſome Indiſpoſition. The Embaſſador of *Milan* being come, *Peter de Medicis* told him, that he could not diſſemble to him, that he had great Reaſon to diſtruſt *Lewis*'s Intention, becauſe he was aſſur'd that he continu'd his Negotiations at the Court of *France*, and preſs'd *Charles* to invade *Italy:* That this oblig'd him to be diffident of him, and to take ſuch Meaſures as might ſhelter him from the Storm which was going to fall upon his Head. *Taverna* made Anſwer, That there was no Room to doubt of the Sincerity of what he ſaid on the part of his

his Maſter, ſince it could not be doubted that he had as much Reaſon to apprehend the Succeſs of the Arms of *France*, and no leſs Intereſt to oppoſe them, than the other Princes of *Italy*; and urg'd *Peter* very much to entertain a good Diſpoſition for their common Countrey, which otherwiſe would inevitably fall under a foreign Bondage. The *French* Embaſſador did not fail to give Advice hereof immediately to the King his Maſter; but the Advice wrought a quite contrary Effect to what it would have done in a more reaſonable Mind, and leſs prejudic'd than that of *Charles* was. *Lewis* ſeeing his Treachery was diſcover'd, juſtify'd himſelf by renewing his Inſtances for the Invaſion, as well as his Offers to aſſiſt him with Men and Money. The *French* Council was unhappy enough to neglect this important Advice, and to enter into the Sentiments of a Traytor, who was the firſt to declare himſelf againſt the King, and to take up Arms to hinder him from getting out of *Italy*.

Jerome Moron, Chancellor to *Francis Sforza* the laſt Duke of *Milan*, had the Reputation of being one of the ableſt Miniſters of State of his Time. The Duke his Maſter was in a continual Uneaſineſs and Diſtruſt of the Emperor *Charles* V, who had a great longing to make himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy, as the moſt commodious Poſt for the Communication, and even for the Junction of his States of *Italy* and *Spain* to thoſe of *Germany*. In order therefore to employ him elſewhere, the Pope, the Republick of *Venice*, and he, treated with *Don Alfonſo Davalos*, Marquiſs of *Peſcaire*, to prevail with him to make himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom of *Naples*. This Nobleman was confided in by the Emperor. The Army reſpected him, and he had full as much Ambition as Courage and Conduct; ſo that it was thought that the Offer which was made him of a Crown would not be diſagreeable to him. It is very probable that it was not at firſt, ſince he went a great way in the Negotiation; but whether he found ſome Impoſſibility in the Execution, or that he look'd upon the Action it ſelf not to be honourable, he reſolv'd to diſcover the whole Intrigue to the Emperor, in ſuch a manner that he ſhould not be able to doubt of it. He therefore hid *Anthony de Leiva* in a Place, where without being ſeen, he might learn all the Particulars from the Mouth of *Moron*, who was the Perſon that manag'd all this Affair. It coſt *Moron* his Life, and *Francis Sforza* the Dutchy.

We have a more modern Example in the Duke of *Oſſuna*, Viceroy of *Naples*. This Nobleman, who had a great deal of Wit, and ſtill more Ambition, endeavour'd to make himſelf King of *Naples*: and to this effect he held a Correſpondence with the Crown of *France*, by means of the Mareſchal *de Leſdiguieres*, and with the Duke of *Savoy*. *De Veyne*, a Gentleman of *Dauphine*, who was the Broker in this Commerce, had Orders to apply himſelf concerning this Affair to *Deagent*, who had a great Intereſt at Court at that Time; but the Duke *de Luines*, who under the Name of Favourite diſcharg'd the Functions of firſt Miniſter, being become jealous of *Deagent*, caus'd him to be remov'd; and by that Mean ruin'd this great Deſign, which was juſt ready to be put in Execution. The Duke of *Oſſuna* not being now able to execute it on his ſide, and having a Mind to juſtify himſelf to the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, who were but too well convinc'd of his Intention, had hid two *Spaniards* behind the Hangings of the Room where *de Veyne* was to ſpeak to him: But this Gentleman, being at his Arrival at *Naples* inform'd that he would not find there the Diſpoſitions he had left, ſaid nothing that could make it be believ'd the Court of *France* had any Hand in this Intrigue.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Liberty of Speaking.

THE Liberty of Speaking is one of the firſt Parts, and one of the principal Rights of an Embaſſador; but then it is alſo that in which he had moſt need of his Prudence. There is nothing that recommends him ſo much, and is ſo neceſſary to him as this Aſſurance, by which he dares to ſpeak up for the Intereſt of the Prince his Maſter, and execute his Orders, how high ſoever they may run: but there is a great deal of Difference between the Liberty of Speaking and Petulancy; between a free and witty Repartee and an offenſive Sarcaſm; between lawful and reſpectful Complaints and groſs Reproaches, which partake of Ruſticity and Impudence. The Embaſſador is indiſpenſably oblig'd to execute his Maſter's Orders, but he may do it in ſuch a manner as may ſoften the Harſhneſs of his Action, and juſtify his Conduct, altho' his Maſter's Intention be not approv'd of. He ought to keep within the Bounds of Reſpect, notwithſtanding his Prince commands him to expreſs himſelf in Words which cannot be agreeable. The Embaſſador that loſes the Reſpect which is due to Sovereigns, does not only expoſe himſelf to the Affronts he ought to expect from a Prince who is not over-patient; but he alſo runs the Riſque of being diſavow'd. The Action of *Anthony Fonſeca*, Embaſſador from *Ferdinand the Catholick*, who tore the Treaty in the Preſence of *Charles* VIII, was inſolent, and deſerv'd to be requited with ſome mortifying Affront. *Lewis* XI. had ſent the Count *d'Eu* and Chancellor *Morviliers* to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, but with a Deſign to have ſome offenſive Expreſſions deliver'd to the Count *de Charolois*. The Chancellor did it, but the Count told him, or the Archbiſhop of *Narbonne*, who was the third Embaſſador, that the King ſhould repent it; and indeed he made

made him repent it ſo heartily, that he was forc'd to diſavow, and put away the Chancellor his Embaſſador.

The leaſt that can happen to him is to extort ſome vexatious Anſwer, which does the Maſter as much Damage as the Miniſter. *Henry* VIII, King of *England*, was a Prince that was irregular enough, and thought he ought to be the Umpire of the Affairs of *Europe*. He was angry at the Refuſal the Emperor *Charles* V. made to deliver up to him an *Engliſh* Nobleman, who had taken Refuge in the Low Countries; and, in his Anger, he ſent Orders to his Embaſſador to reproach the Emperor therewith. The Embaſſador being either too punctual in executing his Orders, or elſe carrying his Maſter's Reſentment a little too far, let ſlip the Word *Ingratitude*. Hereupon *Charles*, who had till then given him a very favourable Audience, took up the Word *Ingratitude*, and ask'd him who it was that he pretended to accuſe thereof? And the *Engliſhman* making Anſwer, That it was of himſelf and of the King of *France* he ſpoke, the Emperor reply'd, That he did not doubt but the King of *France* would juſtify himſelf very well: That as for himſelf, he was willing the Embaſſador ſhould know that it did not belong to him, nor even to his Maſter, to tax him with *Ingratitude:* That the King of *England* had never done any thing, nor indeed could not do any thing, for him, that could render him an *Ingrate*; and that if he had done any ſmall Matter for him, he had return'd it double to him: After all, *That the Word* Ingratitude, *which the Embaſſador made uſe of, might indeed paſs between Perſons of equal Quality or Dignity, or from a Superior to an Inferior, but could not be allow'd of in him the Embaſſador, who was neither the one nor the other; and that he did not believe his Maſter would ſtand by him in it.*

Paul Dzialinski, Embaſſador from *Sigiſmund* III, King of *Poland*, was ſent to the States of the United Provinces, and afterwards to the Queen of *England*. This Embaſſador, who came from a King, who had caus'd himſelf to be driven out of *Sweden*, and who was not very much conſider'd in *Poland* itſelf, had no great Succeſs in *Holland*. And going from thence to *England*, he told the Queen, That the *Engliſh* did not only diſturb the Commerce of the Merchants of *Poland* and *Pruſſia*, but alſo, that contrary to the *Law of Nations*, they hinder'd them from trafficking in *Spain:* That the King his Maſter, who was ſo ſtrictly ally'd to the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the King of *Spain*, could not ſuffer his Subjects to be treated after that manner; and that unleſs the Queen caus'd their Shipping and Goods to be reſtor'd to them, and permitted them to traffick freely with *Spain*, he would do himſelf Juſtice; ſo that the Authors of theſe Diſorders ſhould have Reaſon to repent it. The Queen anſwer'd him immediately. *How much am I miſtaken! I expected an Embaſſador, and he proves a Herald. Since the Hour I was born, I never heard ſo inſolent and inconſiderate a Diſcourſe.* "If you have this "Commiſſion from your King, of which however I very much doubt, he muſt have but "very little Knowledge of what has paſs'd between the Kings his Predeceſſors and us. As "for your own Part, you ſeem to have read "more Books than you have learn'd Politicks. "For ſince you ſpeak ſo much of the *Law of* "*Nations*, you muſt know, that when there is "a War between two Princes, the *Law of* "*Nations*, as well as the *Law of Nature*, allows the hindering of any Succour to be given to the Enemy. And as for the Alliance "you boaſt your King has with the Houſe of "*Auſtria*, you may call to Mind that ſome of "that Houſe were for depriving him of the "Crown. As for the reſt, I ſhall ſignify my "Pleaſure to you by my Council". This ſaid, ſhe retir'd into her Cloſet, and left the Embaſſador. In the Conferences he had with the Council he excus'd himſelf, and ſaid, That the Harangue had been given him in Writing. He did not ſee the Queen any more, and he was diſmiſs'd with an Anſwer which he had no great Reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with.

There have been Princes who have caus'd very offenſive things to be ſaid to the Popes. *Calixtus* III. was born the Subject of *Alfonſus the Magnanimous*, and ow'd all his Fortune to that Prince, and yet he made Difficulty to inveſt him with the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Ximen Perez Corolla*, Count of *Contentayna*, Embaſſador from *Alfonſus*, ſeeing the Pope perſiſted in refuſing the Inveſtiture, told him, *That he ought to remember his mean Extraction, and the Place from whence he came*; and added ſo many other Reproaches, that the Pope, who could not reſent it otherwiſe, gave him his Curſe.

Nothing can be haughtier than what *Charles* VIII, King of *France*, caus'd to be ſaid to *Alexander* VI, from whom he alſo ask'd the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*. His Embaſſador told him, *That the Pope ought to conſider, that the King having contracted an Alliance with the King of the* Romans, *it would always be in his Power to diſpoſſeſs him of the Papal Dignity, not only by his Arms, but alſo by the Force of Reaſon and Juſtice, by calling a General Council: That it might be prov'd by good Evidence, that he had been elected through* Simony: *That he was prophane in his Life and Manners: That it was rumour'd he was guilty of ſeveral Murders, and that it could be made out he was an Heretick.* The Pope, who very well deſerv'd this Reproach, and ſomething more, did not reſent it againſt the Embaſſador, becauſe the King was coming with a powerful Army into *Italy*; but he ſoon found an Opportunity to revenge himſelf on the King, by making him loſe the Kingdom of *Naples*.

Ferdinand the Catholick, as devout as he was, did not uſe the ſame Pope any better; becauſe not being able to hinder him from conſenting to *Lewis* XII. being divorc'd from *Joan* of *France*, his firſt Wife, to marry *Anne* of *Britain*; he ſignify'd to him by *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, his Embaſſador, that he ought to think of a Reformation of the Scandals the Court of *Rome* gave every Day: And that the Pope might know that he ſpoke to him in theſe Terms, by his Maſter's expreſs Commands, he read to him the Order he had receiv'd in Writing. The Pope thereupon flew into ſuch a Paſſion that he ſnatch'd the Paper out of the Embaſſador's Hands, and threaten'd him, as if he had exceeded his Orders. *Garcilaſſo* hereupon told the Pope, That he neither ſaid nor did

did any thing but what an Embaſſador, and an honeſt Man, was oblig'd to ſay and to do, for the Service of his Prince: *That he was willing the Pope ſhould know, that, as long as he ſhould remain at his Court, he would tell him with great Freedom whatever he ſhould be commanded to tell him, and what he ſhould think conducive to the Good of* Chriſtendom: That if the Pope was diſturb'd thereat, he might cauſe him to be recall'd, and that he ſhould be glad of it, becauſe he was very ſenſible that his Stay there was to no Purpoſe.

It was in the ſame Year, 1497, and in the Year 1498, that the ſame King *Ferdinand*, and *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, reiterated their Inſtances for a Reformation, by *Don Inigo* of *Corduba*, *Philip Ponce*, *Don Rodrigue da Caſtro*, and *Don Henry Contimbo*, their Embaſſadors. The Pope, inſtead of hearkening to their Remonſtrances, *gave them injurious Language*, and did not even ſpare their Maſters. They had a ſecond Audience towards the end of *December*, and perceiv'd very well, as they went in, that the Guards were reinforc'd; but that did not hinder them from telling the Pope, *That every body was ſenſible of the unlawful Means he had us'd to make himſelf be choſen, and that his Election was ſcandalous and vicious.* The Pope interrupting their Diſcourſe, made Anſwer, That the King and Queen of *Spain* did not hold their Kingdoms by ſo juſt a Title as he did the See of *Rome*: That they had uſurp'd 'em, whereas he had been canonically choſen. Afterwards addreſſing himſelf particularly to *Philip Ponce*, he told him, That he would chaſtiſe him as a Madman, for having dar'd to ſpeak reflectingly of his Election. *Inigo* thereupon ſpoke, and told the Pope, That Embaſſadors were not to be us'd after that manner, and eſpecially thoſe who repreſented ſuch powerful Princes. The Pope then told him, he would excommunicate *Ferdinand* in *Cœna Domini*. The Embaſſadors had Orders to make, in a full Conſiſtory, the ſame Declaration they had made to the Pope, to whom they gave a formal Summons the 23d of *January*, 1499, in the Preſence of the Cardinals *de St. Croix* and *Sforza*, which put him into ſo violent a Paſſion, that he ſaid, *That if the Duke of* Valentinois *was there, they would not dare to hold him that Language: That in the time of Pope* Sixtus, *the Count* Jerome de Riario *had not ſcrupled to tell the Embaſſadors of* Spain, *That he would cauſe them to be flung into the* Tiber: *That they had told him ſeveral times the ſame things; and that he would hear no more of that ſort: That they ſhould take great Care not to mention any ſuch thing in the Conſiſtory; becauſe they would obtain nothing there, and would come off but ill.* Theſe Embaſſadors had their expreſs Orders, which they were oblig'd to follow, notwithſtanding they knew they had to do with a Man, who, after he had violated the *Laws of Nature* in all its Parts, would have no great Conſideration for the *Law of Nations*: That there was not more Security at *Rome* for Embaſſadors, than there was amongſt the *Tartars* of *Dagueſtan*; and that the Duke of *Valentinois* was full as dangerous at leaſt as Count *Jerome* of *Riario*.

The Embaſſador, who receives ſuch Orders, ought to know whether the Prince who gives him them has the Heart and the Power to maintain and protect him; becauſe he cannot be ignorant, that a Prince who knows his Power is not offended with Impunity, if he be ever ſo little ſenſible to Reproaches; eſpecially if they are made in publick, and with ſome Appearance of Truth. The Princes of *Germany* muſt needs have had a very bad Opinion of King *Henry* III, ſince they caus'd ſo offenſive a Diſcourſe to be made to him towards the end of the Year 1586. They had put it in Writing, that the Embaſſadors might read it at their Audience: As accordingly they did. They ſaid in it, That the Princes their Maſters were very much ſurpriz'd at the Temerity of ſome particular Perſons, who of their own private Authority had had the Aſſurance to diſturb the Peace the King had granted to thoſe of the Reform'd Religion in his Kingdom, altho' he had confirm'd it with a ſolemn Oath: That what increas'd their Diſpleaſure was to find the King changed: That his Majeſty, after having written to the Governors of the Provinces, That his Intention was to cauſe the Peace to be obſerv'd and executed, had ſtruck into quite the contrary Sentiments, by forbidding the Exerciſe of the ſame Religion: That the King caſt the Cauſe of the new War upon the Religionaries; altho' he heretofore had declar'd the contrary, and had promis'd upon his Word they ſhould enjoy the Benefit of his Edicts: That they did not ſee what Advantage the King could reap from a Change that diſturb'd the Repoſe of his Kingdom, and ſully'd his Majeſty's Reputation, to whom nothing ought to be ſo valuable as his Promiſe and his Word: That God never ſuffer'd the Violation thereof to go unpuniſh'd; and that he who perſecutes and oppreſſes thoſe he knows to be innocent, cannot be innocent himſelf: That the Princes their Maſters intreated the King to conſider, That the end of an unjuſt War could not be happy; and that he would do well to give Peace to his Subjects who had a Veneration for his Perſon, and readily obey'd his Commands: That he ought to ſtop his Ears to the Counſels of the Court of *Rome*, and of its Emiſſaries, who had no other Intention but to weaken the King's Authority and Strength, in Order to diſturb the legitimate Order of the Succeſſion, to make way for a ſtrange one. *Henry* III. hated his Proteſtant Subjects, and fear'd the Leaguers; but he moſt hated thoſe, and fear'd theſe moſt; finding therefore an Opportunity to give a Mark of his Hatred and Reſentment to the firſt, he made to the Embaſſadors the Anſwer which I have obſerv'd in Chapter IV. Thoſe Princes might very well have forborn expreſſing themſelves to the King in thoſe Terms; becauſe they were not in a Condition to ſupport their Embaſſadors, nor to reſent the Affront which might be offer'd them, and which was offer'd them in Effect. It muſt be own'd that there was in their Diſcourſe a Groſſneſs which border'd upon Impudence, and deſerv'd very well that the King ſhould have caus'd them to be put out of his Preſence; beſides, it did not belong to the Princes of *Germany* to meddle with the Affairs of the Religionaries of *France*, ſince they would not have ſuffer'd the King to intercede for their Roman Catholick Subjects.

If the Embaſſador ought to be reſerv'd on theſe Occaſions, with all Princes, he ought

with more Reaſon to be ſo with thoſe whoſe Pride cannot ſuffer Reproaches nor Remonſtrances. *Jerome Laski*, who was without doubt one of the moſt illuſtrious Perſonages of the laſt Age, had giv'n a Retreat to *John Zapoli*, King of *Hungary*, who had been oblig'd to yield to the Arms of *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*. *Laski* had at his own Expences diſcharg'd the Function of Embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, and had there obtain'd the Reſtoration of *John* under the Protection of Sultan *Soliman*. Some time after he fell out with *John*, and quitted his Party to ſide with *Ferdinand*, who employ'd him in his turn to negotiate his Intereſt at the Port, tho' he had not the ſame Succeſs. *Soliman*, who was really a very great Prince, and who was for having it believ'd that Juſtice and Generoſity were the Motives of all his Actions, ſignify'd to *Ferdinand*'s Embaſſadors, That the Protection he had promis'd to *John Zapoli*, who was dead, oblig'd him to continue it to his Widow and Son, who was his Vaſſal and Tributary: That his Intention was, that the Son ſhould reign after his Father, and that he had ſufficiently explain'd himſelf in the Letters of Inveſtiture. And in Effect *Soliman*, to ſhew that he confirm'd to the Son the Protection he had given the Father, had ſent him a Veſt of Brocade, a Mace, and ſome other Preſents which the *Turks* are us'd to make on the like Occaſions. *Laski*, finding the Affair in this State at his coming to *Conſtantinople*, ſaid, with a *Poliſh* Liberty, *That the Emperor and* Ferdinand *his Brother would reſent the Wrong that was done them.* He ſaid too much in a Court, where no Diſtinction is made between Violence and Juſtice, and where the Miniſters cannot endure to be reproach'd. The firſt Vizir ſaid, *Laski* deſerv'd Death; and ſent him to Priſon; but *Soliman*, who lov'd great Men, ſoon ſet him at Liberty.

Pope *Sixtus* V, whom Fortune had rais'd from the loweſt Meanneſs to the higheſt Dignity of *Chriſtendom*, was not ſo much oblig'd to Fortune for it as to his Merit; it being certain that for ſome Ages the See of *Rome* had not been fill'd with ſo great a Perſonage. He had a Value for thoſe Perſons in whom he diſcover'd any thing extraordinary; and notwithſtanding he had no great Reaſon to love them, yet he granted them his Eſteem. He had always ſome Difference with the Marquiſs of *Piſani*, and he baniſh'd him out of the Eccleſiaſtical State: but he ſoon recall'd him, becauſe he admir'd in him that Greatneſs of Soul, which ranks him even at this Day amongſt the greateſt Miniſters that have ever been. He had a high Diſpute with *Pius* V, concerning the Count *de Gayazze*, whom the Pope had put into the Inquiſition. King *Charles* IX, who lov'd that Gentlemen, ſent Orders to *Piſani* to reclaim him as his Subject and Officer, and to procure him his Liberty. The Marquiſs having ſpoke ſeveral times to the Pope about it to no Purpoſe, told him at laſt, *That he gave him eight Days longer, and if he did not in that Time ſet the Count at Liberty, he ſhould be oblig'd to do what would not be pleaſing to the Pope.* *Piſani*, not finding himſelf gain any Ground at the end of the eight Days, told the Pope, *That if in four and twenty Hours he did not ſet the Count at Liberty he would leave* Rome, *and would take along with him the Embaſſador in Ordinary*, which would interrupt the Commerce the Court of *Rome* had with that of *France*, for the Diſpatch of the Benefices. The Pope, who was intereſſed, follow'd the Counſel of thoſe Cardinals, who advis'd him to deliver up the Priſoner.

When the Glory and Intereſt of a Prince is concern'd, and the Embaſſador has Orders to ſpeak with Freedom, he ought to execute them without Scruple; becauſe then there is nothing to deliberate upon, nor to heſitate at. *James Amiot*, Abbot of *Belloſane*, and ſince Biſhop of *Auxerre*, and Great Almoner of *France*, was ſent to the Council of *Trent* in the Year 1551. His Letters were not addreſs'd to the Council, but to the Aſſembly (*Conventui*) of *Trent*; at which the Fathers were ſo ſcandaliz'd, that they put it to Debate whether they ſhould receive the Letters, and whether they ſhould give Audience to the Embaſſador. *Amiot* having at laſt obtain'd the one and the other, ſaid at his Audience, "That it was a ſtrange thing to ſee "the Pope, who gave himſelf the Title of "Common Father, turn Partizan: That the "King his Maſter had hoped, that after the "Death of *Paul* III, *Julius* his Succeſſor would "have labour'd at the Preſervation of the Liberty of *Italy*, by protecting the Houſe of "*Farneſe*, and maintaining it in *Parma*, but "that the Pope had join'd his Counſels and "his Arms to thoſe who were Enemies of "both; and not contented therewith, had "caus'd *Mirandola* to be attack'd by *John Baptiſta del Monte*, who had there committed "Cruelties unheard of, even amongſt *Barbarians*: That inſtead of making uſe of the "Sword of the Word of God, at a time when "the Common Enemy threaten'd *Chriſtendom*, "whoſe Tranquillity was otherwiſe diſturb'd "by very dangerous Diviſions, he attack'd "with real Arms the Vaſſals of the Church, "and even the moſt Chriſtian King himſelf: "That this Procedure was unworthy of him "who honour'd himſelf with the Quality of "Servant of the Servants of God, and of Vicar on Earth of Jeſus Chriſt, that pacifick "Lamb: That the King was very much ſurpriz'd to ſee the Pope call a Council, at a "Time where he united his Arms with thoſe "of the Emperor, to fight him; and that, to "the End the Prelates of *France*, who could "not come thither by reaſon of the War, might "not inform againſt the Head, as well as "againſt the Members, and might not help "to reform the Corruptions thereof, as well "in Morals as in Doctrine: That he had no "Orders to complain of the War that was "made againſt the King, as well becauſe this "was not the Place where that Matter was to "be treated, as becauſe his Majeſty had wherewith to do himſelf Juſtice, and even ſtrike "Terror into thoſe who threaten'd him. But "that his Majeſty could not ſuffer Ambition "to cover it ſelf with the Veil of Piety, and "Religion to be made ſubſervient to the Avidity with which the Goods of others were "ravenouſly made a Prey of, nor tamely behold the horrible Confuſion of all things ſacred and prophane: That the King, as eldeſt "Son of the Church, declar'd for that Reaſon, "That he could not ſuffer the Biſhops of his

"King-

" Kingdom to go to the Council of *Trent*, " while an unjuſt War was carry'd on againſt " him, nor hold that Aſſembly for an OEcu- " menical Council, and lawfully conven'd; " but as a private Aſſembly, to whoſe Decrees, " neither he nor his Kingdom would have any " Deference. He deſir'd the Fathers to ex- " cuſe the Freedom of his Diſcourſe, and to " cauſe his Proteſtation to be regiſter'd, of " which he left them a Copy.

Some Years after, *viz.* in the Year 1563, *Arnaud de Ferrier* Embaſſador from *France* to *Trent*, made there, about the Month of *September*, a Diſcourſe as high at leaſt as that of *Amiot*. It was on the Subject of the Rank that was given to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador. He ſays, " That *Pius* IV, like an unnatural Father, had " diſpoſſeſs'd the moſt Chriſtian King, his " eldeſt Son, againſt all Form, of the Advan- " tage he always had, of preceding all the o- " ther Kings of *Chriſtendom:* That the ſame " *Pius*, erecting himſelf as Judge in his own " Cauſe, had rais'd his particular Authority a- " bove that of the Council: That under the " Pretext of uniting the Church and the Chri- " ſtian Princes, he diſturb'd the Peace, and ſet " the two Brothers-in-Law at variance, by " changing by force, and a notorious Wick- " edneſs, the Ordinance of the Councils of " *Conſtance*, of *Baſil*, and of *Lateran:* That " this Procedure oblig'd the Embaſſadors of " *France* to remove from a Place, where *Pius* " depriv'd the Laws of their Force, the Ca- " nons of their Authority, and the Council of " its Liberty: That the Fathers neither re- " ſolv'd upon, nor publiſh'd any thing, that " had not before been reſolv'd upon at *Rome*, " and after they had receiv'd the Pope's Or- " ders: That all the Delays, and all the Pro- " craſtinations were caus'd by that *Pius*, who " knew that the Abuſes of the Church could " not be corrected, unleſs they were reform'd " in its Head, as well as in its Members". He added hereunto. " It is againſt this *Pius* that " we particularly proteſt. We have ſpilt our " Blood for the Church and for the Popes, " and we have a Veneration for them; but " we neither acknowledge *Pius* nor his Au- " thority, and we reject all his Decrees and " all his Ordinances. He is neither Vicar of " Jeſus Chriſt, nor Succeſſor of St. *Peter*. " And foraſmuch as the Decrees are form'd " at *Rome*, and are not made at *Trent*, we have " reaſon to look upon them as the Declarati- " ons of *Pius*, rather than as the Canons of an " OEcumenical Council. And we proteſt and " declare, that what is there reſolv'd, or ſhall " hereafter be reſolv'd in this Aſſembly, ſhall " not be approv'd of by the King, nor conſi- " der'd by the *Gallican* Church, as the Decrees " of a Council lawfully conven'd. In the " mean time, I exhort you the Archbiſhops, " Biſhops and Prelates of *France*, and I com- " mand you in the King's Name to leave this " Place; and not to return to it, till the Out- " rage that has been done to his Majeſty has " been repair'd". Theſe two Harangues were very high it is certain; but it cannot be de- ny'd, but there was ſomething of a higher Strain in the Embaſſador's Diſcourſes, who ſpoke to the Pope himſelf, and to ſuch Popes as had Courage enough to reſent it: nay I dare not ſay for certain, that *Ferrier*'s Harangue was actually pronounc'd. *Don Pedro* of *Arragon*, Embaſſador of *Spain* at *Rome* in the Year 1665, having let ſlip ſome Words of Reſentment a- gainſt the Court, which favour'd the Affairs of the King of *Portugal*, in what related to the Churches of that Kingdom; Pope *Alexander* VII, who had been inform'd thereof, told him, That he was an ill Man, and a Miniſter incapable of ſerving the King his Maſter. The Em- baſſador made anſwer, That the Pope had rea- ſon to accuſe him of Negligence and Incapa- city, ſince he had been willing to omit execu- ting the King's Order, when a Treaty was car- rying on to his Prejudice with the Miniſter of *Portugal:* That the Pope, in making him that Reproach, upbraided him with his good Na- ture; but that he was in the wrong to ſay, he was an ill Man: and that he could with more Juſtice ſay, that *Fabio Chiſy* was an ill Man; ſince he forc'd him to execute the King his Maſter's Order's, and to deſire the College of Cardinals to conſider, Whether the See of *Rome* was more concern'd to do ſomething for four Biſhopricks in *Portugal*, than to hazard a hundred and thirty Biſhopricks and ſixty Abbies in *Spain*. The Pope told him alſo, That the Aſſemblies he held at home were very dange- rous, and might furniſh an Occaſion of pilla- ging the Town. The Embaſſador reply'd, That if that were his Intention, he needed on- ly to retire with all the Subjects of the King his Maſter; becauſe thoſe who would then remain not being able to ſubſiſt, would commit that Diſorder which could not be apprehended from him.

What I have ſaid of the Embaſſador who has expreſs Orders is plain. I muſt add, That he may alſo ſpeak with Freedom without Or- ders, when he judges it neceſſary for the Ho- nour and Service of his Maſter, and that he is ſure he ſhall not be diſavow'd. The Count *de Bethune*, being on the part of *France* at *Rome*, about the Affair of the *Valteline*, Cardinal *Ma- galotti* came and told him, That the Pope had reſolv'd to ſend *Torquato Conti* into the *Valteline* with Troops, in order to make himſelf Ma- ſter of the Forts which had been given in *depoſitum* to his Predeceſſor. The Count an- ſwer'd him, That he could hardly believe what the Cardinal told him concerning the Pope's Reſolution: That the imaginary Reputation, on which the Cardinal ſaid the Pope groun- ded his Reſolution, was a Conſideration for a temporal Prince, and not for the Head of the Church; who would always glory more in ſuf- fering and enduring, than in ſhewing Reſent- ment for a thing, wherein he had not been of- fended: and that even if he had, the Example of his primitive Predeceſſors ought to invite him to forget Injuries: That his Holineſs ex- ceeded the Bounds of Neutrality, and re- nounc'd the Quality of common Father, in employing his Forces againſt the King's, who would without doubt be diſpleas'd, that the Pope ſhould take ſo ſtrange a Reſolution: That it was not the way to maintain a good Cor- reſpondence with his Majeſty to threaten him: That he would then be oblig'd to hearken to the Propoſitions the Hereticks made him, to make a ſtrict Alliance with them, the Effects whereof would be a juſt Reproach to the Pope;

and

and inſtead of making Peace, would finiſh the Work of kindling the Fire of War throughout *Chriſtendom*, to the Prejudice of the Catholick Religion. *The Embaſſador ſaid indeed, that he had no Orders to ſpeak thus*, and that it was his Zeal for the Service of the King his Maſter, and the Affection he had for the Pope, that made him expreſs himſelf in this manner, from whence the Pope took a Pretext to ſay, That it was not the King's Intention nor Sentiment: But the Count knew what he did, and got himſelf avow'd.

However he did very well to tell the Cardinal, that he did not ſpeak by his Maſter's Orders; but that it was his own private Sentiment. In the Years 1572, and 1573, there was a great Diſcourſe of the Marriage of Queen *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Alançon*. The Queen order'd *Walſingham* to give 'em to underſtand in *France* that ſhe could not think of marrying a Prince ſhe had never ſeen; nor alſo ſuffer him to have any Exerciſe of a Religion which ſhe judg'd to be contrary to the Word of God, as it was to the Laws of the Kingdom. The Queen Mother made anſwer, That there was no likelihood that the Duke her Son would go over to *England*, unleſs he were certain of ſucceeding in his Courtſhip; and ask'd *Walſingham* what the Queen of *England* meant, that the Duke ſhould not have the Exerciſe of his Religion? *Walſingham* ſaid, It was not for him to interpret the Queen's Intention; *but in his own private Capacity, he thought the Queen would not ſuffer the Exerciſe of a Religion prohibited by the Laws of the Kingdom.* The Queen Mother reply'd, That ſhe deſir'd nothing elſe, than that Queen *Elizabeth* would aſſure her, by a Word under her Hand, of the Succeſs of the Marriage, before ſhe engag'd her Son to paſs the Sea: and as for the Matter of Religion, That her Son deſir'd only the Exerciſe of it for himſelf and ſome of his Domeſticks, to the Excluſion of all the *Engliſh*. *Walſingham* ſaid, He would acquaint the Queen his Miſtreſs herewith, but *that he did not believe ſhe would grant either the one or the other.*

To take from the Embaſſador the Liberty of Speaking, is to deprive him of one of the principal Functions of his Employment: and on the other ſide, the Prince cannot enough eſteem a Miniſter, who has the noble Aſſurance of daring to execute his Orders with vigour. *Michael John Gralla*, High-Steward to *Ferdinand the Catholick*, and his Embaſſador to *Lewis* XII, with *Diego Perez*, taking one Day Audience of the King and his Council, there aroſe a warm Diſpute on the Execution or Inexecution of the Treaties that were between the two Kings. *Gralla* ſaid, That the King his Maſter had executed them punctually on his part. The King anſwer'd, That he had done the like on his part, and would continue to do it for the time to come; upon which he was ready to fight the King of *Spain*, and the King of the *Romans*. *Gralla* reply'd, *That his King was as juſt a Prince, and as accompliſh'd as any the World afforded; and that for the Defence of his Perſon and his Honour, he would fight his Majeſty, and as many Princes as ſhould preſent themſelves, and ſhould be of equal Dignity with him.* *Lewis* then ſaid, He believ'd the King of *Spain* did not pretend to be better than he: *Nor you don't pretend to better than the King my Maſter*, anſwer'd *Gralla*. An Embaſſador's Repartee could not go farther, without loſing the Reſpect he ow'd the King.

Princes ſhould not expoſe themſelves to theſe ſharp Returns; nor oblige the Embaſſador to loſe that Reſpect that is due to the Sovereign; becauſe he owes none to him, who loſes it to the Maſter that employs him. *Uleſeld*, Great-Maſter of *Denmark*, retiring to *Sweden*, was there powerfully protected by the Queen. The Embaſſador of *Denmark*, to ſhew that this Gentleman was unworthy this Protection, told the Queen one Day, That the Great-Maſter had converted to his own particular Profit a Sum of five and twenty thouſand Crowns, which the King had remitted to him, to aſſiſt the King of *England* in his Neceſſity. The Queen ſaid, That if the Great-Maſter aſſur'd her he had caus'd that Sum to be paid to the King of *England*, ſhe would believe him; and that if this ſhould deny it, ſhe would ſay he ly'd; and that if twelve more ſuch Kings ſhould ſay the ſame, ſhe would affirm that all the twelve ly'd: That ſince the King of *Denmark* would not reſtore the Great-Maſter to the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, ſhe would give him ſo good a one, that he ſhould have no Occaſion to grieve at what he loſt in *Denmark*. The Embaſſador boldly reply'd, That her Majeſty might give him half her Kingdom, if ſhe pleas'd, without his Maſter's finding fault therewith; but *that would not hinder him from thinking* Uleſeld *the baſeſt and moſt perfidious of all Mankind.* This happen'd in the Year 1654, a little before the Queen's Abdication, and when it was no longer in her Power to diſpoſe of any thing; ſo that ſhe might very well have forborn drawing this Repartee upon her ſelf.

Anthony Donati, Embaſſador of *Venice* at *Rome*, diſcourſing one Day familiarly with *Paul* V, the Pope having a mind to rally the Republick, ask'd him where ſhe kept the Charters and Titles, that juſtify'd the Poſſeſſion of ſo many Towns ſhe had in *Lombardy*, and elſewhere on *Terra firma*? *Donati* was not at all ſurpriz'd; but anſwer'd, *That they would be found on the back of the Donation of* Conſtantine the Great. The Repartee ſilenc'd the Pope, by reproaching the See of *Rome* with an Uſurpation, of which the Pope would have accus'd the Republick. They had nothing to reproach themſelves with, either the one or the other. The Republick poſſeſſes *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*, but by virtue of a Treaty made with *Francis Sforza*, Uſurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*; and it was only the barbarous Cruelties and Perfidies of the Duke of *Valentinois*, that gave to the See of *Rome*, after the Death of *Alexander* VI, and under *Julius* II, all that the Pope poſſeſſes in *Romania*. Theſe ſharp and witty Repartees give a great Reputation to a Miniſter: But as they are the Effects of a Preſence and Vivacity of Mind, which does not fall to every bodies Share, every Embaſſador is not capable of them. The Repartee of *Peter Danais*, Embaſſador of *France* at the Council of *Trent*, was admirable. He had made a Speech concerning a Reformation, which not being very agreeable to the Pope, an *Italian* Prelate ſaid, by way of Contempt, *Gallus cantat*, A Cock crows: but he preſently reply'd, *Utinam*

Utinam ad iſtum Galli cantum Petrus reſipiſceret! Would to God *Peter* would repent at the crowing of this Cock! There is nothing in the Apophthegms of the Ancients that comes near it.

Catarin Belegne, Embaſſador on the part of the Republick of *Venice* at *Turin*, being one Day in a Converſation where the Count *Philip d'Aglié*, the moſt authoriz'd Miniſter of that Court, ſpoke very advantageouſly of the Right the Duke of *Savoy* has to the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, he anſwer'd him and ſaid, That the Senate would give a great deal that that Iſland was in the Hands of the Duke of *Savoy*, becauſe it would not continue ſo two Months. He ſaid true; becauſe all the Naval Forces the Duke could oppoſe to thoſe of *Venice* conſiſts only in two Galleys, which he entertains at *Nice*, and which for the moſt part are not mann'd.

The Embaſſador does not go beyond the Bounds of Prudence, in juſtifying his Actions, and ſpeaking for his Honour in ſtrong Terms and with Warmth. The Preſident *Jeannin* being inform'd that *Lambert*, at that Time a Captain in *Holland*, and ſince very much conſider'd in *France*, had reported to the Court, that the Preſident was not belov'd at the *Hague*, becauſe he labour'd with too much Zeal for the Truce, ſays, in the Letter he writes to *M. de Villeroy* on *November* 22, 1608, that it is an impudent Lye, and that he is more honour'd and reſpected in *Holland* than ever any Body was in that Employment. He repeats the ſame Words in another Period of the ſame Letter, which he continues, and concludes it with the ſame Strength.

Anthony Donati, of whom I juſt ſpoke, being Embaſſador of *Venice* at *Turin* at the Beginning of the War in *Piedmont*, had the Management of the Subſidies the Republick allow'd to *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*. The Duke complain'd of the Embaſſador, as if he made an Advantage of the Money which paſs'd through his Hands: and he even demanded ſome Arrears after *Donati* had gone through the Term of his Service. The Senate, who had ſeen the Accounts of its Embaſſador, and had paſs'd them, made Anſwer to the Duke, That it appear'd there was nothing due to him: and to prove it, ſent him a Letter which *Donati* had written to *Venice* during his Embaſſy, in which he gave the Duke of *Savoy* three Times the Lye. The *Venetians* were not at all ſatisfy'd with the Duke's Conduct; for which reaſon they were not afraid of offending him. *Donati* ſent the Republick's Anſwer to the Duke by an Expreſs, and offer'd him to come in Perſon to *Turin*, in order to make an end of ſettling his Accounts; but the Duke would not ſee his Man.

Cardinal *Mazarin* could not conſent to a Peace, unleſs it united the Provinces of *Flanders* to the Crown of *France*. To ſucceed therein, there was no kind of Artifice which he did not make uſe of to prevail with the United Provinces to continue the War with *Spain*. But not being able to hinder them from making a ſeparate Peace, becauſe they aprehended becoming Frontiers to *France*, he turn'd his Thoughts towards *Germany*, and us'd his utmoſt Efforts to make a Treaty which ſhould hinder the Emperor from aſſiſting *Spain* againſt *France*. The Cardinal and his Confidents did in the mean time all they could to perſuade the World of the Sincerity of his Intentions, and of the Inclination he had to make a Peace with *Spain*. But *Servien* complaining one Day to the Mediators of the freſh Difficulties the Miniſters of the Houſe of *Auſtria* were continually ſtarting; *Contarini*, Embaſſador of *Venice*, and one of the Mediators, could not forbear ſaying, That it was not the Miniſters of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, but thoſe of *France* that created theſe Difficulties: and to ſpeak the Truth, *That it was he*, Servien, *who alone gave Birth to all the Obſtacles: That it was he who for three Years paſt had form'd all the Impediments that obſtructed the Peace*; *and that by the ſecret Orders of ſome Perſons who did not deſire it*; *of which he would ſay more if it were neceſſary*. *Servien* reply'd, That *Contarini*'s Procedure was ſtrange, and unworthy of a Mediator, who ought to carry himſelf with Moderation, and not fly into Paſſions againſt the Parties: That he, *Servien*, ſpoke on the part of a great King, as his Miniſter and Plenipotentiary; and that it did not belong to a Mediator to uſe him after that manner: That it was a long time that he, *Contarini*, made uſe of this Artifice, and every where ſpoke of thoſe ſecret Orders, with a Deſign to ſow Diviſion among the *French* Miniſters: That the Councils Intentions were upright and ſincere, and that Peace was paſſionately deſir'd by it. The Nuncio and *d'Avaux*, who were preſent at this Converſation, ſaid nothing either the one or the other; as well becauſe they were perſuaded of the Juſtice of *Contarini*'s Reproaches, as becauſe this laſt only expreſs'd the Nuncio's Thoughts, who had explain'd himſelf on ſeveral Occaſions. It is not probable that it was out of any Affection *Contarini* had for *Spain*, that he ſpoke after this manner. It cannot be ſaid neither that this Miniſter, who had acquir'd ſo great a Reputation in the Embaſſies he had gone through in moſt Courts of *Europe*, ſhould err through Imprudence. The Zeal he had for the Preſervation of his Countrey, which was engag'd in the vexatious and troubleſome *Candian* War, forc'd theſe Expreſſions from him, and oblig'd him to disburthen his Heart againſt thoſe who by delaying to make Peace, hinder'd the other Chriſtian Princes from aſſiſting the Republick againſt the Infidels. *Servien* was in the right to ſay that *France* paſſionately deſir'd Peace, and might ſay the ſame of the Cardinal; but that was not the Difference he had with *Contarini*. *France* was for having Peace after its own way, but ſhe did not agree with *Spain*, nor even with the Mediators, as to the Juſtice and Equity of the Conditions.

The Freedom of Speaking extends it ſelf alſo to the Complaints of Embaſſadors, and to their Solicitations, which ought neither to be unjuſt nor importunate, but always lawful and neceſſary. *Anthony Paulin* Baron *de la Garde* had been bred up under *M. de Langeay*, Governor of *Piedmont*, one of the greateſt Men of his Age; and *Paulin* had made ſo great a Proficiency in this School, that the Marquiſs *de Guaſt*, who did not judge of him like a Novice, but was arriv'd to a great Knowledge in Men, ſaid of him, that he was the ableſt *French-*

man he had ever convers'd with. King *Francis* I. employ'd him to *Soliman* Emperor of the *Turks*; and he had already negotiated at *Conſtantinople*, when he was ſent again to ſecond the Inſtances of the Biſhop of *Acs*, who was there Embaſſador in Ordinary; for which reaſon he ought to know the Air of that Court, and the Humour of the Miniſters. At his Arrival at *Conſtantinople* he found, that not only they were not arming by Sea, but that there was no Preparation to divert the Emperor *Charles* V's Forces, while the King ſhould attack him in *Spain* and in *Flanders*; ſo that theſe two Miniſters, the one of whom was to carry the Reſolution of the Divan into *France*, ſhew'd their Diſſatisfaction ſo publickly, that the firſt Vizir, thinking himſelf oblig'd to juſtify his Prince's Procedure, ſent for 'em to the Council, and ſpoke to them in theſe Terms: "We "meet every Day in this Place, appointed by "the Grand Seignior for the Deliberation of "his moſt important Affairs; and we, his "Slaves, do not bring hither our Paſſions, that "we may ſpeak with ſo much the greater Li"berty; but I would not have this Liberty, "the faithful Companion of Truth, offend "you, or incommode you: For ever ſince "the King your Maſter has made an Alliance "with the *Ottoman* Houſe, we have not fail'd "to do him all the good Offices which he "could deſire from us; becauſe the Grand "Seignior loves you, and would willingly "contribute all that depends on his Power to "eſtabliſh yours, at the Expence of your Ene"mies. But there is ſo little Reaſon and E"quity in your Demands, that we may ſay they "are neither juſt nor honeſt; and they who "do not love you ſo well as we do, might "ſay, *That they are impertinent, and even im"pudent, ſince you violate your ſelves with ſo "much Inſolence the Laws of Friendſhip.* Al"lies make Alliances ſubſiſt in ſharing the Dan"ger and Expence among them; but they are "ſoon deſtroy'd if there be a Neglect in main"taining them by mutual Offices. It is you, "Gentlemen *Frenchmen*, who being always "negligent and drowſy in our Dangers, and "ever urgent and awake in your own, have "never ſtrengthen'd our Friendſhip with effe"ctual Succours, but only with Words and "uſeleſs Embaſſies. Tell us, pray now, what "Proof have you given us of your Friend"ſhip that could make the leaſt Diverſion to "our common Enemies, while *Charles* had "drawn all the Forces of the Weſt into *Au"ſtria* and *Hungary*, during the Siege of *Cor"tona* and of *Patras*, the Attack and Redu"ction of *Tunis*? We are willing to pardon "you this Fault, but we cannot bear that "you ſhould not compaſſionate our Afflictions; "and inſtead of reſenting the Outrages that "were done us, you ſhould be ſo complaiſant "as to complement the Author of 'em. Our "General was advanc'd as far as *Aulona*, with a "Deſign to paſs into *Italy* for your Service; "but we did not find in the *Poſtille* the Friends "and Intelligence you ſo much boaſted of; "and you even lay ſtill in the mean Time in "the other Parts of *Italy*, where you ought to "have made ſo powerful a Diverſion. So "that while you were no way ſerviceable to "us, and altogether of no Utility to your "ſelves, you always loſt the Opportunities of "doing well; tho' at that Time we neither "wanted your Advice nor Aſſiſtance, nor have "not ſince ſtood in need of them. The Re"publick of *Venice* has felt the Effects of our "Power, and has had Proofs of our Fidelity; "and our Arms have done us Juſtice, while "you were making of Truces with our com"mon Enemy, and imprudently ſeconding the "Deſigns they were forming againſt us. It is "without your Aſſiſtance that we repuls'd the "Efforts of our Enemies; that *Barberoſſa* diſ"pers'd their naval Forces; that he deſtroy'd "the *Spaniſh* Pirates, and that he made new "Conqueſts after the Reduction of our Towns. "We are therefore willing you ſhould know "that we have no Obligation to you; but we "chuſe rather not to remember all this, than "to fail in the point of Friendſhip. We will "readily give you Marks of our Affection; "but we muſt alſo conſider the Seaſon, the "Dangers and Conjunctures, that we may not "abandon our ſelves too much to Fortune. "You are come ſo late, that it would be Te"merity in us to expoſe a Fleet to the Seas. "The Summer is too far ſpent, and Autumn "is ſo near at hand, that it is impoſſible for "us to furniſh our Galleys with their Crew, "and our Ships with their neceſſary Comple"ments. Thoſe who are not accuſtom'd to "long Voyages are ſubject to inevitable Ma"ladies. The Wrack *Barberoſſa* ſuſtain'd in "the Month of *Auguſt*, ſufficiently ſhews "how treacherous the Sea is in this Seaſon. "The Winter ought to be employ'd in arming, "the Spring is the Time to put to Sea, and "an Army is to be made uſe of in Summer, "in order to retire at the Beginning of Au"tumn. I hope you have not taken ill that I "have ſpoken to you with as much Freedom "as Affection, referring my ſelf for the reſt "to what the Grand Seignior ſhall think fit "to reſolve upon in reference to your De"mands."

There is nothing barbarous in this reaſoning; and if there be ſome vigorous Expreſſions in it, it muſt be acknowledg'd that the *French* deſerv'd them very well.

This Freedom of Speech may extend it ſelf likewiſe to thoſe who have not the Character of Embaſſador or of publick Miniſter; as to the Deputies Towns and Communities ſend to their Sovereigns. However as theſe cannot enjoy the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, but only the Security of the publick Faith, which is not of ſo great an Extent, their Liberty ought not to be ſo neither. The Embaſſador may ſometimes go beyond that great Reſpect which is due to all Princes; but the Deputy ought always to keep within the Bounds of the Submiſſion he owes his Sovereign; and if the Zeal he has for his Countrey obliges him to ſpeak with ſome Warmth, it ought to be ſo reſpectful, that the Prince may not be offended thereby. The *Spaniſh* Troops which were quarter'd in the *Milaneſe* had mutiny'd for want of their Pay, and committed inſufferable Inſolencies there. The Magiſtrate of *Milan* ſent Deputies to the Emperor *Charles* V. to complain thereof. *Baptiſta Archinto*, Chief of the Deputation, after he had repreſented the Peoples Miſery, and ſpoke of the Proofs all the Inhabitants

bitants gave continually of their Affection for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſaid in the Concluſion of his Speech, *That it was an eaſy matter to put an End to theſe Diſorders, but that there were but two Ways to do it: The one was to pay forthwith the Muſters that were due to the Soldiers; and the other, in caſe there was none due, to permit the* Milaneſe *to revenge the Outrages they had receiv'd from them, and to employ their Arms againſt Thieves, who ſhew'd neither Obedience to their General, nor Reſpect to the Emperor himſelf.* *Charles*, who was not in a Condition to do the one, nor diſpos'd to ſuffer the other, and *who was very much offended at the Freedom of the Speech*, referr'd him to *Granvelle*, to whom he ſent Orders at the ſame Time to give him a ſevere Reprimand. *Granvelle*, who was a Maſter at that, did not fail to do it; but *Archinto* told him that the Emperor ought not to be offended at the Freedom of the Speech which a feeling Senſe of the Evil had forc'd from him; and that he was oblig'd to add, That if the Grievance were not redreſs'd, the Actions of the *Milaneſes* would be much more forcible than this Words had been. *And how can you ſuffer*, ſays he to *Granvelle*, *you, who have the chief Management of the Emperor's Affairs, that the Exceſſes and Abuſes of a Rout of Thieves and mutinous Soldiers ſhould ruin a Town that enriches you, and has ſupply'd the Emperor's Houſe and Kitchin with all Neceſſaries for ſo many Years?* *Archinto* was not the worſe us'd for this Freedom; nor the State of *Milan* any whit the better for it; but there was no hindering theſe poor Wretches from bemoaning their hard Fate and Complaining.

One cannot ſay too much in Commendation of *Nicolas Machiavel's* Hiſtory of *Florence*: and yet I am of Opinion that the ſame Judgment ought to be made of his Harangues, which curious Writers make of thoſe with which ſome of the beſt Hiſtorians diſfigure their excellent Works. This is not however any Obſtacle to our believing that the Deputies (whom the City of *Milan* ſent to Count *Francis Sforza*, after the Peace he had concluded with the *Venetians*) had Orders to make very ſharp Reproaches to him. He was General of the Army of *Milan* againſt the Republick of *Venice*, and he of his own Head made a Treaty with her, at the Expence of the Liberty of the State of *Milan*, of which he made himſelf Sovereign Prince. The *Milaneſes*, who could no longer doubt of his Intention after ſo viſible an Effect, ſent Deputies to him; who ſaid all that a juſt Reſentment, Rage and Deſpair could dictate to People who found themſelves betray'd by him who was oblig'd to defend them, and oppreſs'd by him that ſhould have protected them. They reproach'd him with his Avarice, his Ambition, his Pride, his Cruelty, his Ingratitude, his Infidelity, his Deceits, his Treachery, and in fine all that could be ſaid of the wickedeſt of Men. Indeed too much could not be ſaid of him, any more than of *Galeas*, and of *Lewis the Moor* his Sons, the one of whom was kill'd in St. *Stephen*'s Church at *Milan*, and the other dy'd a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Loches* in *Touraine*.

The Embaſſador ought not to mingle Inſolence with this Liberty, as I have already ſaid, for fear of bringing on himſelf thoſe Diſgraces, of which we have given ſome Examples.

In the Year 1469, *Stephen*, Prince or Waivode of *Walachia*, having defeated the *Tartars* in Battel, and the Cham's Son being taken Priſoner, the Father ſent to demand him, by an Embaſſy compos'd of a hundred Perſons. Theſe Barbarians, inſtead of demanding their Prince in civil Terms, threaten'd *Stephen* to ravage and lay Waſte his Countrey if he did not reſtore their Prince; but the Waivode, far from being ſurpriz'd at their Threats, commanded the Priſoner to be brought before him; and having caus'd him to be cut into four Quarters in their Preſence, order'd all the Embaſſadors to be empaled except one, whoſe Noſe and Ears he made to be cut off, and ſent him back in that Condition to the Cham, to give him an Account of the Iſſue of the Embaſſy. I would not have this bruiſh Action ſerve for an Example; but yet it may be of Uſe to ſhew, that there is no Security for the Embaſſador who laſhes out into Tranſports of Paſſion, altogether inconſiſtent with his Function: If he does not always meet with ſuch exceſſive Diſgraces, he draws upon himſelf Repartees which put him in Diſorder. The Clergy, and eſpecially the Monks and Fryars, are very ſubject thereto. In Chapter IX. of the firſt Book mention is made of two Jacobin Fryars, *Simon Lentin* and *Peter de Marſilio*, the one of which made a very inſolent Diſcourſe to *Peter the Great*, King of *Arragon*, and the other to Pope *Clement* V. *Peter* us'd his diſdainfully, and then diſmiſs'd him; but *Clement* put his into the Hands of his Superior, in order to be puniſh'd. Princes will not ſuffer the Clergy to inſult them. *Philip Auguſtus*, King of *France*, and *Richard* Earl of *Poicton*, made War with *Henry* II, King of *England*. The Pope, *Clement*, who was for obliging them all to carry their Arms againſt the Infidels in the Holy Land (which was for ſome Ages the Madneſs both of Princes and People) ſent Cardinal *d'Agnanie* to them to reconcile them. The Legate finding that his Authority and Menaces made no Impreſſion on the Mind of *Philip*, told him at laſt he would excommunicate him, and put his Kingdom under an Interdiction, unleſs he made a Peace with the King of *England*. *Philip* made Anſwer to him, That he did not fear his Fulminations, as well becauſe they were unjuſt, as becauſe it was not the Buſineſs of the Church of *Rome* to proceed by Cenſures againſt a King of *France*, who had taken Arms but only againſt his diſobedient and rebellious Subjects.

Towards the latter end of the Life of *Clement* VIII, the Republick of *Venice* began to have ſeveral Diſputes with the See of *Rome*; and the Pope, who was not for giving himſelf any Uneaſineſs, appointed Cardinal *Borgheſe* to treat about them, with *Leonard Donati*, the *Venetian* Embaſſador. The Cardinal, who was a great Canoniſt, and ſpoke mightily for the Rights of the Church, perceiving that *Donati* defended with great Firmneſs thoſe of the Republick, told him one Day, That if he was Pope, he would not trifle away ſo much time in talking, but *he would excommunicate the*

Doge and the Senate: And for my part, anſwer'd *Donati, if I was Doge, I would not heed your Excommunications.* The Cardinal was choſen Pope, and *Donati* Doge, and they both prov'd as good as their Words. *Paul* V. excommunicated the Doge and the Senate, and the Doge and the Senate laugh'd at the Excommunication, and came off with Glory.

Theſe ſenſible and reſolute Anſwers, and the courageous Actions of the Embaſſador, proceeding from the ſame Principle, I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay a Word or two concerning them in this Chapter. Both the ones and the others ought to be equally eſteem'd, provided the Words be free from Petulancy, and the Actions from Inſolence. That of *Anthony de Fonſeca*, who tore the Treaty in the Preſence of *Charles* VIII, and ſeveral of the Nobility, was altogether impudent. He was for doing ſomething remarkable; but he very well deſerv'd to be groſſly affronted for it; ſince the *Law of Nations* protected him from Violence. On the contrary, what *Peter Caponi* did, might have been the Occaſion of ſome Violence being offer'd to him, but did not deſerve an Affront, becauſe it was generous and honourable. *Charles* VIII, King of *France*, did not uſe the *Florentins* very well, after they had receiv'd him into their Town, but requir'd things of 'em very prejudicial to their Liberty. *Peter Caponi*, who was one of the four Deputies who were to treat with the *French* Commiſſioners, being one Day in Conference with them in the King's Preſence, and ſeeing the *French* inſiſted on Conditions which were very hard and unjuſt, ſnatch'd the Paper which contain'd them out of the Hands of the Counſellor who had propos'd them, and tearing them before the King, ſaid, *Since you perſiſt in demanding ſuch unreaſonable things, you may even ſound your Trumpets, and we'll ring our Bells, and then ſee who will remain Maſter.* His Perſon might have been violated, without prejudicing the *Law of Nations*, becauſe he was not a publick Miniſter; but by reaſon his Action was glorious, and done for the Preſervation of the Liberty of his Countrey, he did not deſerve to be affronted. It ſucceeded to his Wiſh; for the *French*, ſurpriz'd at ſo brave a Reſolution, moderated their Demands, and agreed with the *Florentins*.

Sultan *Ibrahim* was ſo incens'd at the Loſs of the Galeon, which was taken by the Gallies of *Malta*, that he ſwore he would put to Death all the Chriſtians that could be found within his Dominions, and that he would not ſo much as ſpare the ſacred Perſons of the Embaſſadors. The Grand Seigneur's Viſits are fatal to thoſe who receive them. *Ibrahim* had ſaid, He would go and viſit his good Friends, the Embaſſadors of *France* and of *Venice*; and this Reſolution was ſo well taken, that the laſt had Advice thereof by a Boſtangi. The Hogia, that is to ſay, the Doctor, or Preceptor to *Ibrahim*, who had a Friendſhip for the *French* Embaſſador, gave him an Account of it, and ſignify'd to him, that he would do well to be gone, till the Storm which threaten'd all the Chriſtians was over. *La Hay Vantelay*, who had that Poſt at this time, return'd the Hogia Thanks for his good Will, and farther ſaid, *That he ſhould be far from making uſe of his Counſel: That the Duty of his Employment, and his own Honour, would not ſuffer him to retire in the preſent Juncture of Affairs, without the Conſent and Order of the King his Maſter: That he was ſo far from thinking of making his Eſcape, that he ſhould on the contrary think himſelf injur'd if his Majeſty ſhould ſupply his Place by any other, and intreat him to delay the Execution of ſuch Deſign to another time, and not to envy him the Glory of ſacrificing his Life for the Service of his Prince. Beſides, that he could not imagine that the Embaſſador of the King of* France, *who was a Friend and Ally of the* Ottoman *Houſe, ought to be in any Apprehenſion of being inſulted or outrag'd, under the Reign of ſo juſt an Emperor as* Ibrahim *was, and who was ſerv'd by ſo prudent and wiſe a Council, compos'd of ſo many ſage Miniſters, who would not fail to repreſent to him of what Importance the Friendſhip of the King of* France *was to him.* The Hogia prais'd his Reſolution, and ſaid he wiſh'd all the *Turks* were like him; but not all the Chriſtians.

There happen'd ſomething like this, much about the ſame time, to *Soranzo*, Embaſſador or Bailo of *Venice* at *Conſtantinople*. The ſame *French* Embaſſador, who had anſwer'd the *Turkiſh* Doctor with ſo much Bravery, gave Information to *Soranzo*, That it had been reſolv'd in the Seraglio to ſhut him up in the Seven Towers, or in ſome other diſmal Priſon, or elſe to put him to Death; and exhorted him to prevent the Danger, he could decline no other way than by retiring; he offer'd him at the ſame time his Aſſiſtance for his getting ſafe out of *Conſtantinople*. *Soranzo* ſent him his Thanks, and gave him to underſtand, That he did not doubt but he ran a great riſque in continuing at *Conſtantinople*, and yet he would not retire without the Republick's expreſs Order. When there is a Greatneſs of Soul to anſwer theſe Expreſſions which may be call'd ſublime, the Embaſſador who poſſeſſes it, is an ineſtimable Treaſure to the Prince that employs him. There is leſs Honour got by leading a forlorn Hope in an Attack, or in taking a View of a Breach, in the Breach it ſelf, than there is in ſo honourable and dangerous a Poſt. There are thouſands of Soldiers capable of the one; but there are no Generals, and but very few Miniſters, capable of the other.

Lewis the Moor, Uſurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*, was too wicked to be very able. He was known, and ſo diſtruſted. After *Charles* VIII. had conquer'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Princes and Potentates of *Italy*, who had engag'd in an Alliance againſt him, were for bringing into the ſame the Republick of *Florence*; and the better to prevail with it, they fed it with the Hopes of being put in Poſſeſſion of the Town of *Piſa*. The *Florentins* knew that the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*, pretended each to have it for themſelves, and that they ſollicited the Declaration of *Florence* but only to deceive her. They therefore ſent Embaſſadors to the Emperor *Maximilian*, to try to obtain his Conſent. The Emperor referr'd them to the Pope's Legate; and this laſt told them, It was from *Lewis* that they muſt learn the Sentiments of the Allies. They went to *Milan*, and had demanded Audience, when the Republick ſent them Orders to ask nothing of the Duke of *Milan*. The Duke intended to make

make a Jeſt of the Embaſſadors, and having to that Purpoſe ſent for ſeveral Perſons of Quality to be preſent thereat, he was much ſurpriz'd at the Complement the Embaſſadors made him. They ſaid nothing elſe to him, but that as they were paſſing through his State to return home, they had thought themſelves oblig'd to pay their Devoirs to him. The Duke ask'd them what Anſwer the Emperor had given them. To which they anſwer'd, That the Laws of their State did not allow them to reveal the Secrets of their Embaſſy. This Anſwer having put the Duke to a *Nonplus*, he ask'd them, Whether they would give him the hearing, if he told them the Emperor's Anſwer. They reply'd, That they were not forbid hearing what ſhould be told them, and that they could not hinder him from ſpeaking. The Duke then ſaid, He would tell them the Emperor's Anſwer, but that they muſt firſt tell him what they had propos'd to him. To this they reply'd, That he muſt excuſe them, for the Reaſon before alledg'd; as alſo becauſe it was of no Utility; ſince it was improbable that the Emperor, who had ſignify'd to him the Anſwer he had made them, ſhould not alſo have inform'd him of their Propoſition. The Duke having no more to ſay, remain'd confounded, ſaid ſeveral injurious things to the Embaſſadors, and ſo diſmiſs'd them.

I make mention in the ſecond Chapter of the firſt Book, of the Speech *Gutierre Gomez de Fuenſalida*, Embaſſador from *Ferdinand the Catholick* made to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, when he thought his Perſon was not agreeable to that Prince. *Don Pedro d'Ayala* ſucceeded *Gutierre*: But he was not acceptable to *Philip* neither, who had a general Averſion for all his Father-in-Law's Miniſters. *Ayala*, after he had been employ'd to the King of *England*, went into *Spain* with *Philip*, who told him one Day, That till then he had declin'd taking Notice to him of what he had negotiated in *England* and in *Flanders*, to his Prejudice; but now that he was in *Spain*, he ought to conſider that he was his Wife's Subject, and his; and that he ought to take his Meaſures accordingly. *Don Pedro* made Anſwer, *That wherever he had been, he had always acquitted himſelf of his Duty like a good* Caſtilian: *That he would continue to act after the ſame manner, and that he believ'd no worſe would come of it, than what had hitherto happen'd: That if his Highneſs thought that the Stay he ſhould make at his Court would be prejudicial, either to his Perſon, or Kingdoms, he would acquaint the King his Maſter therewith, and be gone.* The Arch-Duke, who took upon him the Quality of King of *Caſtile*, and who was ſo in Effect, in the Behalf of his Wife, being pleas'd with this Freedom, reply'd, That he had rather he ſhould ſtay there than any Body elſe; but as he was his Subject, he ought to be cautious of doing any thing againſt his Intereſt. I have ſpoken of the Obligation which a Miniſter, who is employ'd by a foreign Prince, is under to his natural Prince, in the ſame ſecond Chapter of the firſt Book.

A Miniſter of *Venice* ſhall conclude this Chapter. *Moroſini* being Embaſſador on the part of the Republick at *Conſtantinople*, had ſome Difficulty to juſtify the Diſorder which had happen'd in the Year 1569, in the Iſland of *Corfu*, where ſeveral *Turks* had been kill'd, unwarrantably enough. The Grand Seigneur reſented it ſo highly, that he ſwore, that not only the Republick, but all *Chriſtendom*, ſhould have Cauſe to repent it. *Moroſini*, who knew that the Action was inexcuſable, endeavour'd to elude the Effect of the *Turks* Threats, but finding they were reſolv'd to have Satisfaction, he told them, That they could pretend to no other than to have the *Podeſta* of *Corfu* put into their Hands, and promis'd it ſhould be done: He wrote at the ſame time to the Senate, to make away with the Podeſta, that the *Turks* might not have ſuch an Advantage. The Senate hereupon caus'd the Podeſta to be put on Board a Ship, in Order to come and give an Account of his Behaviour; but in the Voyage he was flung into the Sea: And it was given out that he had leap'd into it himſelf, to avoid the Puniſhment the *Turks* would have inflicted upon him. The Port was contented therewith, and by this Mean the Republick avoided a notorious publick Reparation. *Moroſini* gain'd thereby ſo great a Reputation, and the Senate was ſo well pleas'd, that upon his declaring at his Return Home that he would never marry, the Biſhoprick of *Verona* was conferr'd upon him, and *Sixtus* V, who was skill'd in, and eſteem'd extraordinary Men, made him a Cardinal.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Moderation.

I Do not here mean that *Moderation*, of which the illuſtrious Author of the Reflections, Sentences, and moral Maxims, gives ſo excellent a Character, and of which the Wiſeſt have but an Appearance; but of that Phlegm and Coolneſs, either ſtudy'd or natural, which is ſo neceſſary to thoſe who enter upon the Management of publick Affairs. I do not pretend to act the Philoſopher, and ſhall content my ſelf with ſaying, That Moderation, whether it be an Effect or a part of Prudence, is a Quality by ſo much the more requiſite to the Embaſſador, as he that does not poſſeſs himſelf, gives a mighty Advantage to him with whom he negotiates. *Julius Mazarin* being but twenty Years of Age, had the Addreſs to put the Duke of *Feria*, Governor of *Milan*, into a Paſſion; and to diſcover by that Mean his true Sentiments. Thoſe Minds that are compos'd of Salt-peter and Sulphur, which the leaſt Spark ſets on fire, are very liable to mar Affairs by their Tranſports, becauſe it is an ea-

ſy Matter to excite their Anger, and put them in a Rage, during which they know not what they do. I have obſerv'd in the foregoing Chapter, that *Contarini* having reproach'd *Servien*, that it was he particularly who form'd all the Obſtacles that retarded the Peace: *Servien* told him, That it was not the Buſineſs of a Mediator to ſpeak with Paſſion, but he ought to have Moderation. What he ſays of the Mediator ought to be apply'd to all Embaſſadors without Diſtinction. *Servien* was a Man of no mean Talent. There was not any Affair but what he was capable of managing, neither was there any Poſt that he could not worthily fill: but then he was ſo ſtormy in his Humour, that there was no Negotiation that did not riſque being embroil'd and ſpoil'd in his Hands by his paſſionate Tranſports. In the Year 1647, Cardinal *Mazarin* ſent him Orders to go to the *Hague*, to treat about a Guaranty with the States of the United Provinces, for the Execution of the Peace which was negotiating at *Munſter:* but he behav'd himſelf after ſo imperious and haughty a manner, that inſtead of endeavouring to gain thoſe Republicans, accuſtom'd to be treated gently, it ſeem'd as if he would play the Dictator, and extort from them, by mere Force and Authority, what was purely voluntary; and what he could not hope for, but by making them comprehend the Reaſon thereof, and their own proper Intereſt. He ſpoke to the Deputies of the States, not as to the King his Maſter's Allies, but as to his Subjects. His Collegues could not approve of his Procedure; and eſpecially *la Tuillerie* (who ſeconded his Negotiation in *Holland*; and who was not himſelf either cold or ſtupid, but a reſolute and vigorous Miniſter) repreſented to him the Prejudice he did to the King's Affairs, by irritating a People, whoſe Alliance had not always been unſerviceable to *France*.

They who have written the Hiſtory of thoſe Times in *France* it ſelf, do not ſcruple to own, that the two Plenipotentiaries, who at their Arrival at the *Hague* in the Year 1644, had marr'd all by their Pride and imperious Behaviour, made an End to extirpate, by the furious Tranſports with which their Letters were fill'd, the little Remains of Affection thoſe People ſtill had for *France:* That Prudence indeed requir'd they ſhould apply ſome Remedies to prevent the Evil they had reaſon to apprehend, and to cure that which already appear'd; but then they ſhould have made uſe of Lenitives and ſuch Medicines as would aſſwage and mitigate the Diſtemper, and not of thoſe that viſibly inflam'd it, or render'd it altogether incurable, by making the Impoſtume break too ſoon, and out of ſeaſon. It was repreſented, that if the Levity of theſe People wanted to be kept under, they might have made uſe of a Caveſon; and that too ſevere a Correction would produce the ſame Effect, which too ſtrong Medicins have in a Cacochymical Body that abounds with ill Humours. *La Tuillery* (who as I juſt ſaid blam'd ſince *Servien*'s Conduct, and who was at leaſt as hot as he) had contributed very much to the Exaſperation of the People's Minds before *Servien* came to the *Hague* in the Year 1647. He perceiv'd it, and chang'd his Behaviour, when he found *Servien* was for outdoing him.

On the contrary; never was there ſeen any thing ſo mild and ſo engaging, as Preſident *Jeannin*'s Humour. I ſhould be in the wrong to ſay, he had Moderation; he was Moderation it ſelf. It was very difficult to withſtand the Force of his Reaſoning; but it was altogether impoſſible not to yield to the inſinuating Manner that accompany'd it. He committed a ſort of gentle and agreeable Rape upon the Mind, which one neither could, nor was willing to reſiſt. In all his Memorials, and in all his Conferences, we find a Miniſter without Paſſion, and without Intereſt, who referr'd all things to the Advantage of the State where he negotiated; inſomuch that he caus'd thoſe Propoſitions to be reliſh'd, and even embrac'd, which had been rejected ſince the Beginning of the Troubles. King *Henry* IV. was extremely incens'd at the firſt Suſpenſion of Arms the States had agreed to with the *Spaniards* in the Years 1607, without his Participation, and order'd *Jeannin* to ſignify to them his Reſentment, which was great and juſt. In his firſt Audience *Jeannin* repreſented the Reaſon the King had to be angry, that he was ſo neglected by the States, after the Proofs they had receiv'd of his Affection, and while he actually aſſiſted them with ſuch conſiderable Sums. He farther ſaid, That it was not ſo much the Reſolution they had taken, to ſuſpend the Hoſtilities, that offended the King; (ſince they look'd upon it to be neceſſary for the Good of their State) as the Manner thereof and Form, which were indeed outrageous; becauſe they ought not to have made a Secret of it to him, who of all Princes was moſt concern'd either in their good or ill Fortune.

Thoſe Miniſters who are oblig'd to their Temper and Conſtitution for this Moderation are happy; but they who acquire it but with great Difficulty, and by uſing Violence to themſelves, while they endeavour to conquer their Paſſion, and keep down the turbulent Vapours of a Choler aduſt, or parch'd Blood, deſerve a great deal more Glory. There is hardly any body but has heard of Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée*'s Haſtineſs, and who does not know a Miniſter of the ſame Quality, who has negotiated above theſe forty Years, and is ſtill at this Day at the Head of one of the firſt Embaſſies of *Europe*. It cannot be ſaid that his Brain is troubl'd with Indiſpoſitions of this Nature: but yet his Mind is lively, and he is ſubject to ſuch Emotions of Choler, that his Domeſticks have ſometimes much adoe to avoid the Effects thereof; yet nevertheleſs in Conferences and Negotiations he is never puzzl'd nor diſorder'd. He is then ſo Cool, has ſuch an Evenneſs of Temper, and ſo much Moderation, that he never laſhes out, let the Conteſt he is engag'd in be ever ſo great: and he is ſo much Maſter of himſelf, that there is not any Object, that can put him out of the Way he has propos'd to himſelf to obtain his Ends.

I am not afraid of giving the ſame Extent to Moderation which I have heretofore given to Prudence; nay I dare aſſert, That it is the ſame Virtue under another Name. They have both the ſame Ends and the ſame Objects. When I ſay the Embaſſador ought to be moderate in his Diſcourſe: That he ought not to rally nor offend any body: That he ought to be

be moderate in his Expences; and not render himſelf ridiculous by his Profuſions, or by the Vanity and Extravagancy of his Apparel, or by the exceſſive Number of his Domeſticks; do I not ſay at the ſame time, that he muſt be wiſe and prudent? When I ſay that violent Tranſports (which are ſo oppoſite to Moderation) are the Rocks that endanger Negotiation, and ſink Reputation; do I not ſay, That Prudence ought to be his Guide throughout his whole Conduct? It is about thirty Years ſince an Embaſſador, who had little elſe to ſupport his Expences but the Money he got in the Place where he was employ'd, made ſuch prodigious ones, that after he had ſquander'd away, in leſs than ſix Weeks or two Months, above two hundred and fifty thouſand Crowns, was oblig'd to pawn his Plate, and even the Preſent he had receiv'd after his Audience of Leave. It was well known that the Prince he ſerv'd was not in a Condition to make him make a Figure; and it was commonly ſaid, That a little Moderation would have done more Honour to the Maſter and the Miniſter, who would not then have been neceſſitated to borrow Money every where to carry himſelf home.

The Embaſſador from the United Provinces, had Orders to ſignify to the Court of *France*, That they could no longer bear the Depredations its Privateers committed in the *Mediterranean*; and foraſmuch as they were perſuaded that ſome of the Miniſters were concern'd therein, he was commanded to ſpeak to the King himſelf. To ſpeak the Truth, the Depredations were inſufferable: And as the Embaſſador had no great Kindneſs for Cardinal *Mazarin*, (who had as little for him) he ſought or rather met with an Opportunity to do him a very bad Turn, in an Audience where the whole Court was preſent. I cannot tell whether it was his Maſter's Intention that he ſhould affront the firſt Miniſter, and offend him irreconcileably, who at that time reign'd more abſolutely than the King himſelf. However the Embaſſador was happy enough to be avow'd; and the States came to very high Reſolutions on that Subject; but nevertheleſs it ſeems as if it was neither their Intereſt nor their Intention to execute them. The Arms of *France* were victorious every where, and made a great Progreſs in *Flanders:* The Protector ſeconded them: The States were mightily perplex'd with the *Northern* War. They might very well have reflected, that if the Depredations diſturb'd the Commerce, a War deſtroy'd it; and that they could not break with *France* without hazarding their All. One would think a private Audience, or a vigorous Memorial, ſtrong in Reaſons, would not have made ſo much Noiſe, and yet would have been full as effectual. The moderate Embaſſador would have took that Method, and would not have brought upon himſelf the Affront the Cardinal gave this at his Departure from Audience.

The Marquiſs *du Fargis*, Embaſſador of *France* in *Spain*, was far from having that Moderation which makes one of the chief Qualifications of an accompliſh'd Miniſter. His Haughtineſs was ill ſupported, and had more in it of Pride than of that Greatneſs of Soul which is expreſs'd by the Word Haughtineſs, when we make it a good Quality. He was in continual Tranſports, and there was not the leaſt Moderation in his Speeches. Having in the Year 1623, follow'd the Court of *Spain* to *Barcelona*, where the King had call'd together the States of *Catalonia*, who were not very much inclin'd to grant the Subſidies which were demanded of them: He ſaid the King his Maſter would be always ready to come and aſſiſt the King of *Spain* his Brother-in-Law with an Army of twenty thouſand Men, to puniſh his rebellious Subjects. This Speech ſo incens'd the *Catalans*, that they were upon the Point of taking Arms, with a Deſign to kill *du Fargis*. The King, who was inform'd of the Danger *du Fargis* was in, deſir'd the Emperor's Embaſſador not to leave him, but to take along with him ſome of the King's Guards, and ſee him ſafe home: but *du Fargis*, inſtead of moderating his Heat, and not expoſing himſelf as he had done two Years before, gave a greater Looſe to his Paſſion, and vented ſeveral other more extravagant Rodomontades, which were as diſpleaſing to the Court of *France*, as they were to the States of *Catalonia*.

A moderate Miniſter would have done quite otherwiſe, than did *Don Balthaſar de la Cueva*, Embaſſador of *Spain* at *Vienna*, in the Year 1666. Some of his Domeſticks had committed a great Outrage to one of the chief Officers of the Emperor's Court. They had been driven, and forc'd to ſave themſelves in the Town Houſe, where they continu'd to reſiſt the Guard. The Embaſſador, inſtead of blaming the Inſolence of his People, and endeavouring to get them off, thought fit to authorize their Violence by his Preſence, and made the Court ring with his unjuſt Complaints. The Emperor was ſo ſcandaliz'd thereat, that he ſet a Guard upon the Embaſſador, refus'd to give him Audience, and oblig'd him to excuſe himſelf. The Miniſter that is reduc'd to this, does no great Honour, neither to his Character nor Maſter.

The Embaſſador ought to ſhew his Moderation in all his Conduct, and every Day, when he can find an Opportunity; of which we have an illuſtrious Example in Cardinal *Doſſat*, and in the Difference he had with Brother *Hilary* of *Grenoble* a Capucin, and one of the moſt impertinent Friars the Cloiſters ever afforded. The Cardinal relates the Particulars thereof in the Letter he wrote to *M. de Villeroy*, on the 22d of *February*, 1601. This Friar, who was Vanity it ſelf, having entertain'd the Cardinal with ſeveral things that were falſe, deſir'd him to procure him Audience from the Pope. *Doſſat* promis'd to do it, and accordingly ſpoke himſelf about it to the Maſter of the Chamber; whereas had it been for himſelf, he would have ſent one of his Attendants to demand it, or elſe one of his Gentlemen: But the Pope's Indiſpoſition having hinder'd him from giving it for ſome time to the Cardinals and Embaſſadors, there was no likelihood he would prefer a Capucin to them. So that *Doſſat* ſignify'd to the Friar, That he muſt have a little Patience. The Friar was offended at it, fell into a Paſſion, and told ſeveral Perſons of Quality, That he would obtain Audience without the Cardinal's Mediation; and upon the handſome Meſſage the Cardinal ſent him on the ſame Subject, he made this Anſwer, That he ſhould quickly

quickly return to *France*; and the King would then ſend him back with other Letters; but they ſhould not be for the Cardinal, who was remiſs in his Majeſty's Affairs, and was not capable of diſcharging them, no more than *M. de Sillery*. All the Reſentment *M. Doſſat* ſhew'd, was to ſpeak of it with Contempt, as coming from a mere Friar; and to ſay, he was not afraid that the Judgment the King would form of his Zeal and Actions would depend on the Report of that inſignificant Capucin, nor of that of all the Capucins and Friars in the World. I ſhould never have done, if I was to bring Proofs from his other Letters, as well as from thoſe of Preſident *Jeannin*; becauſe there is hardly one but what will furniſh an Example. However I think my ſelf oblig'd to add here two other Proofs of the Moderation of *M. Doſſat*. He was a Domeſtick to the Cardinal *de Joyeuſe*, and had, under him, ſolicited the Affairs of *France*, with ſo much Judgment and Succeſs, that King *Henry* III. had a mind to have him near his Perſon, and to give him the Place of Secretary of State. He refus'd it, tho' he had not any Employment nor Benefice to ſubſiſt by. The other Proof is, That the Cardinal *d'Eſte*, who had receiv'd great Services from *Doſſat*, and knew his Probity, being on his Death-bed, left him four thouſand Crowns: but fearing leſt *Doſſat* ſhould find ſome Difficulty to get that Sum from the Duke of *Modena*, he was for giving him a Jewel worth twenty thouſand Crowns, that it might ſerve for a Pledge, till he was paid the four thouſand; but his Moderation would not ſuffer him to take Security for a Gift that was altogether gratuitous and voluntary; tho' he was needy enough at that time, as well as all the reſt of his Life. This Neceſſity it ſelf is another Mark of his Moderation.

This Virtue is more familiar to Miniſters of the Robe, than to thoſe of the Sword; becauſe theſe do not always diſtinguiſh between the Embaſſador and the Captain. In the Year 1651, during the Commotions of *Paris*, the Mareſchal *de Thurenne*, who had declar'd for the Princes, endeavour'd to bring to their Aſſiſtance the Troops he commanded in *Germany*. The Baron *d'Avaugour*, Miniſter of *France* in the *Swediſh* Army, had obtain'd of the Prince *Palatin*, who commanded it as Generaliſſimo, two thouſand Horſe, who were to joyn Colonel *Erloch* and oppoſe *M. de Thurenne*'s Paſſage. The Mareſchal *Wrangel* had given Orders to the Officer who was to command thoſe two thouſand Horſe, not to go out of *Germany*, and not to fight either the *Germans* or the *Lorrainers*. *D'Avaugour*, who look'd upon this Reſtriction to be prejudicial to his Maſter's Service, came to high Words with *Wrangel* about it, who being Mareſchal de Camp, the other as Colonel ow'd him Reſpect and Obedience; and yet they were both going to draw in the Generaliſſimo's Antichamber, who coming out of his Cloſet at the Noiſe, commanded *Wrangel* to withdraw: but he told *d'Avaugour*, *That he exceeded the Bounds of his Miniſtry and of Moderation, which ought to be inſeparable from his Character, and that it did not belong to him to fly into Paſſions, and to have recourſe to Arms to ſupport his Maſter's Intereſt.* This did not hinder the Prince (when the Baron was retir'd) from comending the Zeal this Miniſter ſhew'd for the Service of his King.

The King of *France* had granted his Protection to the *Barberins* againſt the Perſecutions of Pope *Innocent*, and had procur'd a Peace between them, and the Princes and States of *Italy*, who had taken Arms for the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Caſtro*. The Republick of *Venice*, who was for the League, had caus'd all the Revenues the *Barberins* had in the State of *Venice* to be ſeiz'd: and altho' after the Peace the Senate ought to have put them in poſſeſſion of their Eſtates again, yet it did not do it; and receiv'd but coldly, and with Indifferency enough, the Offices the King caus'd to be done for their Reeſtabliſhment. The Preſident *de Gremonville*, who was Embaſſador there, having receiv'd Orders to procure a poſitive Anſwer on that Head, inſtead of the indefinite and uncertain ones which were made to his Inſtances, preſs'd the Senate ſo much thereupon, that it at laſt conſented to their Reſtoration. It was oblig'd thereto by virtue of the Treaty; and yet it did it ſo late, and with ſo ill a Grace, that ſome were for perſuading the Embaſſador, that if he did not reſent the Senate's ill Treatment, he ought at leaſt to forbear complementing it. He made Anſwer, That it was the King his Maſter's Buſineſs to ſignify to the *Venetian* Embaſſador, that the Senate might have behav'd it ſelf otherwiſe than it had done; but as for his part, he would not fail in what he ow'd to Moderation and Civility: and reſolv'd to complement the Senate.

I ſay moreover, that ſince Moderation ought to accompany all the Embaſſador's Actions and every part thereof, it may be allow'd the ſame Extent, which I have before aſſign'd to Prudence; and one may ſay that it is a Retinue which ought inſeparably to attend his whole Conduct. He ought to be very jealous and, extremely ſcrupulous in reference to the Honours which cannot be refus'd him, as the Repreſentative of a Sovereign Prince; but he ought not to give way to Extravagancy, nor pretend to Honours which are neither due to his Perſon nor Character. He may take Place of a Prince, who notwithſtanding he be born of a Sovereign Houſe, is become the Subject of another Sovereign Prince; but he ought not to diſpute it with a Sovereign. The Princes of the Houſes of *Savoy* and *Lorrain*, who have ſettl'd in *France*; who have, as one may ſay, taken rooting there, and who are really Subjects, cannot enter into Competition with the Embaſſadors of Crown'd Heads. I ſay the ſame of the Princes of *Italy*, who are younger Sons; (altho' thoſe of *Savoy*, and within ſome Time thoſe of *Tuſcany* diſpute it with them) and of thoſe of *Germany*, who having only a ſimple Appennage or Maintenance, have no Seat in the Diets of the Empire, and ſo have no Share in the Sovereignty. But the Embaſſador who would pretend to take Precedency of a Soveveign, or of his preſumptive Heir; or elſe to be upon the Level with the Sons or Brothers of Crown'd Heads, offends againſt Moderation. Thoſe Embaſſadors who were for having arm'd Chairs at an Entertainment where the Prince of *Wales* had none; he that made Difficulty to give Place to the hereditary Prince

of

of *Sweden*, Brother to the King of *Poland*; and the Mareſchaleſs of *Guebriant*, who pretended to be paid the ſame Honours which had formerly been done to the Arch-Dutcheſs of *Tirol*, were guilty of an unpardonable Impertinency, and brought an Affront upon their Maſters. The Embaſſador repreſents the Sovereign, but he is not the Sovereign; for which reaſon he ought to give Place to thoſe who have that Prerogative, wherever he meets them. It is the only Reaſon why the King of *France* is willing to ſuffer the Princes of *Italy*, who are acknowledg'd for Sovereigns, to take the Place of Honour at Home of his Embaſſadors. Nay a Sovereign ought not to deſire exceſſive Honours ſhould be done to his Embaſſador, becauſe they oblige him to do the ſame; and theſe Civilities are dear to them who do not owe them, and are not paid without Reluctancy.

CHAP. IX.

It is lawful for an Embaſſador to corrupt the Miniſters of the Court where he reſides.

I Have ſpoken in the laſt Chapter of the firſt Book, of the Preſents the Prince makes to Embaſſadors when they go out of their Employment; as well to ſhew the Eſteem he has for their Perſons, and that he is ſatisfy'd with their Conduct, as to manifeſt the Conſideration he has for their Maſter. I ſhall here ſpeak of thoſe Preſents which the Embaſſadors themſelves make, and of the other Means they make uſe of to bring over to their Prince's Intereſt the Miniſters of the Court where they negotiate. This is one of thoſe Functions of the Embaſſador that he never acquits himſelf of without expreſs Orders, or unleſs he be very ſure he ſhall be avow'd; ſince there is no Embaſſador who without that would be at the Expence thereof, or run the Riſque of creating himſelf Troubles with the Sovereign of the Place where he reſides. When King *Henry* IV. caus'd Secretary *Brunean* to be taken up, for having been diſcover'd to treat with *Merargues* about the ſurpriſing of *Marſeilles*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador reclaim'd the Secretary as his Domeſtick, and reproach'd the King amongſt other things that his Miniſters had endeavour'd to corrupt thoſe of the Court at *Bruſſels*: The King told him, *That that was what an Embaſſador might lawfully do, in order to diſcover thereby the Intrigues which were carry'd on againſt his Maſter's Service*; *and that the Buſineſs of* Marſeilles, Metz, *and other Places, made it plain that he had reaſon to endeavour to penetrate into the Deſigns which were forming at* Bruſſells *againſt the Repoſe of his Kingdom. Philip de Commines* is never tir'd of ſpeaking of the Addreſs with which *Lewis* XI, and his Miniſters, gain'd thoſe of other Princes. He was not diſhearten'd at the firſt Refuſal; he renew'd his Inſtances, and never left off promiſing Money, Revenues, Offices and Benefices, till he had gain'd his Point. *Commines* might ſpeak hereof by Experience, becauſe he had ſuffer'd himſelf to be debauch'd from the Service of the Duke of *Burgundy* to enter into the King's, who was not deceiv'd in the Choice of that Miniſter. The King by theſe Means made himſelf a great many Friends, and got out of many a troubleſome Affair, by his Liberalities, rather than his Addreſs, notwithſtanding he had a great deal. As ſoon as he obſerv'd either Parts or Merit in a Man, he never reſted till he had gain'd him. A Gentleman of *Gaſcony*, who was in the King of *England*'s Service, being one Day diſcourſing with *Commines*, told him, that King *Edward* IV. had been preſent in ſeven Battels, where he had fought on Foot, and come off victorious from them all; but that he had loſt one, which had ſully'd the Luſtre of the Glory he had acquir'd in all the former; and that was the Peace he had lately concluded with the King of *France*. The King was no ſooner inform'd of the Particulars of this Converſation, than he commanded *Commines* to bring the *Gaſcon* Gentleman to him, whom he caus'd to dine with him, and there ſaid ſo many fine Things to him that he brought him over to his Service.

During the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia* the Duke of *Longueville* offer'd a conſiderable Preſent to the Sieur *de Reede de Nederhorſt*, one of the Deputies of the United Provinces on the Part of the States of *Utrecht*; and he offer'd one likewiſe to the Secretary of the Embaſſy, becauſe they were well affected to *France*. They both refus'd to accept it, and ſaid, That after the Concluſion of the Peace they would not refuſe the Tokens of the King's Liberality if his Majeſty judg'd they had deſerv'd them; but that they ought to be excus'd from doing it during the Negotiation. The United Provinces made a particular Treaty; and the *French* who did not conclude theirs of above eleven Years after, thought no more of the good Offices they had receiv'd from thoſe Miniſters. On the contrary, they have ſuffer'd one of them to be diſhonour'd after his Death by one of their beſt Hiſtorians,* who does not ſcruple to ſay, that he reveal'd to the *French* Plenipotentiaries the moſt ſecret Sentiments of his Collegues. It is what they might very well have forborn; as *Servien* on his part has acquir'd no great Reputation of Prudence in accuſing *Pau de Heemſtede* and *Knuit*, two of the Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces, to have been corrupted by *Spaniſh* Money. They were two Miniſters who were in effect what they call at *Florence Miſero*; but as there is nothing ſo eaſy as to juſtify ones ſelf of a Crime that has no Witneſſes, they clear'd themſelves by their Oath, and reap'd Ho-

nour from the Accuſation of their greateſt Enemy.

In the height of the Negotiation of *Munſter*, *Noirmont*, Agent of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and Broker in the private Commerce they had with thoſe of the United Provinces, told *Knuit*, who manag'd the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt, that the King of *Spain* intended to make a Preſent to the Prince of the Towns of *Venlo* and *Ruremonde*, and that if his Highneſs deſir'd it, the Town of *Guelder* ſhould alſo be added; and that the Ratification thereof ſhould be ſent from *Spain* as ſoon as the Prince ſhould have explain'd himſelf. *Servien* fearing leſt theſe Offers ſhould make an Impreſſion in the Mind of the Prince, whoſe Judgment was extremely weaken'd by Age and continual Indiſpoſitions, diſpatch'd his Nephew to Court in all Haſte, to procure Orders to be ſent him, to offer the Prince the Town of *Bruges* (if he took it during that Campaign) in full Sovereignty with ſome other neighbouring Villages, on Condition he took the Inveſtiture from the King, and left the Catholick Religion in the State it was then in; but above all things, on Condition that the States ſhould not ſeparate from the *French* Intereſt. *D'Eſtrades* had formerly offer'd the Prince the Exchange of the Town of *Antwerp* for the Principality of *Orange*, and to yield him ſome other Rights and imaginary Pretenſions; but the Prince, inſtead of accepting theſe Offers, had rejected them; and they produc'd a very ill effect. *Servien* moreover ſaid, That it was neceſſary to gain the Princeſs of *Orange*; and at the ſame time he and his Collegues try'd to gain ſome of the Plenipotentiaries who were at *Munſter*; but all this came to nothing. The Miniſters of the two Crowns acted therein conformably to their Maſter's Intereſt, and made uſe of ſuch Means to gain their Ends, as were very lawful in reference to them. *D'Eſtrades* was ſworn to, and in the Service of the States; and yet that did not hinder him from making (as a publick Miniſter) ſuch Offers as were capable of corrupting the firſt Perſon in the State, if he had met with a corruptible Subject. The Deputies whom the Arch-Dukes ſent to the *Hague* in the Year 1607, to make Propoſals of a Peace, which was ſince converted into a Truce of twelve Years, employ'd a *Cordelier*, whom they had with them, to corrupt the Fidelity of the Regiſter of the States General, who was a Miniſter of great Authority at that Time, and made him an Offer of very conſiderable Preſents. He acquainted Prince *Maurice* therewith, and the Sieur *d'Oldenbarnevelt* firſt Miniſter of the Province of *Holland*, who adviſ'd him to take the Preſent, and to put it into a third Hand. They gave him a very fine Diamond of the Value of ſix thouſand Crowns, a Bill of Exchange of fifteen thouſand, and a Promiſe of thirty five thouſand more, which he was to receive after the Concluſion of the Peace. The Eſtates were very much ſcandaliz'd at this Procedure, and the Archduke diſavow'd it. *M. de Villeroy* ſays, in one of his Diſpatches, That the *Cordelier*'s Action was diſavow'd, becauſe he had behav'd himſelf therein like a Fryar, that is to ſay, after too groſs a manner. There were but too many Perſons of Quality and Authority in *Holland*, who did not approve of the Negotiation of Brother *John Neyen*, who not having any Character of a publick Miniſter, could not pretend to take upon him to corrupt one of the chief Miniſters of the State, without acting contrary to the Tenor of his Paſſport, which was all the Security he had; and yet inſtead of affronting him, they were contented to give ſome Confuſion to the other Deputies; and to the *Cordelier* as much Shame as Fryars and Monks are capable of. Some time after the *Cordelier* took a Journey into *Spain*, and at his Return he ſent to the States to deſire a Paſſport for himſelf, and the Auditor *Verreiken*, who was to bring to the *Hague* the King of *Spain*'s Ratification, in the Form the States had deſir'd it. It was put into Debate, whether they ought not to refuſe a Paſſport to him who would have corrupted the Regiſter; but at laſt it was reſolv'd it ſhould be ſent him. He return'd to the *Hague*, and continu'd to act the Negotiator, notwithſtanding his former Intrigue.

Edward IV, whom I lately mention'd, was ſenſible that the chief Lords of his Court had Penſions from *Lewis* XI. *Commines* names a good many of them, and relates how *Howard*, Great Chamberlain of *England*, did not refuſe the Penſion of *France*; that he put the fine Pieces ſtampt with the Sun into his Sleeve; but that he would not give any Acquittance for the ſame, that his Name might not be ſeen in the Regiſters of the Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*. It is not there indeed; but it is very plainly to be ſeen in the Memoirs of *Philip de Commines*, which are much more publick, and deſerve full as much Credit as the Regiſters of the Chamber of Accounts. It is ſaid, that one Day an *Engliſh* Gentleman ſignify'd to King *James* that he had a Matter of very great Importance to impart to him; but that his Majeſty muſt aſſure him of his Protection in a particular manner; becauſe without that his Life would be in great Danger. After he had taken his neceſſary Precautions he told him, That ſeveral Noblemen of his Court and Council receiv'd Penſions from *Spain*, and that he could make it out. The King anſwer'd him, That he knew it very well, and made a Jeſt of it. He moreover ſaid, he wiſh'd the King of *Spain* would give them ten times as much; becauſe this unprofitable Expence would render him leſs able to make War againſt him. The *French* who take Pleaſure in publiſhing the Good they do, as well as the Favours they receive, have endeavour'd to make it be believ'd, that the Miniſters of the Court of *England* were not very difficult on that Subject not long ſince. Queen *Elizabeth* would not have ſuffer'd it. *Henry* IV. had given the Order of St. *Michael* to *Nicolas Clifford*, and to *Anthony Sherley*, on the Account of the Services they had done him in the War. Theſe two Gentlemen being return'd into *England*, the Queen ſent them to Priſon, and commanded them to ſend back the Order, and to cauſe their Names to be raz'd out of the Regiſters. She ſaid, *That as a virtuous Woman ought to look on none but her Husband, ſo a Subject ought not to caſt his Eyes on any other Sovereign than him God had ſet over him. I will not*, ſaid ſhe, *have my Sheep mark'd with a ſtrange Brand, nor ſuffer them to follow the Pipe of a ſtrange Shepherd.* Queen *Chriſtina* would

would not permit the Prince *Palatin* to receive the Order of the Garter, nor the Count *de la Garde* to be made a Prince of the Empire. Theſe two Queens were in the right to hinder their Subjects from entering into Engagements with foreign Princes. They cannot ſhare out their Affection, nor their Zeal, without robbing their Sovereign of all that Portion they ſo beſtow; who ought to be as jealous thereof, as a Husband is of his Wife's Honour. It was a kind of Corruption, the Office which *la Tuillerie* the *French* Embaſſador did to the Princeſs of *Orange*, in the Year 1646. He told her, that after the Death of the Prince her Huſband, who in all likelihood would not live long, the King would not fail to protect and ſupport her: That if before the Concluſion of the Peace any thing could be done for the Intereſt of her Houſe, his Majeſty would not only employ his good Offices therein, but alſo his Arms, to obtain for it all poſſible Advantages. He gave her to underſtand, That the King would not ſuffer *Holland* to diſturb her, for having oppos'd a Peace, which would ſeparate the United Provinces from the Intereſt of *France*. Nay, *La Tuillerie* had Orders to confirm to her the Offer had been made to the Prince, to leave him *Antwerp*, and to aſſure her, the King would joyn his Arms to thoſe of the State for the reducing of that Place. The Prince had poſitively declar'd, That he would not hearken to any Treaty for his own particular Intereſts; but the Princeſs taking Advantage of the Infirmities of her Husband, diſpos'd him to whatever ſhe pleas'd, and made him conſent to a Treaty, by which the King of *Spain* gave to the Princeſs the Territories of *Turnhout* and of *Sevenbergue*. She expected nothing like that, from *France*, and ſhe choſe rather to ſuit her ſelf to the Sentiments of *Holland*: Beſides which, there were Domeſtick Conſiderations which made her take that ſide.

Philip de Commines ſays, That it is a mighty Advantage to an Embaſſador, to be able to dive into the Affairs of a Prince by the Means of his Miniſter. And indeed, it may be ſaid to be one of the moſt important Services an Embaſſador can do his Maſter, That of acquiring him one of the Miniſters of the Court where he negotiates. For as he is an honourable Spy, it is not only a ſure way to penetrate into the Secret, but alſo to give Affairs that Turn which his Maſter deſires, and which conduces moſt to his Intereſt. Now that an Embaſſador, who gains or corrupts a Miniſter, does not violate the *Law of Nations*, and keeps within the Bounds of his Function, is what all the World is agreed in: But then this Liberty, which is allow'd the Embaſſador, is not of infinite Extent. The ſame *Henry* IV, who told *Don Balthaſar de Zuniga*, That an Embaſſador may gain or corrupt a Miniſter, in order to diſcover the Secrets of the Court where he reſides, caus'd *Bruneau* to be taken up, who was debauching *Merargues*. The *Spaniards* had corrupted one of *M. de Villeroy*'s Clerks, and learn'd from him the moſt momentous Secrets of the State. The King did not come upon the Miniſters of *Spain* for it, becauſe that Commerce is allow'd of, tho' ſometimes under the Colour of this Permiſſion, they paſs off Contraband Goods. True Friends ſeldom make uſe of it, and never abuſe it. *William Peliſſier*, Biſhop of *Montpellier*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Venice*, had corrupted *Maffée Leone*, the two Brothers *Canaſſes*, and ſome others, either Miniſters or Subjects of the Republick of *Venice*, who communicated to him Secrets, which he imparted to the Court of *Conſtantinople*. The Senate puniſh'd the Traytors ſeverely, but it did not complain of the Embaſſador: And if ſome time after it ſollicited the King to recall this Miniſter, it was only becauſe he did them many ill Offices, and gave out falſe Reports, capable of altering the good Correſpondence the Republick was willing to hold with the King.

Yet I can hardly believe that the *Law of Nations*, which ought to ſerve only to the Preſervation of Civil Society, would protect thoſe who deſtroy the very Principles thereof, by forming Treaſons, and contriving Plots againſt the Perſon of the Prince with whom they reſide, by fomenting a Rebellion, by diſturbing the Repoſe of the State, or by favouring Hoſtilities in the height of Peace. The Biſhop of *Roſſe*, *Don Bernardin de Mendoſſe*, the Abbot *Scaglia*, and ſome other Embaſſadors whom I have mentioned elſewhere, carry'd on a Commerce which the *Law of Nations* does not allow of. They did not corrupt the Miniſters to learn their Secrets, but they caball'd and contriv'd Treaſons againſt the Prince and the State. *Philip de Commines* is of Opinion, That a wiſe Prince ought to rid himſelf of this ſort of wicked and vexatious Miniſters.

Miniſters are corrupted, not only by Preſents, but alſo by ſeveral other Means. The Vanity of the ones is attack'd by Flattery, and the Ambition of others is excited by Praiſes and extraordinary Encomiums: To ſome a great Fortune is promis'd, and the Diſſatisfaction of others is fomented by entring into their Intereſt, againſt the Prince, by whom they think they are either neglected or deſpiſed. The Miniſters of *Spain* and of *Savoy* employ'd all theſe Means to debauch and ruin the Duke of *Biron*. King *Henry* IV. ſent him to *Bruſſels*, to ſee the the Peace of *Vervins* ſworn to. The Arch-Duke made Preſents to him, not as to an Embaſſador, or an Officer of the Crown, whom the King mightily conſider'd; but as to a Man he had a Mind to gain, and who could not be purchas'd at too dear a Rate. The *Spaniards* poiſon'd his Mind with extravagant Praiſes, and with the Hopes of an imaginary Sovereignty. The Duke of *Savoy* made an end to win him by the Promiſes of a high Alliance; but chiefly by malicious Reports of the little Eſteem the King had for his Perſon. He thought the King could not ſufficiently acknowledge his Services, but by dividing his Kingdom with him: So that finding himſelf plac'd in the Rank with other Subjects, tho' the moſt illuſtrious ones, he forgot himſelf ſo far, that he undertook to conſpire againſt the Life of his Sovereign, who was the beſt Prince that had been for many Ages. The Count *de Fieſque*, Embaſſador of *Savoy*, in the Complement he made to the King on the Diſcovery of *Biron*'s Conſpiracy, was for juſtifying his Maſter, but his Juſtification was not well receiv'd. The King, far from complaining of thoſe Miniſters who had been concern'd therein, would not ſo much as ſuf-

fer either them or their Princes to be accus'd. Thoſe who have ever ſo little Generoſity, do not defile themſelves with this ſort of Treaſons; and they who have the leaſt Grain of Prudence, ought not to make it known that they are capable of them.

Mention is made elſewhere of an Embaſſador, who far from gaining any Miniſter of the Court of *France*, in Order to learn the Secrets thereof, reveal'd thoſe of *Ferdinand the Catholick* to *Lewis* XI. Theſe Infidelities do not belong to the Subject of this Chapter. I ſhall only ſay that thoſe Princes, who have not the Means to make theſe Acquiſitions, loſe a great Advantage, and a fine Opportunity of compaſſing their End. The States of the United Provinces do not afford their Miniſters theſe Means; they have no Funds for that Purpoſe: So that not being able to be at the Expence of theſe Intrigues, without the Participation of a great Number of Perſons, who are not all capable of Secrecy, they would not be likely to ſucceed in it very well, tho' they ſhould undertake it, unleſs they left the whole Management thereof to the Prince of *Orange*, as they have intruſted him with that of their moſt important Affairs. I could inſtance in Conjunctures, where the Expence of fifty thouſand Crowns would have ſav'd them Millions: It cannot be deny'd but it is one of the greateſt Infirmities of their Government, that Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions are concern'd therein. But this belongs to Hiſtory, and has nothing in common with the Matter I treat of.

To make out what is contain'd in this Chapter, it will not be amiſs to ſee the Inſtruction Preſident *Jeannin* gives to *M. de Preaux*, on the 2d of *April*, 1609, which is very particular on this Subject; with the Inſtruction the Sieur *de Preaux* brought back from Court. In the firſt he ſpeaks in theſe Terms.

" For the particular Service of his Majeſty, " it is requiſite to know his Intention. It is " well known, in the firſt Place, that it is to " ſtrengthen as much as may be the Authority " of Prince *Maurice*, and of thoſe private Perſons which are known to be moſt againſt " the *Spaniſh* Power; and to acquire there, " and entertain Servants, who ſhall take Care, " and be oblig'd to remind the Eſtates, of his " Majeſty's Kindneſs to them, and Deſerts from " them: *Which cannot be done but by employing " every Year ſome Money to engage them, and " gain their Affection.* For when only the Body of a Republick in general is oblig'd, it " often quits the Obligation of its Debts by Ingratitude; but the particular Perſons who " are engag'd, being Men of Credit and Capacity, are of great Utility and Service; and " in this State it is eſteem'd neceſſary; foraſmuch as it is well known, that they are " ready to receive the Conveniency and Advantages one is willing to offer them. And " what ought the rather to invite his Majeſty " to think hereof, is, that it is probable that " the King of *Spain* (who has made a Treaty " which many look upon to be ſhameful to " him) had no other Inducement thereto beſides Neceſſity, (which is put for a chief " Cauſe) but the Hopes he had, or rather the " Aſſurance, that he might ſettle ſome Correſpondence amongſt them, *by ſcattering there " every Year ſome conſiderable Sum*, in order to " change them, and make them return from " whence they went. *Now there is no better " Mean*, beſides the good and wiſe Conduct of the State in general, *but for his Majeſty to oblige ſome Servants to oppoſe ſuch Practices and Corruption; in which one Crown " from him will do more to ſecure them, and render them well affected to his Crown*, than a " hundred from the King of *Spain* will do, to " bring them over to him. His Majeſty having acquir'd ſome Servants, and ſettled " a Correſpondence for ſome time, may, if " he ſhould deſire any thing farther, explain " himſelf.

The King, in Anſwer to this Article of *Jeannin*'s Inſtruction, ſays, *It is his Majeſty's Intention, and ſhall be his Care, to preſerve and increaſe for the future, as much as he ſhall be able, the Credit and Authority, the Aſſiſtance he has given to the ſaid Eſtates, and his Benevolence, have acquir'd him heretofore amongſt 'em; as well that he may have the Means to continue to do them Good, and render his Counſels more acceptable to them, as for the Benefit and Advantage his Kingdom may alſo receive therefrom, and for the other good Reaſons, Hopes, and Conſiderations, which the ſaid Sieur* Jeannin *had repreſented to him by the ſaid Sieur* de Preaux. *To effect this, his Majeſty has thought fit to employ on that ſide the Sum of one hundred thouſand Livers in Penſions and Benefits, to be diſpens'd by the ſaid Sieur* Jeannin; *whether by the way of annual Penſions, or gratuitous Gifts, to thoſe he ſhall judge deſerving of ſuch Gratification, and to have a Power to ſerve his Majeſty. Wherefore the ſaid Sieur* Jeannin *may, by virtue of the preſent Memorial, which is ſign'd by his Hand, and counterſign'd by his Order, promiſe and grant from this preſent, and before he leaves the Countrey, the ſaid Penſions and Benefits, as far as the ſaid Sum ſhall go, in that Form he ſhall think the beſt; his Majeſty referring himſelf herein entirely to his Prudence and Loyalty. Only he muſt know, that his Majeſty has prais'd and approv'd the Project the ſaid Sieur* de Preaux *brought him, and which he has already made in regard to the Quality and Conditions of the Perſons, on whom he has caſt his Eyes for this Purpoſe, whom he ſhall agree to treat and favour according to their Merit and Power, amongſt which his Majeſty thinks, that he ought not to omit making an Offer to Prince* Maurice *by way of Penſion, or other Gift, worthy him, even tho' it were known he would not accept the ſame, if it were but to teſtify to him more and more the Eſteem his Majeſty has for him: It is thought it cannot be leſs than thirty thouſand Livers. However, his Majeſty refers it to the Judgment of the Sieur* Jeannin, *as he likewiſe does all that concerns the intire Diſtribution of the ſaid Sum, in which the ſaid Sieur* de Barnevelt *ought to have a Share worthy his Merit; as the ſaid Sieur* de Preaux *is charg'd to acquaint the ſaid Sieur* Jeannin *more particularly. The ſaid Sum of a hundred thouſand Livers ſhall be ſent thither at two Terms, with the other Monies his Majeſty deſigns to expend in the Payment of the aforeſaid Men at Arms, to be put into the Hands of him, the ſaid Sieur* Jeannin *ſhall judge proper to make a Diſtribution thereof, according to what he ſhall have fix'd and determin'd; to the End all things may be manag'd ſecretly and faithfully, as it is requiſite in ſuch Caſes.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of Letters and Diſpatches.

I Shall not here trouble my ſelf to ſay, that the Embaſſador ought to be very careful in keeping the Minutes of his Letters, and to lay them up according to the Order of their Date, that he may be able to find them readily whenever he ſhall have Occaſion: which is what he alſo ought to obſerve in reference to the Diſpatches he receives; becauſe it is the proper Function of the Secretary, who ought to title both the ones and the others, and put them in order, before either he or his Maſter locks them up. This is what Cardinal *Mazarin* was ſo exact in, that his Domeſticks could not fail of caſting their Eye, and laying their Hand immediately on the Paper he ask'd them for. The Punctuality of the late *M. de Witt*, firſt Miniſter of *Holland*, came very near this; and he was therein perfectly well ſeconded by the Clark of *Holland*, who ſerv'd under him. But I ſhould think one might ſay, That the Embaſſador who is exact and punctual, does not fail to ſet down at the Head of his Diſpatches, the Dates of thoſe he had ſent before, to which he has receiv'd no Anſwer. As alſo thoſe of the Letters he has receiv'd ſince his laſt. When he writes about Affairs of Importance, and the Ways are not very ſafe, it is proper to ſend Duplicates. He ought alſo to write on all Occaſions, as well Ordinary as Extraordinary, whereſoever he happens to be, both to ſatisfy his Prince's Curioſity, and to give Proofs of his Diligence.

As for the Diſpatches themſelves, there are many Rules to be given, and many Obſervations to be made; but the moſt univerſal Rule is, That the Embaſſador therein muſt accommodate himſelf to the Humour and Will of his Maſter. There is no Prince that underſtands his Affairs, but will require his Embaſſador ſhould write to himſelf immediately. If he has a firſt Miniſter, the Embaſſador cannot avoid writing to him alſo, upon all Occaſions that ſhall offer, as well as to the Secretary who is intruſted with that kind of Affairs, and ſends him Anſwers to his Diſpatches, on the part of the Prince. In the Reign of *Henry* IV. the Embaſſadors wrote only to the King himſelf, and to him of the Secretaries of State, who had the Province of foreign Affairs. All Cardinal *Doſſat*'s Letters, and thoſe of Cardinal *du Perron*, of Preſident *Jeannin*, and of *de Freſne Canay*, are addreſs'd to the King himſelf or to *M. de Villeroy:* at leaſt thoſe that make a Part of the Courſe of their Negotiation; becauſe the King, who was the Head and Maſter of his Council, would have all Affairs paſs through his Hands and Mind. While the Duke *de Luines* was in favour, all the Embaſſadors wrote to him, but not conſtantly, as they have ſince done under the Miniſtry of the Cardinals *de Richelieu* and *Mazarin*; to whom a more exact Account was given of the Negotiations, than even to the King himſelf, and the Secretary of State, who at that time was in effect but a ſubaltern Miniſter under the firſt. In *Spain*, *England*, and all the other Courts of *Europe*, the Practice is the ſame. The *Turks*, who have no Miniſters in Ordinary in foreign Courts, have no great Commerce of Letters. Their Chiaoux, who very often can neither read nor write, are only Meſſengers, who having deliver'd their Meſſage, return home, and make their Report to the Vizir by word of Mouth. All the Negotiations and all the Treaties the Grand Seignior cauſes to be made, are made at *Conſtantinople* with the Divan, or elſe in the Countrey with the Firſt Vizir, or with ſome Bacha, and always in their own Tongue. The Embaſſadors of *Venice* addreſs their Letters to the Doge, tho' properly ſpeaking they write to the Republick it ſelf; for which Reaſon the Seigneury reads them, or elſe they are read at the College, which communicates them to the Council of *Pregadi*, or elſe to the Senate it ſelf, if the Matter requires it. The Embaſſadors and Miniſters, which the United Provinces employ abroad, write to the States General; but very often their Letters are not worth the Paper they blot and blur, and much leſs the Poſtage. If they have any important Affair to communicate, they addreſs their Letters to the Regiſter of the States, who reads it in the Aſſembly, or elſe to thoſe amongſt 'em who are appointed for ſecret Affairs. Of theſe Diſpatches ſome are communicated by Copies which are ſent to the Provinces; and the others are put under Lock and Key, with other ſecret Inſtruments, of which it is forbid to give any Copy. There are ſome Embaſſadors who write alſo to the Prince of *Orange*, and to the States of the Province which nominated them to the Embaſſy. This Reſpect is due to the Prince of *Orange*; becauſe, as the moſt important Reſolutions are form'd on his Judgment and Opinion, it is neceſſary he ſhould be punctually inform'd of the Particulars of all the Negotiations which are carrying on in foreign Courts. The Embaſſador who is employ'd at the Nomination of the States of *Holland*, writes to the firſt Miniſter of that Province, which as it has always ſome Perſon belonging to it, in all the Embaſſies that are compos'd of a Plurality of Embaſſadors; the States of this Province are more particularly inform'd than the others, of what is negotiating abroad.

It often happens that the Prince who has no firſt Miniſter does nevertheleſs put a particular Confidence in one or other of his Council; and then the Embaſſador to ſecure the Friendſhip of this Confident, ought to write often to him, that he may be protected by him in his Abſence, and that he may alſo be more particularly inform'd of the Prince's Intentions. In *Henry* IV's Reign there was no Embaſſador that did not hold ſome Correſpondence with the Duke of *Sully*; as well becauſe he had a greater Share of the Confidence of that Prince than any other Miniſter, as becauſe it was by

his Orders only that their Salaries were paid them. There was only Cardinal *Dossat* (who either on the account of his Religion, or because he held no Correspondence but only with *M. de Villeroy*) did not write to him at all. *Walsingham* wrote to the Earl of *Leicester*, the Minister Queen *Elizabeth* confided in, almost as often as to the Queen her self, or else to the Secretary of State; and he did not omit writing to the Lord *Burleigh*, after this was promoted to the Office of High Treasurer of the Kingdom; altho' he had not the Quality of first Minister, nor was not so in effect, under a Queen that govern'd, and did not suffer her self to be governed. The Ministers of the Court of *Rome* write to the Pope, but they never fail to write also to the Cardinal *Patron*,

As to the Quality of Dispatches, the Embassador must know the Humour of the Prince, and that of the first Minister who has the Direction of his Affairs. *Dossat*, who knew that King *Henry* IV, took himself Cognizance of his Affairs, and that he would be very particularly inform'd thereof, writing to him on *December* 22, 1594, which is the first Letter that is found among the Dispatches he sent the King, expresses himself in these Terms. *Forasmuch as it concerns your Majesty's Satisfaction to be inform'd particularly how every thing pass'd at my Audience; and indeed that by several Particulars you may the more easily judge of the Pope's Disposition, it is also my Duty to shew very minutely, how I behav'd my self, what I said, and what was answer'd me.* The Dispatch which follows deserves to be read and study'd, because it may serve for a Model, even to a very able Minister. What may be said of Dispatches in general is, That there is no Prince but loves they should be strong rather than prolix; and indeed most Ministers require Things, and not unprofitable Words. King *Henry* IV. took so much Pleasure in reading the well-reason'd Letters of President *Jeannin*, that he made *Villeroy* write to him on *October* 8, 1607, *That his Letters could not be too long: That there was not any thing unprofitable or superfluous to be found in them; so that he should continue to extend them, and to particularize as he had begun: That the King desir'd it, and had commanded him to signify the same to him; and that his Letters were most certainly very agreeable to his Majesty.* It may be said with Truth of President *Jeannin*'s Letters, what is said of the Epistles of an ancient Author, That the longest are the finest. King *Henry* IV. was very knowing himself, but it is certain that never any Prince had such able Ministers, nor any Ministers so great a Master, nor so equitable a Valuer of their Merit. *Jeannin* could not pretend to a more glorious Reward for his Services, than so authentick an Approbation of so good and so powerful a Monarch. Cardinal *Mazarin*, who took Delight in letting his Mind take a long Range, and who never tir'd with reasoning, requir'd also that the Embassadors should enlarge upon their Subjects. He often made use of *Silhon*'s Pen for his Dispatches, especially for the Affairs of *Germany* and *Sweden*; and *Silhon*, who pretended to Politicks and Eloquence, seconded very well the Intentions of his Eminence. *D'Avaux* and *Servien* answer'd them perfectly, and might be said to write Volumes rather than Letters. It cannot be deny'd but there is Matter in them, and almost all of them are fill'd with solid Reasons, which Study and Application supply'd the one with, and Nature the other; but it must also be acknowledg'd, that the most prolix Discourses are not the strongest, and that it is impossible but in a great Number of Reasons there must be some weak ones, which instead of convincing the Mind, perplex it.

The Nuncio and *Venetian* Embassador reproach'd one Day *d'Avaux* and *Servien* the *French* Plenipotentiaries, That they sent every Week large Dispatches to their Court: That it was impossible but in such Prolixity there must be often things of greater Appearance than Truth, and that they would do better to be more concise and more reserv'd. *Longueville* and *d'Avaux* made no Answer to these Reproaches; but *Servien*, who was never without a Reply, told them, That the youngest of them three was above fifty Years old, and that they ought not to be taught at that Age how to make their Dispatches: That their Intention was to satisfy the Queen and the first Minister; that they had succeeded therein hitherto, and hop'd they should do it likewise for the time to come, without standing in need of any body's Advice for that purpose. They could not make their Dispatches less, because as they were to give an Account of whatever pass'd in the Negotiations, which were of a vast Extent; and to answer all the Articles and all the Reasons of the Cardinal's Letters, which were very long, and often accompany'd with large Memorials, they were oblig'd to make Reflections on the ones and the others. And indeed the Embassador's Letters cannot be too prolix, when the State of the Affairs he has to negotiate obliges him thereto. The *French* Plenipotentiaries had to negotiate with the Emperor's Ministers, with those of *Spain*, of *Sweden*, of *Bavaria*, and with those of almost all the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, besides those of the United Provinces. They had the Interests of *Portugal* and *Catalonia* to support, where they met with insuperable Difficulties and Obstacles, so that they could not possibly make little Dispatches. Whatever may be said, their longest Letters are not tedious, and are much more agreeable than those of some others, who notwithstanding pass for great Men, tho' at the same time their Letters are only fill'd with Trifles and Fooleries, fitter to take up some Pages in a Dictionary, than the Mind of a reasonable Person. There is nothing so tiresome as the Length of the ones, nor nothing so troublesome as the false Eloquence of the others. *Bassompierre* being Embassador Extraordinary in *Spain* in the Year 1621, says in the Letter he writes to *M. de Puisieux* on *April* 27, that he will keep within the Rules all Embassadors ought to observe, *To make a very succinct Dispatch to the Minister, where they make a long one to their Master.* But this is no general Rule, for they must therein accommodate themselves to the Humour of the Prince, and to the Authority of the Minister. The King whom *Bassompierre* serv'd did not love to read long Letters; and notwithstanding he was jealous of an Authority he was not acquainted with, as the Duke of *Rohan* says;

ſays; yet he lik'd better to have the Contents of Letters reported to him, than to be oblig'd to read them himſelf.

It is not neceſſary that the Style of the Embaſſador ſhould be very polite. It is ſufficient it is clear and intelligible, ſo that it be not diſfigur'd with Soleciſms and Barbariſms. Nay I ſhould rather be for his not having the utmoſt Clearneſs, than to ſee him forc'd and affected. The Negligence of a Cavalier becomes an Embaſſador much better than the Affectation of a Pedant or an Advocate: Provided he have ever ſo little Capacity and Uſe of Writing, he will have no Difficulty to expreſs his Sentiments after he has conceiv'd 'em well, and digeſted them in his Mind; ſo that if he underſtands himſelf well, he will make himſelf eaſily underſtood to others: That he may do it in an orderly manner, he may diſburthen his Memory on a Table Book or in ſhort Memorandums, from whence he may take, and place in its due Order on Paper what he has to write, as well concerning general Affairs, as thoſe of his Commiſſion; eſpecially when at his going from an Audience or a Conference, he has his Memory ſtill fill'd with what was either ſaid or done. Preſident *Jeannin* ſays in one of his Letters, that he wrote down every Day what paſs'd, and caus'd it to be put into Cypher, to ſend it at that inſtant if an Opportunity offer'd: That by this Mean his Letter was ſwell'd, not being able to omit any thing that merited to be inſerted in it. He ought to know whom he may intruſt the Secret with, and judge whether he ought to write it all with his own Hand, or whether he may tranſmit it by that of his Secretary. This, as I ſaid before, is one of the moſt important Parts of an Embaſſador. He muſt alſo know what he ought to write to the Prince himſelf, and what ought to be reſerv'd for the Secretary of State, or ſuch other Miniſter to whom he has Orders to addreſs his Diſpatches. It is his Buſineſs again to judge what he ought to write in Cypher, and when the Importance of an Affair is ſuch as to deſerve an Expreſs. There is no Rule to be given on all theſe Heads, becauſe the Embaſſador muſt therein conſult himſelf, who alone can judge of the Importance of the Affair, and of the Curioſity or Intereſt of his Prince. *Lewis* XI, who firſt eſtabliſh'd the Poſts in *France*, was for knowing all, and being the firſt inform'd. There are Occurrences where he ought not to grudge the Expence of an extraordinary Courier; becauſe ſometimes the Moments of a firſt Advice cannot be too dearly paid for; ſince in a ſurpriſing Accident they may afford very great Advantages, or irreparable Damages. In what, the Embaſſador ought not to diſtinguiſh between good and bad News; on the contrary he ought to be ſo much the readier to write the bad, when his Maſter is concern'd therein, becauſe an Advice ſent in time is of the laſt Importance, by reaſon of the Conſequences bad Succeſſes may have. It is not neceſſary, in my Opinion, to add here, that in ſuch caſes the Embaſſador ought to have the Prudence to paſs his Letters through the Hands of a Miniſter, who being in Credit with the Prince, can prepare his Mind to receive a vexatious Account, and repreſent to him the Service his Embaſſador does him in giving it him; becauſe he gives him the Means and the Leiſure to repair what is paſs'd, and to prevent what otherwiſe would have been inevitable.

This is not the Place to treat of Cyphers, becauſe it would lead us into too great a Digreſſion to ſpeak of ſo ample a Matter: However I'll ſay a Word or two about it. Entire Treatiſes have been written on that Subject; and a Sovereign Prince, to ſhew that his large Library had not been unuſeful to him, has written a great Volume thereon. But he has done what is uſual enough to thoſe who write ſuch ſort of Books, where, inſtead of exhauſting the Matter, they paſs very lightly over what is moſt eſſential in the Subject they pretend to treat of; and while they ſay nothing but what is moſt common therein, they only repeat and copy what others have written, and what almoſt all the World knows. One may ſay that Cypher (it is ſo they call the ſecret way of Writing, by reaſon for the moſt part thoſe Characters of modern Arithmetick which have been brought from the *Indies* are made uſe of) is a kind of Magick. *Trithemius* Abbot of *Spanheim* has reduc'd it into a ſort of *Cabala*; and yet there is nothing more eaſy than to unravel this Appearance of Charm by the Help of the Key. Nay there are ſome People who decypher without Difficulty all ſorts of Characters, how hard, obſcure and odd ſoever they may be; and find out the Key thereof with ſo much Eaſe, that one would think they had it about them. *Roſſignol*, who ſerv'd Cardinal *Richelieu* in this Function, and made his Fortune thereby, was ſo dextrous and ſucceſsful in it, that he decypher'd without much Pains all the Letters that were brought him; not only thoſe which were written in a Language he underſtood, but alſo thoſe that were written in a Tongue to which he was an utter Stranger, and whereof he had not the leaſt Knowledge. It is no hard matter to invent a Million of new Cyphers, but it is almoſt impoſſible to find out any that cannot be unravel'd by thoſe who have a little Genius that way, and a great deal of Uſe. During the Wars and Diſorders of the League, the *Spaniards* made uſe of a Cypher which was compos'd of above five hundred Characters; ſo that there was no body could decypher their Letters. At laſt, thoſe that were intercepted were ſent to *Francis Vieta*, a famous Mathematician of thoſe Times: He had never apply'd himſelf to that kind of Study, and had never ſo much as heard of thoſe Cyphers which are made uſe of in Letters; and yet after he had conſider'd a little thereon, he found out the Key of them, and decypher'd them eaſily. The *Spaniards* did not know till two Years after, that their Secret was diſcover'd; and when they perceiv'd it by intercepted Letters, they were ſo amaz'd thereat, that they ſaid, King *Henry* IV. had made uſe of Magick to find out the Key of their Cypher. They who are ſkil'd therein, know in what the Secret conſiſts. The Jargon that was formerly much more us'd than it is at preſent, was in my Opinion of little Utility, whether it was intermix'd with a Cypher or not. As ſoon as the Tenour of an Affair is known, and the Court where it is negotiated, there is no Difficulty to find out the Perſons whom Diſpatches ſpeak of.

When Embaſſies are compos'd of many Embaſſadors, they for the moſt part make a Diſpatch in common, beſides which they alſo ſend each a Letter in particular; but this is not always practis'd. There is not one ſingle particular Diſpatch to be ſeen in the Embaſſy the Duke *d'Engouleſme*, the Count *de Bethune* and the Abbot *d'Eſpreaux* perform'd in *Germany* in the Year 1621. *Du Perron* and *Doſſat* were only Solicitors, when they negotiated the Abſolution of *Henry* IV, with *Clement* VIII, but yet that did not hinder them from being publick Miniſters; and notwithſtanding they had an Affair to manage in common, yet they both made particular Diſpatches. *Oxenſtiern* and *Salvius*, Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* at *Oſnaburg*, wrote each of them to the Queen and to the Senate, beſides their Letter in common. The Miniſters who were on the part of *France* at *Munſter* made one common Diſpatch by the Secretary of the Embaſſy for the Queen Regent and for the Secretary of State; beſides which they wrote in private to Cardinal *Mazarin*. *Norris* and *Walſingham*, *Smith* and *Walſingham*, and the ſaid *Walſingham* with *Cobham* and *Sommers*, wrote in Conjunction to the Queen and to the Miniſters of *England*. If a Prince ſends an Embaſſador Extaordinary to a Court where there is already one in Ordinary, altho' this be compris'd in the ſame Commiſſion, yet the Extraordinary makes particular Diſpatches for thoſe Affairs which he is particularly charg'd with. This is to be ſeen in Preſident *Jeannin*'s Negotiation, who gives himſelf a particular and exact Account of all Circumſtances, altho' the King had other Miniſters beſides him at the *Hague*, who ſolicited the ſame Affair with the Preſident. *Baſſompierre*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France*, and *du Fargis*, Embaſſador in Ordinary at *Madrid*, negotiated in Conjunction the Affair of the *Valteline*. They ſometimes made a Diſpatch in common; but for the moſt part they each of them made a particular one.

There are ſome Embaſſadors who make two ſorts of Diſpatches; the one for the Affairs they have to negotiate, and where the Prince their Maſter is intereſted, and the other for general News, which they are oblig'd to inform themſelves of, that they may acquaint their Maſter therewith. Some act one way and ſome another; for my part I ſhould think a Diſtinction might be made, and that the Embaſſador might ſwell his Diſpatches with ſome important Affairs, notwithſtanding they have nothing in common with his Negotiation; but for common News, I ſhould rather be for his putting them in a Sheet by themſelves, and ſending them rather to the Miniſter than to the Prince. *M. de Foix*, *Doſſat*, *Walſingham*, and ſeveral others, mingle general Affairs with the particular; and I do not find that the Princes to whom they wrote found fault therewith. The skilful Embaſſador will not content himſelf to tranſmit in Writing the Grand Affairs, but he will penetrate into the Reaſons and Motives thereof. For ſome Ages there had not happen'd a more important Affair to the See of *Rome* than that of *Ferrara*, after the Deceaſe of the laſt Duke. *Alfonſo d'Eſte* had taken Poſſeſſion thereof, and had caus'd the Inhabitants to ſwear Allegiance to him; beſides which, moſt of the Potentates of *Italy* favour'd his Pretenſions; inſomuch that it was fear'd the Pope would find a ſtrong Oppoſition; and yet he met with none at all. But that they might not be ſurpris'd hereat in *France*, *Doſſat* ſets down the Reaſons thereof, which are very ſtrong and convincing. Thoſe Miniſters who ſhall have the ſame Penetration, will do themſelves Honour in imitating his Example.

The Embaſſador cannot be well inform'd of general Affairs if he does not hold a Correſpondence, not only with the other Miniſters the Prince their Maſter employs in other Courts (which is expreſſly injoyn'd him by his Inſtructions) but alſo with all ſorts of Perſons without Diſtinctions; provided he does not offend againſt his Prince's Intereſt: For if he be allow'd to corrupt the Miniſters of the Court where he reſides, as I obſerv'd in the foregoing Chapter, with much greater Reaſon ſhall he be allow'd to debauch thoſe of the Court of an Enemy, provided he can procure thereby any Advantage to his Maſter's Service; which very well deſerves a particular Remark and Reflexion. The Reſident who was on the part of the Elector of *Brandenburgh* at *Stockholm* in the Year 1653, wrote duly as well to the Miniſter his Maſter entertain'd at *Vienna*, as to other Friends he had at that Court. Queen *Chriſtina*, who had ſtill her firſt Sentiments for *France*, and was not well ſatisfy'd with the Emperor, ſignify'd to the Reſident that ſhe could not ſuffer that Correſpondence, and that he ſhould deſiſt from continuing it. The Reſident made Anſwer, That no Body could hinder him from holding it: *That he enjoy'd this Liberty by virtue of the Law of Nations*, and that it behov'd him to inform himſelf of what paſs'd elſewhere, that he might be the better able to ſerve the Elector his Maſter, who had commanded him to write to his other Miniſters what paſs'd at the Court of *Sweden*, and to receive from them the Informations they were capable of giving him: That he did not believe that *Sweden* would pretend to regulate his Correſpondence, and hinder him from holding it with whom he thought fit. The other publick Miniſters approv'd of the Reſident's Repartee, and their Approbation ſhut the Mouth of his Controulers. And indeed ſince the Subject of an Ally may lawfully traffick with the Subject of another Ally, provided he do not furniſh him with Arms and other contraband Goods, I do not ſee how the publick Miniſter of a Prince an Ally can be hinder'd from entertaining a Correſpondence with the Enemy of the Prince with whom he reſides, eſpecially if he does not ſupply him with contraband Goods; that is to ſay, if he does not ſend him any Advice that can prejudice the Affairs of the laſt. But if that happens, the ſame muſt be done that is practis'd in reference to thoſe who carry on a Commerce of contraband Merchandize: it muſt be confiſcated; but the Confiſcation does not reach the Ships, nor even the other Merchandize that is found on Board the ſame Ship; and much leſs the Maſter or Proprietors thereof. The Prince who intercepts Letters that are prejudicial to his Service, cannot come upon the Miniſter who has written them; but he ought to complain to the Prince who employs ſuch Miniſter: and he muſt procure

cure himſelf Juſtice by thoſe Means Sovereigns are us'd to take on the like Occaſions. Queen *Chriſtina* her ſelf had experienc'd in another occaſion, that a publick Miniſter may hold a Correſpondence in a Court which is not very well affected to that where he reſides. In the Year 1651, ſhe reſolv'd to ſend *Berenclau* to *Vienna*, to excuſe the Delay of the Embaſſy which was to receive the Inveſtiture of the new Conqueſts the Crown of *Sweden* had made in *Germany*. *Berenclau* taking Notice of his Employment to *Chanut*, deſir'd him to make a Complement for him to *Servien*, and to tell him, that if he could ſerve him where he was going, he would do it with Affection, on account of the particular Eſteem he had for his Perſon. *Chanut*, thinking that theſe Offers of Civility might reach to the carrying on a Correſpondence with *Servien*, was for confirming him in his good Sentiments; but *Berenclau* undeceiv'd him, and told him, he ought not to give ſo great an Extent to his Intention; and he did not indeed engage in this Correſpondence till the Queen had, at *Chanut*'s Suit, oblig'd him thereto. As the Embaſſador's chief Application ought to be to entertain Friendſhip and a good Underſtanding between the two Princes, he ought not always to criminalize, or render the Intentions, or even the Words of the Prince with whom he negotiates ſuſpected. I have elſewhere given the Reaſon thereof, where I ſay that there is no Prince that likes his Miniſter ſhould create him Troubles. Beſides, there is Imprudence and even Malice to give a bad Senſe to Expreſſions, which are much more natural when a favourable one is given them. Cardinal *Doſſat* had receiv'd an Audience, in which the Pope had expreſs'd a great Reſentment at the Regiſtring and Publication of the Edict of *Nants*. His Fidelity oblig'd him to make an exact Report of all that had paſs'd there; but before he begins to recite the Particulars, he tells King *Henry* IV, that he hopes his Majeſty will excuſe the Pope, becauſe his Intentions are not bad, and that it is his Zeal for the Catholick Religion, as well as what he owes to his own Reputation, that make him ſpeak. The Pope had been violent enough, and yet *Doſſat*, by praying the King to excuſe him, excuſes him firſt himſelf.

The Embaſſador cannot be too reſerv'd in writing of News either general or particular. He ought to be very punctual in ſending that which comes to his Knowledge; but he ought to diſtinguiſh well between the doubtful and the certain, leſt mingling the falſe with the true, the Falſneſs of the one ſhould deſtroy the Credit that is due to the other. He ought to be ſtill more reſerv'd in telling his Sentiment in reference to the State of Affairs; and particularly concerning the Succeſs of his Negotiation, whatever Aſſurance he may have given him of it. If Men are not Deceivers, they may be deceived themſelves; and there may every Moment Accidents happen, that may ruin the fineſt Appearances: ſometimes there is no believing even what one ſees. *Vidit, aut vidiſſe putat.* The *Sieur de Ste. Aldegonde*, who did the Buſineſs of the States of the Low Countries at the Court of *London* in the Year 1581, being come one Night into the Queen's Chamber, ſaw her converſing with the Duke of *Alençon*. The Lords and Ladies were ſo far off that they could not partake therein; but all that were there, were Witneſſes of an Action, from which great Conſequences might be drawn. The Queen taking a Ring off her Finger put it upon the Duke's, who ſoon after retir'd with a Joy that ſhew'd his Satisfaction, as if he carry'd with him the Earneſt and Aſſurance of his Marriage. *Ste. Aldegonde*, who look'd upon this Action to be of the laſt Importance for his Maſters, gave them Advice thereof by an Expreſs which he ſent away that very Night. The Noiſe of the Bells, and the Cannons, and the Fires which were made in all the Towns throughout the Low Countries, diſcover'd ſufficiently the Joy they had there on the Account of an Advice that prov'd to be falſe. The Queen reproach'd *Ste. Aldegonde* with having been too precipitate in giving an Advice, concerning which he might have been better inform'd, and undeceiv'd in a few Hours. In *June* 1646, the Secretary of the Embaſſy that was on the part of *Sweden* at *Oſnaburg*, wrote to the Prince *Palatin*, *Charles Guſtavus*, that a Truce was ſign'd between the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders*, and that it had been publiſh'd at *Amſterdam*. This Advice, which was given by a publick Miniſter, who ought to be well inform'd in an Affair of that Nature, was capable of alarming very much the Court of *Sweden*; and would have alarm'd it in effect, if *Chanut* had not produc'd Letters from the *Hague* of a freſher Date by four Days than thoſe of *Oſnaburg*, which made known the Vanity of the Secretary's Advices.

I ſhould freely follow the Sentiment of thoſe, who would have the Embaſſador make a naked and ſimple Narrative of what paſſes in his Negotiation, without any Mixture of his own Opinions or Counſels: without forgetting however any thing that can ſtrengthen the Particulars of his Relations. Cardinal *Doſſat* is very exact in remarking thoſe of all the Audiences, where he had Affairs of Importance to negotiate; even to the obſerving the Smiles, the Meen and the Geſtures of Pope *Clement* VIII, that the King might be the better able to judge of the Thoughts and Intentions of his Holineſs, the Tone of his Voice, the Warmth or Indifferency of his Diſcourſe, and all the Circumſtances that could contribute to the forming a Judgment, whether the Words were ſtudy'd or natural; which ſhews the Sincerity, or diſcovers the Artifice, and makes one diſtinguiſh Complements from ſincere Expreſſions. I ſay I would not have the Embaſſador crowd in his own Sentiments, unleſs his Maſter requires them; for then he ought to tell him his Opinion frankly, and like a Man of Honour, without Intereſt or Paſſion. *I ſhould be too ignorant and ſimple*, ſays *Doſſat* to King *Henry* IV, *if I thought otherwiſe: and too diſloyal, and unworthy the Office with which you are pleas'd to honour me, if I wrote to you otherwiſe than what I think.* If he ſays any thing of his own Motion, he may excuſe himſelf upon his Zeal; which makes him ſpeak; or elſe he may make his own particular Opinion paſs for the general Sentiment; and he may add, That being upon the Place, he thinks he may with ſome probability ſpend his Judgment on thoſe things which are under his Sight. My Author, whom I

would give for a Pattern to all Miniſters, often expreſſes his own Sentiments by other Mouths. In the Letter he wrote to *M. de Villeroy*, on the 15th of *July*, 1602, concerning the Duke of *Biron*, he ſays, He can tell him nothing of his own, but he will repreſent to him what he has heard others ſay. At the ſame time they are only the ſame Sentiments, with which he fills the Letter he writes to the King on the ſame Subject. This is his Practice in many other Places. It is certain, that unleſs the Prince employs mere Blockheads, of the groſſeſt Stupidity, as it ſometimes happens, he is oblig'd often to follow the Hints his Embaſſador gives him, who may be clearer ſighted than they who have not the Opportunity of ſeeing Affairs in their proper Light. *M. de Villeroy* was one of the moſt dextrous and ableſt Miniſters *France* ever had, and yet he often asks Cardinal *Doſſat*'s Advice; and he, as well as *Henry* IV, often reſign'd Affairs to the Conduct and Judgment of Preſident *Jeannin*, who had ſometimes executed Orders before he had receiv'd them. Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was willing to be thought to have Wit, and indeed who had to ſpare, often ask'd the Advice of the *French* Embaſſadors who were at *Munſter*, and left to them the Diſpoſal of the King's Affairs and Intereſts: But then he did thus but after he had told them his own Sentiments, and to make them reſponſible for the Succeſs.

It is not enough that the Advices the Embaſſador gives be true, but he muſt likewiſe have a great Regard to the Prince and Miniſters of the Court where he negotiates, and take Care of ſaying any thing in his Letters that can offend them; unleſs his Maſter's Service be concern'd, in which Caſe he ought to paſs over all other Conſiderations, and reſpect no body. But without this Neceſſity he cannot ſhew too much Modeſty. For notwithſtanding he is accountable for his Actions to none but the Prince that employs him, yet he with whom he negotiates may complain of him, and demand Reparation: And as moſt Princes are at this Day diſpos'd, they had rather expoſe, if not abandon a Miniſter, than create themſelves any Trouble. *Chanut* had ſaid in one of his Letters to the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Munſter*, that Chancellor *Oxenſtiern* did not ſecond very well the Inclination the Queen of *Sweden* had for the Peace of *Germany*; and the Miniſters, writing to Court on that Subject, enlarg'd very much thereon, and inveigh'd againſt the Chancellor. The *Spaniards* had corrupted one of the Clerks of the Secretaryſhip of the *French* Embaſſadors, who, in communicating to them Copies of all the Letters the Embaſſadors had receiv'd from their Court, or that they had ſent thither within the Space of ſeven Months, gave them alſo one of this. They did not fail to ſhew it to the Embaſſadors of *Sweden* who were at *Oſnaburg*, and particularly to *Oxenſtiern*, whoſe Indignation thereat was ſo much the greater, becauſe he thereby diſcover'd the Intrigues which were carry'd on between the two Courts of *France* and *Sweden*, to procure the Diſgrace and Removal of the Chancellor his Father. This piece of Roguery did not produce the Effect the *Spaniards* had promis'd themſelves from it, becauſe the Chancellor judging that he could not reſent it, without incurring the Queen's Diſpleaſure, and without embroiling *Sweden* with *France*, was willing to ſacrifice his Reſentment to the publick Intereſt, and ſo ſpoke of it as of a fictitious Inſtrument. The Queen took no other Notice thereof than this, that ſuppoſing *Chanut* had done the Chancellor Wrong, by giving an ill Turn to his Sentiments, yet it did not belong to her to reproach him with it: That he had a Maſter, to whom alone he was oblig'd to give an Account of his Actions, and to no body elſe.

Nevertheleſs the ſame Queen did not ſcruple to make a very bitter Reproach to the Miniſter of the United Provinces, who had given an extravagant Information enough to his Maſters. He had written to them that there was a Negotiation on foot at *Stockholm* for a ſtrict Alliance between *France* and *Sweden*: That the Deſign was to maintain a certain Number of Men of War in the Ports of *Dunkirk* and *Gottenbourg*; but that *France* had made Anſwer, That there was no likelihood of making a new Treaty, till the Kingdom was reſtor'd to Quiet; and as for the Ships, there was no Conveniency at all at *Dunkirk*. The Queen having ſeen a Copy of theſe Letters, ſent him word to forbear for the future giving way to ſuch idle Notions. This Miniſter was very ſubject thereto; and another, who had had more Wiſdom, would not have written them; as on the other ſide, one more reſolute would not have remain'd without Reply. But he was ſuch a ſorry Tool of a Man, that there was not ever ſo inſignificant a Clerk, but was more capable than he, of diſcharging the Function of a publick Miniſter.

At the beginning of the laſt Troubles in *France*, from which there was Reaſon to apprehend as dreadful Conſequences as had been ſeen in thoſe of *England*, *Sbering Roſenhan*, Embaſſador of *Sweden*, conſidering that a Civil War in that Kingdom might very well hinder the Execution of the Peace of *Germany*, and incommode *Sweden*, was not contented to preſs Cardinal *Mazarin* continually to come to an Accommodation with the Parliament: But as he was perſuaded that the King, nor his Dignity, was not what was aim'd at, and that the Difference was properly only between the Cardinal and the Princes who actuated the Parliament; he fill'd all his Letters with Reaſons that juſtify'd theſe, and condemn'd all the Actions of the other. He alſo ſent along with his Diſpatches all the Libels that were printed, and diſpers'd up and down at that time, againſt the Queen Regent, againſt the Cardinal, and indirectly againſt even the Regal Authority. Complaint was made thereof, not to *Roſenhan*, but the Queen of *Sweden*, who was oblig'd to recall her Miniſter, notwithſtanding ſhe was very well ſatisfy'd with his Services. I ſaid a little before, that Queen *Elizabeth* made a ſharp Reprimand to *Ste. Aldegonde*, on the account of the precipitate Advice he had ſent the States, and the Prince of *Orange*, about her Marriage with the Duke of *Alençon*. But then this Advice concern'd her, and was of great Importance to her in particular; and moreover the Queen's Authority was ſo great with the States, that ſhe might very well ſpeak a Word of Reſentment to their Miniſter.

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This Precaution is ſo much the more neceſſary to the Embaſſador, not only becauſe there are a thouſand Accidents which may make his Letters miſcarry, or cauſe them to be intercepted, and that the Infidelity of a Domeſtick may communicate them; but alſo becauſe there are ſome Places where there is an Obligation to make Copies of them, and where it is almoſt impoſſible to ſecure the greateſt Secrets. There is no Miniſter who negotiates a Fortnight at the *Hague*, that does not know how they govern there. In *Sweden* the Letters are read in the Senate, which is compos'd of a great number of Officers of the Crown, and other Miniſters. Even in thoſe Courts where the Council is reduc'd to a very few Perſons, there is no hindering the greateſt part of the Diſpatches from paſſing through the Hands of the Clerks, whoſe Fidelity is not always proof. The moſt important of all are decypher'd by Perſons, who may be mercenary or intereſſed. After the Example of *l'Hoſte*, Godſon and Clerk to *Villeroy*, who ſold his Maſter's Secrets to the *Spaniards*, there is no need to ſeek for others. It is not long ſince one of *Lionne*'s Clerks was hang'd at *Paris*, for carrying on the ſame Commerce; but all are not hang'd that are guilty thereof. *The Embaſſador ought not to be leſs reſerv'd in giving his Advice to his Maſter, and telling him his Sentiments when he does not require them; than he ought to acquit himſelf with Fidelity therein, when his Prince aſks him his Opinion.* Cardinal *Doſſat* had not the Quality of Embaſſador, and yet he diſcharg'd the Functions of one. One may ſee in all his Diſpatches, with what Firmneſs he gives his Advice when it is ask'd him. King *Henry* IV, and *Villeroy* his truſty Miniſter, obſerving the indirect Procedure of the Duke of *Savoy*, in reference to the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, were for knowing the Cardinal's Judgment, in reference to the Conduct he thought the King of *Spain* would hold in that Conjuncture, and concerning what the King ought to do in caſe *Spain* ſhould declare it ſelf. There is nothing can be ſtronger, nor more judicious, than the Advice *Doſſat* gives on this Affair in his Letter of the 23d of *September*, 1600. The King and *Villeroy*, who were the firſt Perſonages in *Europe* for Politicks, condeſcended to take the Advice of a Prieſt, in a Conjuncture of that Niceneſs and Difficulty, where the King had already enter'd *Savoy* with an Army. On the contrary, the ſame Miniſter's Modeſty is admirable, when he gives his Opinion of his own Accord. The Duke of *Mercœur* did not deſiſt from carrying on his Rebellion in *Britany*, even after the King was reconcil'd to the See of *Rome*. *Doſſat* was for having the King carry his Arms on that ſide, leaving the Frontiers of *Picardy* well guarded: And this Advice was ſo conformable to the King's Reaſon and Intentions, that it was follow'd. However *Doſſat*, ſpeaking to that Affair in his Letter of the 12th of *February*, 1597, ſays, *That moſt People judge*, that is what ought to be done: And that if he meddles with what does not belong to his Profeſſion, it is out of an Exceſs of Zeal for the King's Service. And again, after he has ſpoken very pertinently of the Affair with the Duke of *Savoy*, in the ſame Letter, he adds, *But I forget my ſelf*, ſays he, *yet I ſhall not be ſorry the King ſees this my Impertinence, which proceeds only from the Zeal I have for his Service, and the Safety and Repoſe of my Countrey.*

I ought to have begun this Chapter with what ſhall conclude it, *viz.* That the Embaſſador is oblig'd to give an Account, in his firſt Diſpatches, of the Reception was given him at his Arrival at the Court where he is to negotiate; eſpecially if he has had any extraordinary Honours done him. Preſident *Jeannin* ſays, in the Letter he wrote to the King on the 22d of *May*, 1607, That the Governor and Magiſtrate of *Fluſhing* had receiv'd him in the Port: That he was ſaluted with twenty Pieces of Cannon, and that he found the Garriſon under Arms, and drawn up in two Lines, from the Gate to his Lodgings. And in that of the 29th of the ſame Month, he writes, That in all the Towns through which he had paſs'd, the Magiſtrate had viſited him; and that Prince *Maurice*, with ſeven Deputies of the States, came to receive him at a Village half a League diſtant from the *Hague*. King *Henry* IV, in his Anſwer to ſome other Letters, tells him, It was a great Satisfaction to him to learn, from his Diſpatches, the Civilities the Magiſtrates of the Towns in *Holland*, which he had ſeen, had done him; as well as the Acknowledgment they expreſs'd for the Favours they had receiv'd from *France*. *Doſſat* does not omit any one particular of the Reception he had, when he went to *Venice* and *Florence* on the part of the ſame King, and does not fail to mention the Preſents the Republick and the Great Duke made him. Which is by ſo much the more neceſſary, as theſe Honours are only done to the Miniſter, to ſhew the Conſideration is had for the Maſter; but what he writes, on the Subject of what has been ſaid in this Chapter, in his Letter of the 16th of *January*, 1597, deſerves a very particular Reflection. *Villeroy* had written to him, That the Court was inform'd that the Cardinals *Sforza* and *Aquaviva* were going to paſs into the Intereſt of *Spain*: To which he makes Anſwer in theſe Terms, *Thoſe who gave you Advice that the firſt had ſided with* Spain, *and that the other would do the ſame, ſignify'd it to my ſelf at the ſame time, and I hear others ſay as much. But in things that are not urgent, and where there is no Danger to ſtay a little, to be better inform'd, I am not uſually in haſt to write to you about them, and eſpecially if the Matter in Hand be to give you an ill Impreſſion of Perſons of Honour, and to ſet you in an Alarm.* After he has juſtify'd the Intentions of thoſe two Cardinals, he adds, *I ſhould have thought I had done ſome Diſſervice to his Majeſty, if without good Grounds I ſhould have ſuggeſted an ill Thought to him, and given him any handle to diſtruſt either the one or the other: Nay, I even was afraid, leſt you ſhould hearken to any thing that might reach their Ears, there being nothing that could provoke them more, who have generous and noble Souls, than to ſee themſelves miſbelievd and miſconſtru'd by you and me, to be ſomething elſe than what they really are. Should I write to you thoſe things which are whiſper'd about, which I don't believe, or know to be falſe, and ſend you the Refutations of them, I ſhould never have done; there does not paſs a Day that my Ears are not ſtunn'd therewith.* If all the Diſpatches of this great Man were not fill'd with Marks of an extraordinary Prudence, I

would ſay that this Paſſage is admirable; but foraſmuch as his whole Negotiation is ſo, it is ſufficient to apply it to the preſent Chapter, and make it ſerve for a Leſſon to the Embaſſador, who will never be liable to ramble nor go out of his Way, if he does but follow the Steps of this able Politician.

CHAP. XI.

Of Mediation, and of Embaſſadors Mediators.

THE Quality of Mediator is one of the moſt difficult the Embaſſador has to ſuſtain, and Mediation is one of his moſt perplexing Employments. The Prince whom he repreſents ought to be without Intereſt, and his Miniſter without Paſſion, which is not very eaſy nor very uſual; ſince we are ſeldom without, even in reference to thoſe Things and Perſons which are moſt indifferent to us. Wherefore the one ought to be very circumſpect in offering his Mediation; and the Conduct of the other ſo regular, that he may not be ſuſpected of Partiality in any reſpect whatever. In the Year 1645, *France* offer'd its Mediation to the two *Northern* Crowns, who were at variance. She was ſo ſtrictly ally'd to *Sweden*, that their Intereſts were almoſt inſeparable, and particularly in *Germany:* and this Conſideration was the Cauſe, that the King of *Denmark* receiv'd thoſe Offers with ſuch Uneaſineſs, that he would have rejected them, had it not been for the ill State of his Affairs, and the Reflection he made that the Advantages the *Swedes* had over him, would make them be apt to abandon their Conqueſts in *Germany*, to purſue and ſecure thoſe they made with ſo much Succeſs on the Frontiers of their Kingdom. He conſider'd likewiſe, that the *French* could have no other Intention than that of making a Peace; becauſe this new War gave a powerful Diverſion to the Arms they employ'd in the Empire, and deſtroy'd in the Graſs, the Harveſt they hop'd to reap, after ſo many Victories they had there obtain'd. The King of *Denmark* conſented at laſt, becauſe he could not otherwiſe get out of a War, the Beginnings whereof had been very unſucceſsful to him, and the End of which might be very fatal. In the Year 1651, there was a Diſcourſe of having an Aſſembly of the Plenipotentiaries of *Poland* and of *Sweden*, in one of the Towns of *Germany*, in the Neighbourhood of the two Kingdoms, and at laſt *Lubeck* was pitch'd upon. *France*, the Republick of *Venice*, the States of the United Provinces, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Duke of *Courlande*, were to be Mediators. The *Poles* would not ſuffer *France* to employ the Viſcount *de Bregy*, its Embaſſador in *Poland*, becauſe he was ſuſpected by them; and *Chanut* had ſome Difficulty to take this Mediation upon him; becauſe he judg'd he ought not to be leſs ſuſpected by *Poland* than the other, by reaſon of the long Stay he had made at the Court of *Sweden*, where he had not only acquir'd the Eſteem, but alſo the Confidence of the Queen. However the Reputation of his Probity was ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that the *Poles* approv'd of him without Difficulty; even when after the ineffectual Concluſion of the firſt Aſſembly, a ſecond was conven'd in the Year 1652. In the Year 1655, during the Rupture between the Crowns of *Poland* and *Sweden*, the Emperor ſent to offer his Mediation to the laſt, by the Count *de Pottinguen*, Vice-Chancellor of *Bohemia*. They had begun to treat without a Mediator: The *Swedes* were perſuaded that the Emperor's Intention was rather to exaſperate Matters than to accommodate them. They were ſenſible that if the Negotiation was to be perform'd by Mediators, they could not avoid making uſe of thoſe who had been concern'd at *Lubeck:* That the Emperor had endeavour'd to prevail with the *Muſcovite* to declare War with *Sweden*; and even that *Leſſinsky* whom the King of *Poland* had ſent to *Vienna*, had brought from thence ſome Aſſurance of Succour. The Count arriv'd at *Thorn* in the Month of *December*; but by reaſon the King was continually in Motion, he could not ſpeak to him till the 5th of *April* of the following Year, and he did not ſee him any more after that time: and repairing with *Liſola* to the *Poliſh* Army, he of his own accord renounc'd the Quality of Mediator.

Some Years after, *viz.* in the Year 1672, the two Kings of *France* and *England* having declar'd War againſt the United Provinces, *Sweden*, inſtead of aſſiſting theſe, as they were oblig'd by virtue of the Treaties which were between them: and particularly by that of the triple Alliance, was contented to offer its Mediation. The King of *Great Britain* accepted it immediately, and with a good Grace, at the ſame time that he rejected with Haughtineſs that of the Elector of *Brandenburg*. This Prince, who had offer'd his Mediation to the King of *France* before the Rupture, bethought himſelf of offering it to that of *England*, after he had concluded his Treaty with the United Provinces, and when he was actually in the Field with a powerful Army to ſuccour them. The King of *England* therefore receiv'd with Indignation the Memorial which the Miniſter of *Brandenburg* preſented him on that account, and caus'd an Anſwer to be made him in writing, in bad *French* enough, but in very unintelligible Terms; where he ſaid, "That the Mi-
"niſter of *Brandenburg* ought not to be ſur-
"pris'd, to find his Majeſty ſo ſenſibly touch'd,
"when he ſaw his Electoral Highneſs, his
"ancient Ally, become the chief Support of
"his Enemies; and that he could not but look
"upon it to be a very bad Effect of an Alli-
"ance ſo long cheriſh'd, to find his Electoral
"Highneſs joyn with his Majeſty in time of
"Peace, and complain of the States General;
"and

" and in time of War always unite his Arms " with those of the said States against his Ma- " jesty. As for what is offer'd at the End of " the Memorial, to wit, his Electoral High- " ness's Mediation, that his Majesty could no " way condescend to it. For altho' the En- " voy Extraordinary makes use of the soft " Term of Mediation, yet all those who are " impartial, who shall consider it as accompa- " ny'd with such a Treaty, will judge it to be " no other than an Arbitration; and it would " not be otherwise interpreted in his Majesty, " should he accept of such Offer, and admit " of such a Treaty as he desires, than as a Sub- " mission to whatever his Electoral Highness " should determine. For which Reasons *his* " *Majesty accepts the Mediation of the King of* " Sweden, *as being unarm'd and disinterested*, " *and cannot admit of that of his Electoral High-* " *ness, whom he looks upon to be arm'd, and en-* " *gag'd with his Enemies*". I was willing to set down here the proper Words of the King of *England*, and leave it to the Reader's Judgment, whether it was not out of season, that the Elector offer'd his Mediation to the King, who had just broke with the United Provinces after such a Manner, as sufficiently made known, that it was not any Consideration for his Electoral Highness, that could reconcile him with them.

In the Beginning of the Month of *November*, 1674, the Emperor's Commissioners being in Conference with the Minister of *Sweden*, on the Subject of the same Mediation, told him by word of Mouth and in Writing, " That " his Imperial Majesty accepted the Mediation " of the Crown of *Sweden*, provided it de- " clar'd, that during the present War it would " not assist either Party: and promis'd not to " lay down the Office of Mediation till the " War was at an End; far from committing " any Act of Hostility against the Emperor, a- " gainst his Allies, or against the Empire". In Consideration whereof, the Emperor offer'd, as well for himself, as in the Name of his Allies, the reciprocal Sureties for the Guaranty of the Treaty of *Westphalia*, in reference to *Sweden*.

I said before, that the Minister Mediator ought to be disinterested as well as the Prince who employs him. Pope *Urban* VIII. had nominated the Cardinal *Rossetti*, to discharge the Function of Mediator at the Congress of *Cologne*, which was afterwards transferr'd to *Munster*; but forasmuch as *France* was not at all satisfy'd with his Conduct, on the Account of the Correspondence he had had at *Brussels* and in *England*, with the Queen Mother, *Mary de Medicis*, his Mediation was rejected, and the Pope was oblig'd to recall him. Cardinal *Alexander Bichi*, was an *Italian*, a Creature of the *Barberins*, and a Cardinal; that is to say oblig'd, as well by Oath, as by particular Duty, to prefer the Interest and Advantage of the See of *Rome*, to all the Considerations he could have for his Countrey, for his Friends and Relations, and for whatever could be dear to him in the World; so that it seem'd, as if the Republick of *Venice* ought to make Difficulty to admit of his Mediation, in a Difference she actually had with the Pope concerning the Temporal, of which she is extremely jealous. Nevertheless she accepted it, as well for the Knowledge she had of his Merit, as because he acted by the Order, and according to the Intention of *France*, which could not be suspected by her.

The Count *Servien*, speaking of the Mediators who kill'd themselves at *Munster* with doing nothing, said, " He could not comprehend " why *France* should make Difficulty to nego- " tiate immediately with the Ministers of the " Emperor and of the King of *Spain*; since he " had always found a greater Light, and met " with more Facility in Affairs in treating di- " rectly with them, than when they pass'd " through the Hands of Mediators: That the " Ministers of *France* had never made the least " Concession on any Point, but the Mediators " run immediately to the others, to communi- " cate it to them, without improving it, or " drawing the least Advantage therefrom for " *France:* That it was observ'd, that the Se- " crets which had been intrusted to the Medi- " ators, had been publish'd by them in remote " Places, to the Prejudice of the Interest of " the Crown: That whenever the Parties " charg'd the Mediators with any Saying, " these only made use thereof to do the *French* " a Mischief: That there was Artifice in all " their Procedure, in this, that they never dis- " cover'd but a Part of what they were im- " power'd to offer *France*; and even before " they made any Offers, they would stipulate " something or other; and that they never " ceas'd speaking of the Complaisance of the " *Austrians*; so far as to say it was necessary " to hold them in, that they might not preci- " pitously grant whatever the *French* demand- " ed, *&c.* That the Nuncio, one of the Me- " diators, being a Creature of Pope *Urban*, and " having a mind to ingratiate himself with the " Court of *Rome*, cross'd the Intentions of " *France*; the Prosperity of which giving a " Jealousy to the Republick of *Venice*, there " was no room to hope for any great Matters " from the good Offices of its Minister, who " was the other Mediator". *Servien* could not say in plainer Terms, that the two Princes Mediators were interested, and that their Ministers were so likewise.

Cardinal *Mazarine* himself, writing on the same Subject to the *French* Plenipotentiaries in the Year 1646, speaks of the Mediators in these Terms, " The Ministers of *Spain* them- " selves, says he, are not so animated against " *France* as the Mediators. They are jealous " of the Affection the Elector of *Bavaria* has " for the Crown, as well as of the Prosperity " of his Arms. They press the Count *de Peg-* " *neranda* to conclude a particular Treaty with " the United Provinces. If the Nuncio ap- " ply'd himself with Zeal to reconcile the " two Crowns, that they might unite their " Arms against the Infidels and Hereticks, he " would do the Office of a true Mediator, and " of a Minister of the Apostolick See, which " ought to have no other View than the Ad- " vantage and Augmentation of the Catholick " Religion: But that in labouring to procure " all Advantages to the Hereticks, to invite " them to a particular Peace; and in obtain- " ing for the Elector *Palatin*, those they are " for taking from the Elector of *Bavaria*, *he*

" *neither diſcharg'd the Duty of a good Mediator*, " nor of a Nuncio of the Holy See: That he " gave out, that the Nuncio at *Paris* had written " him Word, that the Queen's Intentions were " very good, but that they were poyſon'd by " the pernicious Counſels of the firſt Mini- " ſter, who juggling with *Servien*, oppos'd her " Majeſty's good Deſires: That the *Venetian* " Embaſſador could have no other Motive, " than the Thought with which the Repub- " lick was ſtrongly poſſeſs'd, of reducing the " Power of the two Crowns to an Equality, " capable of enſuring the Repoſe of *Chriſten-* " *dom*. So that if the main Points were but " ſufficiently agreed on with the Emperor and " the King of *Spain*; that it might not be thought " the Manner of proceeding was chang'd, in " order to retard the Concluſion of the Trea- " ty, he ſhould be *for laying aſide the Mediators* " *quite*; thereby to revenge the Wrong their " Procedure did to *France*.

To ſpeak the Truth, the Mediators had a great deal of Trouble at *Munſter*, but little Succeſs, and ſtill leſs Honour. Their Intentions were good, but they met every where with ſuch inflexible Obdurateneſs, that the ſtrongeſt Reaſons in the Word were not able to ſoften. Being therefore oblig'd to ſpeak ſometimes in a lofty Tone, and particularly to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who were for enjoying the Benefit of the Proſperity of their Maſter's Arms, they made themſelves ſuſpected by the ones, and diſagreeable to the others. In the Affairs of the Empire it ſelf, where Peace was at laſt concluded, the Satisfaction of the Crowns in Alliance (which was the moſt eſſential Article) was adjuſted without them, by the Offices and Inſtances of the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Intention of the *French* was to exclude the Mediators intirely; and they would have excluded them in effect, had it not been for the Apprehenſion they were in, that ſuch Procedure would confirm the Opinion People had already, of the ſmall Inclination they had for a Peace.

It may be ſaid with truth: That it is not the Mediators who make Treaties, and that it is the good Diſpoſition of the Parties which brings them to a Concluſion. The Peace which was made at *Munſter* between *Spain* and the United Provinces in the Year 1648, was not the Work of the Nuncio, nor of the *Venetian* Embaſſador, no more than that which was made ſome Months after, between the Empire and the two Crowns of *France* and *Sweden*. The Mediators did not ſucceed in that of *Spain*, tho' they had ſpent many Years to no purpoſe therein, ſo that the two Kings were forc'd to agree between themſelves, by the Mediation of two ſubaltern Miniſters, without the Intervention of the Pope, and of the Republick; and even without the Mediation of the Electors, who had offer'd it. *France* would have employ'd its Mediation at *Conſtantinople*, in order to reconcile the Republick of *Venice* and the Port, in hopes of ſaving *Candia*, in the whole or in part; but ſhe made her Peace with the Grand Seignior, when no body intermeddled therein. They were ſtrange Mediators, who in the Year 1660, concluded a Peace between *Charles Guſtavus*, and *Frederick* III, Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*: and the ſame may be ſaid of thoſe who were inſtrumental to the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* in the Year 1668, tho' all the Mediators did not fare equally well thereby.

Pope *Innocent* X. ſeeing one Day from his Window two Boys fight at boxing, would not ſuffer them to be parted: He ſaid they would leave off of themſelves when they were tir'd with fighting, and that the ſame thing would happen to the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, who would put an end to the War when both ſides ſhould be weary thereof, without the Neceſſity of any body's being concern'd. The Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces, who had a greater Deſire than thoſe of *France* to forward and conclude their Negotiation would not paſs through the Hands of the Mediators, but on *May* 5, 1646. agreed with the Miniſters of *Spain* to act without them; that they ſhould treat immediately between themſelves, and that the Conferences ſhould be held alternately, one Day at the Houſe of the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, and the next at that of thoſe of *Holland*; and that they at whoſe Houſe the Conferences ſhould be held, ſhould do the Honours of the Houſe to the others, *&c.* The United Provinces perceiving that the Mediators made no Progreſs between *France* and *Spain*, look'd upon them to be of no Utility to them. But when once a Mediation has been admitted, it can be no longer rejected, without a Deſign to offend the Mediator. Cardinal *Mazarin*, who, as I ſaid before, did not find his Ends with the Nuncio and the *Venetian* Embaſſador, wrote to the *French* Plenipotentiaries to negotiate without them; but *d'Avaux* ſaid, *That there was no excluding from the Mediation (without Scandal) Miniſters who had labour'd for three Years paſt therein*; becauſe it would make the World talk, and give it Reaſon to believe, that *France* intended to break off the Negotiation, at a time when it was thought that Peace was juſt upon a Concluſion. And indeed the Plenipotentiaries wrote to the Cardinal, *That there was no offering that Affront to the Mediators*, who notwithſtanding their diſobliging Procedure, had done ſeveral good Offices to *France*; and that they would continue to make uſe of them as Perſons neceſſary, altho' they ſuſpected them. This had not always been *Servien*'s Opinion, but his Collegues were more moderate.

The Plenipotentiaries who were on the part of the United Provinces at *Munſter*, after they had adjuſted the greateſt Difficulties of their Treaty with the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, expreſs'd ſo great a Paſſion for an Accommodation of the Differences, which till then had not been able to be regulated between the two Crowns, that the *French* Miniſters gave them Leave at laſt, tho' with great Reluctancy, to employ their Offices, to try to bring them nearer to an Agreement. They made ſeveral Goings and Comings; but beſides that there was no Diſpoſition on either ſide, theſe pretended Mediators did not go about it as they ought. The Nuncio, who was vex'd that the *French* and *Spaniards* neglected him, to make uſe of Miniſters who had no Concern in the Mediation, complain'd thereof to thoſe of *France*. The Duke of *Longueville* told him, That they would receive indifferently from every body thoſe Offices that could any way contribute to the adjuſting of their

their Differences; but when they ſhould come to join Iſſue, they would make uſe of the ordinary way, and would receive the Concluſion from no other Hands than the Mediators: which makes it plain that the *Dutch* Miniſters were not Mediators, altho' they did the Functions thereof; and that even with more Succeſs than the Nuncio and *Venetian* Embaſſador had done; inſomuch that there was a Likelihood that in a very few Days they would have made a great Progreſs therein, if *Pegneranda*, who was ſure of the ſeparate Treaty, had not had ſo great an Averſion for that with *France*. His Obſtinacy and Pride coſt the King of *Spain* the beſt part of the *Low Countries*.

I made mention in the Beginning of this Chapter of the Mediation *France* offer'd to the two Northern Crowns in the Year 1645. *Caſpar Cognet de la Tuillerie*, who was to labour therein, met with a very great Difficulty at his entring upon the Mediation, to wit, in the Jealouſy might be taken from his firſt Viſit in *Sweden*, as well as in *Denmark*. He was Embaſſador in *Holland*, and could not go to *Sweden* but through the Kingdom of *Denmark*, unleſs he went by Sea, which was what he could not think of; and even if he did, he ſhould be oblig'd to paſs along the Coaſt of *Jutland*, and perhaps through the Sound. The Queen of *Sweden* however inſiſted on the Embaſſador Mediator's paying her the firſt Viſit. He found the Means to get out of this Perplexity, by ſeeking the Friendſhip of General *Torſenſon*, Plenipotentiary of *Sweden*, and Commander of the Forces of that Crown in *Germany*. He made him a Viſit as he paſs'd by his Quarters, and told him, That his Maſter's Intention was to uſe his Endeavours to put an End to the War between the two Kings of *Sweden* and of *Denmark*, thereby the better to enable the firſt of thoſe Crowns to ſuccour its Friends in *Germany*; deſiring him to ſecond, with his good Offices, the Letter which he ſent by a Gentleman to the Queen, to beg of her not to take it ill that he went to *Copenhagen* before he came to *Stockholm*. The Prince *Rodrigue* of *Wirtemberg* was gone thither ſome time before on the part of the Queen Regent of *France*, in order to do the ſame Office; but his Perſon not being very agreeable there, *la Tuillerie* was forc'd to have recourſe to his Addreſs. *Lewis* XI. affronted Cardinal *Beſſarion*, becauſe intending to do the Office of Mediator between him and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he had paid the firſt Viſit to the Duke.

The Abbot *de Brantbome* of the Houſe of *Bourdeilles*, makes mention thereof in his Memoirs, in the Life of *Charles* VIII, in theſe Terms. Pope *Eugenius* having ſent to King *Lewis* XI. a great, learned and able Perſon of the Countrey of *Greece*, and Archbiſhop of *Nice*, whoſe Name was *Beſſarion*, in the Quality of Legate, to mediate a Peace between him and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*. This good Man, not being ſo much a Courtier as a Philoſopher, and not diſtinguiſhing between the Grandeur of the one and the other, and between the Lord and the Vaſſal, went firſt to the Duke, from whom having receiv'd his Diſpatch, he very innocently went to the King, who look'd upon the Procedure of this poor Philoſopher to be very odd and ſtrange, in viſiting the Vaſſal before the Lord, and imagin'd he did it out of Contempt. Nevertheleſs he lent a tolerable Attention to his philoſophical Harangue; after which with a Countenance half angry, but accompany'd with a diſdainful Smile, he laid his Hand gently on his reverential Beard, and ſaid to him, Reverend Sir, *Barbara Græca, genus retinent, quod habere ſolebant:* and without any farther Anſwer left him there quite aſtoniſh'd, and by and by ſent him word by ſome other Perſon, That he might retire, for he ſhould have no other Anſwer nor Diſpatch. *Brantbome* hereupon makes Reflections worthy of himſelf, and put afterwards the Queſtion; Whether the Embaſſadors ought to go firſt to the greateſt or the leaſt of the two Princes with whom he is to negotiate, and handles it very problematically, after his uſual manner. I do not pretend to decide it, nor to give Rules for this ſort of Viſits. *Paul* III. ſent *Alexander Farneſe* his Nephew firſt to King *Francis* I, and afterwards to the Emperor *Charles* V. *Pius* V, on the contrary, ſent Cardinal *Alexandrin* his Nephew firſt to *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, and afterwards to *Charles* IX, King of *France*, without this laſt's taking it ill. There is more Difficulty therein at preſent. It is certain the Embaſſador ought to diſtinguiſh between the Princes, when their Dignity diſtinguiſhes them; and when there is a Competition between them, he muſt carry it ſo to the one, that the other may not be offended thereat; and that the Honour he does to the one, may not give the other any Jealouſy. Some Rules may be form'd from the Examples alledg'd in this Chapter.

It is certain the Embaſſador, or Miniſter Mediator, ought neceſſarily to diſtinguiſh between the Princes he is to reconcile; eſpecially if their Dignity diſtinguiſhes them. Cardinal *Pool* not being able to obtain Leave of the Emperor *Charles* V, to purſue his Journey to *England*, would fain have gone into *France*, in order to ſound there his Intentions concerning his Mediation; but *Charles* would not conſent to it. During the War about *Caſtro*, *Hugh de Lionne* had Orders to uſe his Endeavours to adjuſt the Differences between the *Barberins* and the Princes of *Italy*. *Lionne* before he went to *Rome* to confer with the Pope, whoſe Arms, as well temporal as ſpiritual, might be ſaid to have taken the Field, went to the Duke of *Parma*; as well becauſe he was the moſt concern'd, as becauſe he was in his way. To excuſe himſelf herein, he ſaid he diſcharg'd the Office of Interceſſor, rather than that of Mediator; ſo that it was neceſſary for him to know the Intentions and Diſpoſitions of the Duke, who was Vaſſal of the See of *Rome*, before he could aſſure the Pope of the Submiſſions he was to expect from him: Nevertheleſs, when after the Peace, which was concluded in the Year 1644, *Venice* had ſome Thoughts of ſending an Embaſſador Extraordinary into *France*, to thank the King for his Mediation, *Giuſtoni*, one of the Deputies of the Senate, who was againſt this Expence, ſaid, That the two Mediators, Cardinal *Bichi* and *Lionne* had been both at *Rome* before they came to *Venice*, whither one of them at leaſt ought to have come before he went to *Rome*; whereas, on the contrary, the Republick had not ſeen them till they had concerted with the *Barberins* whatever

they had a mind to. The Senate was not very well ſatisfy'd with this Peace; tho', as it had not acted with that Vigour which was expected from the Reputation of its Arms, and thoſe of the Allies having been employ'd but with much Diſorder and Confuſion, the Republick could not hope for any great Advantages therefrom. She pretended to the Honour of the firſt Viſit, becauſe ſhe maintain'd that ſhe had no Difference to unravel with the Holy See, or with the Pope, but only with the *Barberins*.

I believe I may ſay on this occaſion that in the Year 1625, Pope *Urban* finding himſelf perplex'd with the Affair of the *Valteline*, ſent the Cardinal *Francis Barberin* one of his Nephews into *France*, to endeavour to regulate the Difference between the two Crowns. The Cardinal did not meet there with any great Satisfaction, for which reaſon the Pope was for having him go to *Spain*, to ſee whether he ſhould not there find a greater Diſpoſition to an Accommodation, but the *Spaniards* proteſted they would not receive this Legation, becauſe they look'd upon it as the Sequel of that of *France*; and this Oppoſition oblig'd the Pope to recall the Cardinal back to *Rome*, in order to ſend him from thence to *Spain*. And foraſmuch as the *Spaniards* were not ſatisfy'd therewith, *becauſe the Legate had been in* France *before he came to* Spain, it was neceſſary to find ſome other Pretext for his Journey, and give it out, That the Cardinal went thither only to ſtand for the Pope at the Chriſtening of the Princeſs the Queen of *Spain* was lately deliver'd of. The *Spaniards* are not the only People who are vain enough to ſuffer themſelves to be deceiv'd, and to deceive themſelves by outward Appearances, which they and every body elſe knows to be falſe and ridiculous. When in the Year 1651, *Chanut* was at *Lubeck*, as Mediator on the part of *France*, he was ask'd whether he had his Powers. He anſwer'd, that he had, and that he was ready to communicate them, but that he would not give a Copy thereof to the Parties. I cannot tell whether the Powers are of abſolute Neceſſity in this Caſe, becauſe the Prince who employs the Mediator not being oblig'd to ratify any thing, it ſeems as if it were ſufficient that the Miniſter verifies his Quality by any publick Act whatever; and that the Powers are only made uſe of becauſe this Verification cannot well be perform'd by Credential Letters, which the Prince Mediator cannot addreſs to Deputies, of whom the Aſſembly is compos'd. And that they were not formal Powers, appears by the Speech *Chanut* made at that time, wherein he maintain'd, That it was not neceſſary that they ſhould be diſpatch'd under the Great Seal, and that thoſe Princes to whom the Mediation of *France* might be uſeful or convenient, ought not to be accuſtom'd thereto.

It muſt be obſerv'd that *Aloyſio Contarini*, being Mediator on the part of the Republick of *Venice* at *Munſter*, did not pretend to any Advantage, Prerogative or Precedency, on the account of his Quality of Mediator, over the Embaſſadors of Crown'd Heads; ſo that when he happen'd to be in a third Place, with the Nuncio and other Embaſſadors, the Nuncio took indeed the firſt Place, but *Contarini* took his only after theſe, and not immediately after the Nuncio. And on any Occaſions, where the Princes and States of the Empire ſent a Deputation to the Mediators, in the Preſence of the Embaſſadors of the Emperor and of the King of *France*, the Deputies firſt ſaluted the Nuncio, and after him the Emperor's Embaſſadors and thoſe of *France*, and the *Venetian* laſt. The Embaſſadors of Crown'd Heads do Honour to the Mediator, if his Maſter is of the ſame Dignity with theirs. At the Congreſs of *Breda* they all yielded the Precedency to the *Swediſh* Embaſſadors: But as the Chriſtian Kings conſider the Emperor but as the firſt amongſt them, the Embaſſadors who are on the part of the King of *Great Britain* at *Nimeguen*, *pretend that the Biſhop of* Gure *and his Collegues, Embaſſadors from the Emperor, ſhould have the ſame Deference for them.* They ſay they have their Maſter's expreſs Orders for the ſame; and their Difference will be by ſo much the harder to adjuſt, as there is no Medium to take, and they cannot therein ſubmit to the Arbitration of a third Perſon; becauſe not one King will refer himſelf to the Pope; and all the other Princes are intereſſed. What ſeems moſt grievous herein is, leſt the King of *Great Britain* carrying it ſo high, ſhould pretend to treat the Princes of *Germany* as the Emperor does.

Altho' the *Venetian* Embaſſador was conſider'd and honour'd at *Munſter* as a Mediator, yet nevertheleſs the Nuncio pretended that this Quality was only due to him, becauſe the Catholicks had deſir'd no other Mediation than the Pope's. He ſaid his Briefs made no mention of any other Mediator, and that even *Contarini*'s Credentials expreſs'd nothing more than that he ſhould be aiding and aſſiſting to the Nuncio in this Negotiation; and that upon the firſt Overture that *France* had made to admit the *Venetians*, theſe had employ'd their Friends at *Vienna*, at *Paris*, and at *Madrid*, to get themſelves accepted. And in Fact all the Writings, Propoſitions, Anſwers and Replies were addreſs'd only to the Nuncio, and he kept them at Home; it was he that communicated them to the Parties, and that alone ſign'd the Anſwers. He never went to ſee the *Venetian* Embaſſador for Affairs of this nature, but ſent for him to come to him. Neither did he ſuffer the other to ſign any thing with him; and if he communicated any Inſtrument to him, it was only a Copy, which the Signature of his Auditor or Secretary, or elſe the Seal of the Nunciature render'd authentick; inſomuch that he almoſt paſs'd for the only Mediator with the Catholicks. The Plenipotentiaries of the Catholick Princes held their Conferences in the Nuncio's Houſe, having firſt obtain'd from him the Hour of their Audience or Viſit, at which the *Venetian* Embaſſador was preſent alſo: this laſt came likewiſe to the Nuncio's, when they were to viſit together the Plenipotentiaries of the Crown'd Heads. It was obſerv'd that the Embaſſador of *Venice* had been above eight hundred times at the Nuncio's Houſe, who ſaid, that he acted thus by way of Precaution, to the end, that in Affairs of that Importance he might have an unexceptionable Witneſs of his Actions, as well as of his Words, againſt the Equivocations of the Parties, and againſt

againſt the Doubts that might be had of his Sincerity. What I have now ſaid *of the Nuncio's Brief, and of the* Venetian *Embaſſador's Credentials*, confirms what I had obſerv'd before, that the Powers are not abſolutely neceſſary to a Mediator, ſince theſe two Miniſters had none.

The Word Mediator ſufficiently expreſſes his Function; which conſiſts properly in putting himſelf in the middle, to bring the Parties at Variance nearer together: whereof I ſhall here give a very ſingular Inſtance. I have already ſpoken ſeveral times of the Mediation *France* offer'd to the two Northern Crowns in the Year 1644. *La Tuillerie* having oblig'd the two Kings, in the beginning of the following Year, to ſend their Commiſſioners to *Bremſebro*, on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, made both ſides conſent to the lodging their Powers in his Hands, to be communicated by him to the Parties: That in caſe the Powers were found good and ſufficient, the Deputies of *Sweden* and of *Denmark* ſhould meet in the middle of the Bridge which makes the Frontier of the two Kingdoms, and ſhould take one another by the Hand. After the Powers were approv'd and exchang'd, the Embaſſador Mediator made them agree on the Terms they ſhould make uſe of in their Complement at their firſt Interview. This being done, the *Swediſh* Deputies came within half a League of *Bremſebro*, and the *Danes* to *Chriſtianople*: and foraſmuch as theſe (who according to Cuſtom ought, as the firſt Comers, to have acquainted the others therewith) fail'd therein; the *Swedes* ſupply'd it, by notifying to the *Danes*, that they ſhould be at *Bremſebro* at half an Hour after one of the Clock in the Afternoon. The Tents of the ones and of the others were pitch'd at both Ends of the Bridge; and *la Tuillerie* having plac'd himſelf in the middle of the Bridge, by a Stone which denotes the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, put himſelf in the middle of the four Embaſſadors of the United Provinces, who were there alſo as Mediators; and as the Gout hinder'd him from going himſelf to fetch the Deputies, to bring them to this Stone, and alſo becauſe he did not know which of the two he ſhould fetch firſt, he caus'd a Trumpet to be ſounded, and at this Signal all the Deputies came out of their Tents at the ſame time, and march'd to the middle of the Bridge, counting their Steps, *&c.* After this firſt Interview the Mediators went backwards and forwards between the Parties, receiv'd and communicated the Propoſitions and Anſwers, and at laſt brought the Treaty to a Concluſion.

The Emperor's Miniſters, and thoſe of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, having agreed at *Munſter* of the manner of treating; they, on *December* 4, 1644, put their firſt Demand into the Hands of the Mediators; to whom thoſe of *Spain* ſignify'd on the ſame Day, that if the Propoſition of the *French* was not conformable to theirs, and that they had no other Intention than to talk of certain Preliminaries, there was no occaſion to do any more than to ſend them back thoſe they had given in, without communicating them to the *French* Plenipotentiaries. Whereupon the Mediators went to the *Spaniſh* Plenipotentiaries, where thoſe from the Emperor happen'd to be alſo, and told them, "*That it did not belong to them to* "*judge of the Propoſitions:* That the Office of "Mediation permitted them only to make a "faithful Report of what was told them, without adding any thing of their own, except "Exhortations to do what is juſt and reaſonable: But as for the making a Judgment of "the Equity and Juſtice of the Propoſitions, "or to ſay which Propoſitions would be propereſt to forward the Treaty, that that exceeded the Power of their Employment: "That it was abſolutely neceſſary their Propoſitions ſhould be communicated to the "*French*, or elſe that they ſhould all be reſtor'd "on both ſides.

If the Mediators are requir'd by one of the Parties to make a Propoſition to the other, they ought to make no Difficulty therein, how grievous ſoever it might be. In the Beginning of the Year 1646, the Plenipotentiaries of *France* urg'd the Mediators to demand a Paſſport of the *Spaniſh* Miniſters for the Embaſſadors of *Portugal*, and the Liberty of *Don Duarte* of *Bragança*. The Mediators knew that this Propoſition would be ill receiv'd, but that did not hinder them from making it to the Count *de Pegueranda*; and whereas this gave a looſe to his Paſſion as ſoon as the Nuncio began to mention *Portugal*, *Contarini*, who on his part eaſily took Fire; told him, "That it was not "the way to negotiate to give way to ſuch "Tranſports: That the Office of Mediator "oblig'd them to report punctually the Propoſition the other had charg'd them with; and "as they ſhould make no Scruple to demand "the City of *Paris* of the *French*, if the *Spaniards* "deſir'd it; ſo neither would they make any "Difficulty to ask *Madrid* of the *Spaniards*, if "the *French* requir'd them ſo to do.

The Inſtructions the Court of *Rome* gave to Cardinal *Ginetti*, when it ſent him in the Quality of Legate Mediator to the Congreſs at *Cologne*, are very conſiderable: For beſides that they inform him particularly of all the Affairs which were there to be diſcuſs'd, where almoſt all *Europe* was concern'd; they inſtruct him perfectly in all he was to do in that Quality. They recommend to him firſt, and above all things, Indifferency, without which all his Offices would be uſeleſs; in which the Legate ought to be ſo exact, that not only no Partiality ſhould be diſcover'd in his Conduct, but alſo that none ſhould be obſervable either in the Actions or Words of his Domeſticks. 2. That he ſhould not make any Propoſition, becauſe he might make ſuch as might not be agreeable to one of the Parties, and by that Mean would become ſuſpected and of no Utility; and that he ſhould content himſelf with making a faithful Report of what ſhould be told him. 3. That in the Conteſt between two equal Powers, where neither is willing to make the firſt Propoſition, becauſe that ſhews ſome Weakneſs or Deference, the Mediator ought to oblige them both to deliver their Propoſitions to him at the ſame time. 4. That he muſt endeavour to acquire the Confidence of the Parties, that they may diſcover to him their true Sentiments. 5. That he be ſecret, and communicate to either Party but what the other would have him. 6. That he do not take upon him any Arbitration, nor

ſuffer any to be put upon the Pope; becauſe then inſtead of Mediator he would become Judge. 7. That he do not diſpatch any Courier to either of the Princes intereſted, becauſe if that Prince cannot conſent to what is deſir'd of him, he will be angry that an Expreſs was ſent him; but let him cauſe the Miniſters themſelves to ſend him, and that he write by the ſame Hand to the Nuncio who reſides with the Prince, that he may diſcharge that Office. 8. That he decline as much as may be any Jealouſy or Umbrage he might give by ſending an Expreſs to the Pope. 9. They recommend to him Moderation and Patience.

Princes do not always accept the Mediation is offer'd them: Of which I have before given an Example, where the King of *England* refus'd that of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, becauſe this was intereſſed. The Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, and the Miniſters of *Denmark*, conſidering that the King of *Denmark* could no longer do the Office of Mediator, after the Rupture between the two *Northern* Crowns, *Contarini* repreſented to the Miniſters of *France*, that it was neceſſary to ſubſtitute another Mediator in his Place; becauſe the *Swedes* not having any at *Oſnaburg*, they could not carry on their Negotiation, which alſo put a Stop to that which was to be at *Munſter*; ſince according to the preliminary Treaty, *France* and *Sweden* were to go the ſame Pace. Upon this Difficulty it was propos'd to perform the Mediation of *Oſnaburg* by the Republick of *Venice*; but the Emperor would not conſent thereto, and excluded *Contarini*. The Pretext was, that he would not diſoblige the King of *Denmark*, who might reaſſume the Mediation, after the Peace ſhould be concluded in the *North*; but the true reaſon was, that the Emperor would not have any Mediator between him and the Proteſtant Princes, becauſe he pretended to treat them as his Subjects.

The States of the United Provinces, when they ſent their Plenipotentiaries to *Munſter*, commanded them to avoid the Occaſions which might oblige them to negotiate by the means of the Mediators; and that if any Difference chanc'd to ariſe, which they could not regulate with the *Spaniards* immediately, they might apply themſelves to the *French* Embaſſadors, or elſe to that of *Venice*, and diſcourſe with them about it by the way of Converſation; That like Mediators they might propoſe ſome Means of Accommodation. But for the reſt, that they ſhould always meet together with the *Spaniſh* Miniſters directly, at the Town-houſe, or in ſome other publick Place, without Mediators: and there take one ſide of the Table, leaving the *Spaniards* the Choice of the other. I take notice elſewhere that they met alternately at their own Houſes.

Cardinal *Francis Barberin* was ſent into *France* in the Year 1625, to endeavour to accommodate the Difference that was between the two Crowns about the *Valteline*. He did nothing in it becauſe the King inſiſted, that according to the Treaty of *Madrid*, the *Valteline* ſhould be reſtor'd to the *Griſons*, with all the Rights of Superiority which they had there, before the Inſurrection of thoſe of the Valley. In the Year 1626, the ſame Cardinal went into *Spain*, with a Deſign to bring there to a good Iſſue the Mediation, which had not ſucceeded in *France*; but the *Spaniards* deſpis'd or neglected him ſo much, that they concluded the Treaty of *Monçon*, after the Legate was already arriv'd in *Spain*; but to the end he might not think they had any Intention to affront him, they antedated the Treaty wherein he had no Concern.

A Peace being concluded between *France* and *England* in the Year 1629, the Inſtruments thereof on both ſides were put into the Hands of ſome Embaſſadors, who had been concern'd therein as Peace-makers, and not as Mediators; to keep them by way of *Depoſitum*, till the Ratifications ſhould be exchang'd. It cannot be ſaid neither, that the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, Embaſſador from the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* at *Madrid*, was a Mediator; notwithſtanding *Baſſompierre* and *du Fargis*, Embaſſadors from *France*, ſuffer'd him to aſſiſt at the Conferences, in order to diſcharge the Office of Pacifier of the Differences the *French* Embaſſadors might have with the *Spaniſh* Commiſſioners. The Great Duke had not offer'd his Mediation, neither had it been accepted of in *France*; and to ſpeak the Truth it was not very neceſſary, conſidering the Diſpoſition the *Spaniards* were in to ſatisfy the *French*, by granting them a Treaty they had no mind to execute. The Embaſſadors made a bold Step in admitting the Embaſſador of *Tuſcany* to the Conferences without an expreſs Order from their Court; altho' they were perſuaded of the Intention of a Miniſter, whoſe Maſter had an Intereſt not to have the Repoſe of *Italy* diſturb'd on the account of the *Valteline*.

The King of *Sweden*, *Charles Guſtavus*, could not bear that the States of the United Provinces ſhould intervene as Mediators, in the Treaty they were for having him make with the King of *Denmark*, not after his own Way, but conformably to the Intention of *France*, *England*, and the ſaid United Provinces, who had all erected themſelves as Mediators; That a Treaty might be made which ſhould hinder the King of *Sweden* from raiſing his Grandeur on the Ruins of the King of *Denmark*. He told the Embaſſadors of the States, that he rejected their Mediation, that he look'd upon them as his Enemies, and that he might perhaps treat them as ſuch. *France* and *England* had indeed an Intereſt to oppoſe the vaſt Deſigns of the King of *Sweden*, but yet they meddl'd but faintly, and would rather have declar'd for him than for the King of *Denmark*: ſo that we muſt believe that had it not been for the Loſs of the Battel of *Funen*, which very much mortify'd the King of *Sweden*, if it was not the real Cauſe of his Death, their Mediation would not have produc'd the Effect it did after his Death. It was not without Reluctancy and Regret that the King of *France* admitted of the Mediation of *England*, *Sweden* and of the United Provinces in the Year 1668. And it is very probable he would not have admitted thereof if he had not been aſſur'd that he ſhould be allow'd by the Treaty to keep all the Conqueſts he had made, and had a mind to make. When he enter'd the *Low Countries* in the Year 1667, he had proteſted that he had no other Intention than to purſue the Rights of the Queen

his

his Wife, and to put himſelf in Poſſeſſion of what accru'd to him by the Devolution, or of an Equivalent: And this is what he obtain'd by the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*. As for the Choice he left to the *Spaniards*, theſe got no Advantage at all thereby; becauſe in yielding to *France* the Places ſhe deſir'd, they enlarg'd and cover'd the Frontiers of that Kingdom, and by leaving him the Towns he had conquer'd, they impair'd their own Frontiers, and gave the *French* Entrance into their Countrey, even to the Heart of *Brabant*, and to the very Gates of *Bruſſels*. It is true, that in all this, as well as in the tripple Alliance, and in the defenſive Alliance, which was ſince concluded between *England* and the United Provinces, there is ſomething ſo odd, and ſo myſterious, that it is very hard to unravel.

CHAP. XII.

Of Treaties.

IT is none of the Embaſſador's Buſineſs to inform himſelf, whether the Prince, who commands him to make a Treaty, can oblige his Succeſſor to the Execution thereof. He has nothing to do but to purſue his Orders, and to keep within the Bounds of his Inſtructions and Powers. I ſhall not therefore enter into the Examination of this Queſtion, but ſhall only ſay, That, according to the Opinion of *Bodin*, the King of *France* cannot in any manner oblige his Succeſſor to the Execution of the Treaties he ſhall make during his Reign. He grounds his Poſition on this Principle, That the King, altho' he be the moſt abſolute of all the Monarchs in *Chriſtendom*, is only a Tenant or Uſufructuary of his Kingdom, and ſo his Power ends with his Life: That his Succeſſor not being call'd to the Crown by the Will, nor by the Diſpoſal of his Predeceſſor, but ſucceeding thereto in his own Right, by virtue of the fundamental Law of the Kingdom, he is not oblig'd to follow his Sentiments, to the Prejudice of that Liberty which his Predeceſſor cannot take from him. Upon this Maxim two Concluſions may be form'd, and in my Opinion very pertinent ones. The firſt is, That whatever Treaties Princes make, they ſubſiſt no longer, (even amongſt the moſt Religious, and moſt Jealous of their Word) than during their Life. The other Concluſion is, That if the Kings, who are Uſufructuaries, cannot oblige their Succeſſors and Heirs, thoſe who have the Management of Affairs in an Ariſtocratical or Democratical State, not for Life, nor as Uſufructuaries, but only for a certain time, and as Adminiſtrators by Election, can much leſs oblige their Poſterity, that is to ſay, thoſe who ſucceed them in their Functions, either during their Life, or after their Deceaſe; but they are oblig'd to leave Affairs in the State, where they found them, and to their Succeſſors the intire Liberty of Deliberations, as they receiv'd it from their Anceſtors. However, it is daily ſeen that Princes and Republicks oblige themſelves every Day in Treaties, as well for themſelves as for their Heirs and Succeſſors. The Renovations of Alliance, which were made with the *Swiſs Cantons* in the Reign of *Henry* IV, and within ſome Years with the preſent King, extend themſelves to the Deceaſe of their Succeſſor, and even beyond it; and thoſe Treaties, which one may ſay are to ſubſiſt but three Days, ſpeak of a Friendſhip and Confederacy, which is to be perpetual between the Kings and their Children, born and to be born, their Succeſſors and Heirs, Kingdoms and States, *&c.* The *Pyrenean* Treaty may ſerve for an Example thereof. But this is what the Embaſſador ought not to be uneaſy at. The Execution of the Treaty is none of his Buſineſs; the Concluſion only is what he can anſwer for, by taking Care therein of his Maſter's Intereſt.

But I think my ſelf oblig'd to ſay, That as the Contracts that paſs between private Perſons are founded on the Civil Laws, ſo the Treaties which are made between Sovereigns are founded on the *Law of Nations*. So that it would be ridiculous to deſire the Reciſion thereof, for the ſame Cauſes, for which the Civil Law reſtores the private Perſon, who is injur'd, to the State he was in before the Contract. I ſhall add farther, That Princes make no Treaties but with this tacit Condition, That they will obſerve them no longer than they can do it without prejudicing their Intereſt. Their Intention is to extract all the Profit thereof, and to leave all the Inconveniencies, and all the Danger, to their Companion if they can. It was not long that King *Henry* IV. had made a very ſtrong Alliance with the Queen of *England*, and the States of the United Provinces, when he lent an Ear to the Overtures the Pope caus'd to be made to him for a Peace, which was afterwards concluded at *Vervins*. *Clement* VIII, talking one Day of this Affair to *Doſſat*, about the beginning of the Year 1597, that is to ſay, a very few Months after the Alliance was concluded with the Queen of *England*, he told him, That the King, who had made an Oath to an Heretick, had another Oath to God, and to him the Pope. He added thereto, that *Francis Mary*, Duke of *Urbin*, was us'd to ſay, That a ſimple Gentleman, or a Nobleman who was no Sovereign, could not break his Word without ſullying his Honour and Reputation; but that Sovereign Princes could, for Reaſons of State, make Treaties and break them, make Alliances and leave them, lye, betray, and do all the like things, without prejudicing their Honour. I know not whether the Pope had much, in alledging this fine Maxim of the Duke of *Urbin*. It was not *Henry* IV's Principle, but he repreſented to the Queen, by *Hurault de Maiſſes*, his Embaſſador, that the State of his Kingdom not permitting

permitting him to continue a War which would be ruinous to his Subjects, he was of Opinion that it no leſs concern'd his Allies than himſelf, that he ſhould take Care of his Preſervation; to the End, that after he had ſettled his own Affairs, he might be able to give his Friends that Aſſiſtance which they ought to promiſe themſelves from his good Will, and aſſur'd her that the Peace he was going to make would be as beneficial and uſeful to his Allies, as it was neceſſary to his Kingdom. The *French* Embaſſador added hereto what I juſt obſerv'd of the tacit Condition, which is inſeparable from all the Treaties and Alliances of Princes. The Reaſon hereof is, That Princes have an Obligation to their Subjects, which is beyond Compariſon much ſtronger, than that they enter into by any Alliance, how ſtrict ſoever it may be. It may again be ſaid, That it is much better to put an end to the Alliance by a ſeparate Treaty, provided Baſeneſs and Perfidy do not mingle therein, than to ſuffer an Ally to be deſtroy'd by a powerful Enemy. But to renounce a formal Treaty without Neceſſity, and to declare loudly that one will not execute it, is to offend the publick Faith, and to ſubvert the Foundations of all the Commerce Princes are oblig'd to entertain among themſelves.

Count *Eric Oxenſtiern*, who afterwards ſucceeded his Father in the Office of Chancellor of *Sweden*, diſcourſing one Day with the Reſident of *Denmark*, on the Subject of the War the United Provinces had with the *Engliſh*, told him, That indeed there were Treaties which ſeem'd to oblige the Crown of *Sweden* to aſſiſt the *Hollanders* againſt the Parliamentarians of *England:* That when they were made, the times requir'd it; but that Affairs were very much alter'd ſince. The Chancellor ſaid the ſame to the *French* Reſident, who was for recommending to him the Intereſt of the United Provinces. The late King of *Sweden* did not fear ſaying, That he did not know what kind of Animal a Treaty was. And to ſpeak the truth, conſidering how the Parties have behav'd themſelves ſince the triple Alliance, which was concluded in the Year 1668, between *England*, *Sweden*, and the United Provinces; it muſt be confeſs'd that Princes obſerve Treaties but as far as they pleaſe, and that it is Intereſt or Whim, and not Honeſty of Principle, that guides their Actions. The Wax and Parchment do not bind faſter than a Chain of Straw, and they ſeem to glory in out-doing the *Florentin* Politician, in all he ſays, concerning the moſt pernicious Maxims of the worſt of Men. It is not my Deſign to ſpeak here of the Intentions and Sentiments of Princes, but only of the manner how they cauſe Treaties to be made by their Embaſſadors.

When I ſpeak of Treaties, I comprehend therein the preliminary ones, which often give more trouble, and take up more time, than is employ'd in adjuſting the Differences themſelves. The Town of *Hamburg* ſaw, for ſeven Years together, Miniſters who had nothing elſe to do but to regulate the Time and Place of the Congreſs, and the Paſſports of the Miniſters, of which the Aſſembly was to be compos'd. I have ſpoken in the XXVIIth Chapter of the firſt Book, of the Difficulties that occurr'd concerning the Paſſports; there was not any about the Time, but they were whole Years a ſettling the Place of the Congreſs. The Pope *Urban* VIII. deſir'd that the Peace might be negotiated at *Rome*. The Council of *France*, on the contrary, was not for having this Negotiation tranſacted under the Pope's Eyes; and to avoid it, they ſaid, it was impoſſible; becauſe they were going to labour at a Peace, which could not be general, unleſs the Intereſt of ſeveral Proteſtant Princes were thereby regulated, who would not, nor could not ſend their Miniſters to *Rome*. The Emperor, who was deſirous to negotiate in a Place whither the Proteſtant Princes, and even ſeveral who were Catholicks, would not ſend, becauſe he ſhould by that Mean, become Maſter of their Intereſts, conſented that the Treaty ſhould be made at *Rome*, and promis'd to prevail with *Spain* to agree thereto. *France* having refus'd this Overture, the Emperor propos'd *Spires*, *Augsburg*, *Conſtance*, and *Trent:* But this Propoſition was likewiſe rejected by the King of *France*; as well becauſe thoſe Towns depended on the Emperor, as becauſe he judg'd it was againſt his Dignity, to ſuffer himſelf to be carry'd away by other Peoples Sentiments; and eſpecially thoſe of the Emperor, who might have drawn Advantages therefrom, which *France* did not allow him. At laſt it was agreed, that the Catholicks ſhould meet at *Cologn*, and the Proteſtants at *Hamburg* or at *Lubeck*. But foraſmuch as the *Swedes* judg'd that *Cologn* and *Hamburg* were too far diſtant one from the other, and that the frequent and almoſt continual Communication of the Allies would thereby be much incommoded, by Reaſon of the Diſtance of the Places from the *Rhine* to the *Baltick* Seaſide, they deſir'd *M. d'Avaux* to propoſe *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, as Towns equally commodious to all the Parties concern'd. The States of the Empire, who were at that time aſſembled at *Ratisbone*, approv'd the Choice, and the Emperor conſented likewiſe thereto, tho' he would have been better pleas'd they had pitch'd upon *Spire* and *Worms*.

Some Princes have been very difficult on this Point, whereas others have not been ſo in the leaſt. In the Year 1559, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* ſent their Miniſters firſt to *Liſle*; but the Conſtable *Montmorancy* refus'd to conclude the Treaty in a Town in Subjection to the King of *Spain*; becauſe he would not have the World believe that the King of *France* had ſollicited the King of *Spain*, even as far as his own Houſe, for a Peace. For which Reaſon the Embaſſadors of the two Kings met afterwards in the Abbey of *Cercamp*, and ſign'd the Treaty at *Chaſteau* in *Cambreſis*, as in a neutral Place. During the War about *Caſtro*, the Cardinals *Donghi* and *Bichi* (of whom the one was the Pope's Plenipotentiary, and the other was Embaſſador Extraordinary, and Mediator on the part of *France*) diſcourſing about the Place, where the Miniſters of the Parties concern'd might meet, to treat of Peace; *Bichi* ſaid, It would be proper to leave the Choice thereof to the Princes in Alliance, thereby to expreſs ſome Confidence in them. But *Donghi* anſwer'd, *That the Negotiation ought to be perform'd in ſome Town belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical State; that the Reputation of the Holy See was concern'd therein,*

therein, and that the Princes ow'd that Reſpect to the Pope. The firſt thing the moſt Chriſtian King propos'd, when mention was firſt made of accommodating the Difference he had with *Alexander* VII, on the Account of the *Corſican* Guards, was, *That the Treaty ſhould not be negotiated at* Rome, *but in a neutral Place.* And in fact the Treaty was finiſh'd and ſign'd at *Piſa.* In the Year 1598, the two Kings agreed upon the little Town of *Vervins*, as a Place ſituated at almoſt an equal Diſtance from *Paris* and *Bruſſels*, and equally commodious to *Henry* IV, and to the Arch-Duke *Albert*, who had a Procuration from the King of *Spain.* The Truce between the ſame Arch-Duke and the United Provinces, was at firſt negotiated at the *Hague*, but when it was to be concluded, the Deputies on both ſides met at *Antwerp.* *Bentivoglio* ſays, That the *Spaniards* inſiſted on the Treaties being ſign'd in that Town, on the Account of its Reputation in the World. *France* has made no Difficulty to negotiate, and to make Treaties for the Affairs of *Germany*, in *Germany* it ſelf, at *Berwalde*, at *Ratisbone*, at *Hailbron*, at *Ulm*, at *Munſter*, &c. as for thoſe of *Italy*, in *Italy*, at *Queraſque*, at *Turin*, and elſewhere. Nay ſhe has condeſcended even to treat in *Spain*, at *Madrid*, at *Monçon*, &c.

The Negotiation for the Peace, which was concluded between the two Crowns in the Year 1659, was begun in the Year 1656, by *Lionne* at *Madrid*, continu'd and finiſh'd by *Pimentel* at *Paris*, and in fine ſign'd at the *Pyrenees*, that is to ſay, on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms; and that, for the Dignity of the two Crowns, in a Place almoſt equally diſtant from *Paris* and *Madrid.* To this purpoſe ſuch exact Meaſures were taken, in an Iſland that parts the two Kingdoms, that each of the two firſt Miniſters might ſay, That he treated in the King his Maſter's Territories, and did not yield the leaſt Advantage to his Companion. After the Invaſion the *French* Arms made in the Low Countries in the Year 1667, and after the Alliances *England*, *Sweden* and the United Provinces made, to ſtop the Progreſs thereof; *Spain*, which did not deſpair of prevailing with the Allies to break with *France*, and had beſides ſome Difficulty to conſent to a Peace, to which it was in a Manner forc'd by the Arms of the Allies, ſtickl'd very much to have it negotiated at *Rome*, in the Preſence, and by the Mediation of the Pope, or that the two Kings ſhould ſend their Miniſters to the *Pyrenees*; ſince the Matter in hand was the Execution of the Treaty which had been made there in the Year 1659. But *France* ſaid, That it was an Affair which related to the Provinces of *Flanders* immediately, and ſo that the Treaty could not be made but on the Frontiers on that ſide; more eſpecially ſince *England*, *Sweden* and the United Provinces concern'd themſelves therein. I ſhall here obſerve by the by, that in the *Pheaſant* Iſland, in the Place where the two firſt Miniſters met, there was a Table for each, the one of which was on the Territory of *France*, and the other on that of *Spain*, and each of them ſign'd upon his own; but the Contract of Marriage was ſign'd upon the Table of *Don Lewis de Haro*; becauſe that Honour was due to the *Infanta*, whom the King of *France* courted.

There is never any Difference on this Subject between the two *Northern* Kings; becauſe moſt commonly the Deputies or Commiſſioners meet on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, or elſe in ſome Place which is at an equal Diſtance from both. *Bremſebro*, where the Treaty between *Sweden* and *Denmark* was concluded in the Year 1645, is between *Colmar* and *Chriſtianople.* And if ſince that time Treaties have been made at *Roſchild* and at *Toſtorp*, and ſince that at *Copenhaguen*, it was becauſe the two Kings were upon the Place. In the Year 1651, the Miniſters of *Poland*, who were to aſſemble in order to procure a Prolongation of their Truce, or elſe to convert it into a perpetual Peace, had great Debates concerning the Place of the Congreſs. The *Poles* were for meeting at *Francfort* on the *Oder*, or at *Landsberg*; and the *Swedes* propos'd *Lubeck* or *Hamburg*; and they at laſt agreed to meet at *Lubeck:* but nothing was done there; and the Treaty was not concluded till ſeveral Years after, at the Convent of *Oliva* near *Dantzick*, as being a Place convenient to both.

Thoſe Princes between whom there is a Competition, make ſometimes a Point of Honour of it: but they who are above the Competition do not ſtop at theſe ſmall Difficulties. The King of *Great Britain*, whom the States of the United Provinces had courted even in *Whiteball*, to conclude there the Treaty of the Year 1662, offer'd in the Year 1667, to ſend his Embaſſadors to the very *Hague*, there to negotiate a Peace, and ſent them in effect to *Breda*, where it was concluded, altho' the Town belongs to the Sovereignty of the States. As ſoon as mention was made of renewing the Negotiation, which the carrying off of Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg* had broke off at *Cologn*, the King of *France* offer'd to ſend his Plenipotentiaries to ſuch Town as ſhould be nam'd, out of *Germany*; becauſe he judg'd by what had happen'd at *Cologn*, that there was no Safety for them in the Empire. And in reality as ſoon as *Nimeguen* was nominated, he acquieſc'd thereto, notwithſtanding it be the firſt Town of *Gueldre*, within the State of the United Provinces. The Towns where theſe Kinds of Aſſemblies are held, ought to enjoy a perfect Neutrality, in reference to all Parties concern'd, that their Miniſters may there enjoy the ſame Liberty and Safety, they would have at home. After it was reſolv'd that the Aſſembly ſhould be transferr'd from *Cologn* to *Munſter*, *John Crane*, Counſellor in the *Aulick* Council to the Emperor, went thither; and return'd to the Magiſtrate the Oath of Fidelity it had made to the Empire, (for the Time the Aſſembly ſhould laſt) to the End the Miniſters of the Princes concern'd might repair thither, go and ſtay without ſcruple, as in a neutral Place. Which was done ſolemnly at the Town Houſe, and an Act was taken thereof before a Notary.

After the Princes have agreed on the Place of the Aſſembly, and that their Miniſters are come thither, theſe ſometimes ſtart Difficulties concerning the Form and Manner of the Negotiation. Whether it ſhall be perform'd by word of Mouth, or in Writing? If there be a Mediator, which ſhall firſt deliver their Propoſitions into his Hands? Whether the Embaſ-

ſadors ſhall viſit one the other? How, and where they ſhall meet, when they ſhall begin their Conferences? And how all things ſhall be accommodated, ſo that there be an exact Equality between thoſe who have the ſame Character, and between whom there is a Competition? There was not formerly ſo much ſcruple on theſe Accounts, as there is at preſent. *Charles* VIII. having almoſt at the ſame time conquer'd and loſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, and ſeeing all the Potentates of *Italy* confederated and arm'd againſt him; judg'd there was no better way to diſengage the Duke of *Orleance*, who was reduc'd to the laſt Extremities in *Novarra*, than to make a Peace with the Confederates. The Preliminaries having been regulated with little Trouble, the Deputies on all ſides repair'd to *Vercelli*, and met every Day in the Houſe where the Duke of *Milan* was lodg'd. When the *French* Deputies came there, the Duke himſelf receiv'd them at the Gate of his Houſe. The Dutcheſs came to meet them at the Entrance of a large Gallery; and then the *French* Noblemen, to do her Honour, march'd before her, and conducted her to her Husband's Appartment, where the Conferences were held. In the Room there were two Rows of Chairs; one for the Deputies of the Confederates, and the other for thoſe of *France*. The firſt had at their Head one of the Emperor's Counſellors, who was follow'd by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, next to whom ſat the Marquiſs of *Gonzague*, General of the *Venetian* Army, follow'd by the Proveditors and Embaſſador of *Venice*. The Duke and Dutcheſs of *Milan* were ſeated after them, before the Embaſſador of *Ferrara*, who was laſt of all. There was none but the Duke of *Milan* who ſpoke for all the Confederates, and who caus'd Silence, when the *French*, according to their Cuſtom, were for ſpeaking two or three at a time. After Affairs had been diſcuſs'd, and digeſted for ſome Days, and that they were in ſuch a Condition that the Articles could be put down in Writing, the Deputies ſent for two Secretaries, one of each Party, who wrote down what had been agreed to, each in his own Tongue; and after theſe had made an end of writing one Article, they read it aloud. In the next Seſſion the ſame Secretaries read over again what had been fix'd in the preceding, that it might appear whether any thing had been chang'd or alter'd. This was the Practice till the Concluſion of the Treaty, and by this Means all the Differences were regulated in a very few Days. Before they began the Conferences, the Deputies of the Confederates oblig'd thoſe of *France* to ſwear, they would treat *bona fide*, and with Sincerity; and to proteſt that their Intention was to make a Peace, and not to be double in their Procedure, in order to get the Duke of *Orleance* out of *Novarra*, and then to unſay what they had before agreed to. It was neceſſary here that the Confederates ſhould believe the *French* to be honeſter People than themſelves, ſince they referr'd themſelves to their Oath, of which the *Italians* would not have made any great Scruple.

I was willing to remark theſe Particulars after *Philip de Commines*, to ſhew that we are not ſo eaſy in our preſent Time. The leaſt Difficulties often become invincible Obſtacles. In the Year 1651, there was at *Lubeck* an Aſſembly of Miniſters from *Poland* and from *Sweden*, of which I ſpoke before. *Chanut*, who was Mediator there on the part of *France*, met at firſt with ſo great Obſtacles, that it was reſolv'd, *the Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns ſhould not ſee one another*, till after Affairs were regulated: That they ſhould all paſs through the Hands of the Mediators, and that in the mean time the *Poles* and the *Swedes* ſhould reciprocally pay each other a Viſit of Civility. However this was not done, becauſe the *Poles* refus'd to give the Quality of Queen of *Sweden* to Queen *Chriſtina*, altho' ſhe was ſo in fact. In the Treaty of *Stumpſdorf*, where the Truce was concluded, for the Prolongation of which the Aſſembly of *Lubeck* was held, the King of *Poland* gave it her: and nevertheleſs the Miniſters of the ſame Crown refus'd to give it her, in ſpeaking of her. The *Poles* finding that the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries would not admit their Viſit without it, ſignify'd to *Chanut* that they would paſs over that Conſideration, and in ſpeaking of the Queen they would expreſſly call her Queen of *Sweden*. Their Intention was to do nothing therein, and to deceive *Chanut* as well as the *Swediſh* Miniſters: but as they had to do with a skilful Negotiator, who div'd into their Meaning, he repreſented to them, that this baſe Piece of Cunning would occaſion their receiving a groſs Affront; for if they fail'd in what they had promis'd, the *Swedes* would not return the Honour the *Poles* had done them, in viſiting them. The *Swedes* on their ſide would not ſuffer the Miniſters of *Poland* to give their King the Quality of King of *Sweden*, and refus'd to admit of any Modification therein. It was therefore at laſt agreed on, that there ſhould be no Viſit made on either ſide, and they approv'd of *Chanut*'s Propoſal, to ſee one the other at an Entertainment. But hereupon freſh Difficulties aroſe; becauſe the *Poles* would regale the *Swedes* firſt: and theſe, who judg'd that the firſt Viſit was due to them, as to the laſt Comers, pretended to have the Preference, as in effect they had by *Chanut*'s Advice. *Salvius*, who was the Chief of the *Swediſh* Embaſſy, treated firſt all the other Miniſters, who ſaw one another afterwards at ſeveral other Entertainments, where things paſs'd well enough: but however they did not enter upon Negotiation in this Aſſembly; no more than in that which was held at the ſame Place in the Year 1653, where great Difficulties happen'd concerning the Powers, of which we have ſpoken in Chapter XVI. of the firſt Book.

At the Congreſs of *Bremſebro*, the Miniſters of *Sweden* and of *Denmark*, at their meeting in the Middle of the Bridge, which ſerves as a common Frontier to the two Kingdoms, ſaluted indeed the Mediators; but they did not pay any Civility each to the other, but were contented to take one the other by the Hand, as it had been before agreed upon, and after that both ſides withdrew. This firſt Interview having paſs'd in this manner, they deliver'd their Propoſitions into the Hands of *la Tuillerie*: and this was the Beginning of the Negotiation which produc'd at laſt a Peace.

At the Congreſs of *Breda* the Embaſſadors of all the Parties concern'd viſited one another firſt

first of all with great Civility, in the Order they had come thither: and after the Powers were communicated by the Hands of the Mediator, the opening of the Assembly and of the Negotiation was begun in the Castle on the the 4th of *June*, 1667. The Ministers of *Denmark*, who had indeed the Quality of Plenipotentiaries, but had not the Character of Embassador, repair'd thither the first. Those of the United Provinces follow'd them pretty near. The Embassadors of *France*, who were lodg'd hard by the Castle, went after them, and a foot. The Embassadors of *Sweden*, who were the Mediators, went thither in their Coaches, as did likewise those of *England*, who were the last. At their Arrival at the Castle Gate, they found the Governor, who after some Words of Civility, conducted them to the Appartments which had been prepar'd for them. There was a particular Room for each Embassy, and one for the Deputies of the States General; but these assembl'd after that, as did also the Ministers of *Denmark*, in the *French* Embassador's Appartment as Allies, while the *English* were in their own. All the Chambers answer'd to a great Room wherein were the Mediators, who went to the ones and to the others. The first Conference lasted from Nine a Clock in the Morning till One in the Afternoon. They observ'd no Order in going out, except that the last come went out first. After this the Mediators reduc'd the Propositions of the Parties to certain Articles, of which the Treaty was compos'd, which was concluded on the last of *July*.

All the Conditions of the Treaty, which was made between the two Crowns in the Year 1659, had been adjusted, and even sign'd at *Paris*; but to reduce them into the Form of a Treaty, and to concert the Execution thereof, the two first Ministers repair'd to the Frontiers, where all Formalities were observ'd with that Equality which I observ'd before. Cardinal *Mazarin* had with him *Hugh de Lionne*, Minister and Secretary of State: and *Don Lewis de Haro* made use of *Coloma*, Secretary of State for *Spain*, who both enter'd into the Room where the Conferences were held, after the two Ministers had agreed to any Article that was to be put into Writing. The next Day after, these two subaltern Ministers met at *Fontarabia*, or at *Andaya*, alternately; where they collated what had been agreed to in the last Conference, and then it was made a formal Article of the Treaty. This was the Manner of Proceeding till it was concluded.

The Treaties which are made between Princes who are not at variance are not liable to all these Difficulties. The Places for the Assembly are indifferent to them, and there is no Competition on that Account. The *French* have made Treaties in *England*, and the *English* have done the same in *France*. The pretended triple Alliance, and afterwards the defensive Alliance between *England* and the United Provinces, were made at the *Hague*, some time after the Treaty of *Breda*. *France* has also made Treaties there, as well before the twelve Years Truce, as since. The Alliances the States of the United Provinces have made with other Potentates, have been negotiated, sometimes at the *Hague*, and sometimes where those Kings resided whose Friendship and Protection they courted. *When these Negotiations are perform'd at the* Hague, the States nominate eight Deputies of their Assembly, *viz.* two of the Province of *Holland*, and one of each of the other Provinces, for whom a Commission is dispatch'd, or else a Power under the Great Seal: After which they begin the Conferences with the foreign Ministers. If the Minister is provided with the Character of first Representant, the Conferences are held at his Lodgings; but the Ministers of the second Order are oblig'd to repair to one of the great Rooms, or Antichambers of the States General, where they enter into Conference with them. They are receiv'd by two Deputies at the top of the Stair-case; and after the Conference is over they are re-conducted back to the same Place. This Civility is paid them at all the Conferences, and at all their Audiences, except the first and the last, for which they are fetch'd from home in a Coach with four Horses, follow'd by another with two; to which the foreign Minister may joyn as many more as he pleases at his own Expences. I cannot find in History the Reason why the Conferences for the Negotiation of the Truce for twelve Years, were held in one of the Antichambers of the States General, which is still to this Day call'd by the Name of the Chamber of the Truce. It is true several of them were held at President *Jeannin*'s, who was Chief of the *French* Embassy, whither came the Ministers of *England*, of *Denmark*, and of some Princes of *Germany*; but there was not so much as one single one held at the *Spanish* Ministers. It may be said they had not the Character of Embassador; because the King of *Spain* and the Arch-Duke were far from giving that Quality to the Ministers they sent to the States, whom they did not acknowledge to be Sovereigns: but then it seems also, that after the Honours which were paid them at their Entry, they might very well have done them this also.

At *Venice* the Conferences are held at the Palace, in one of the Senate's Rooms, which do not belong to the Doge's Appartment. The Princes of *Italy*, who were interessed in the the War about *Castro*, having sent their Ministers to *Venice*, to agree upon a Confederacy to oppose the *Barberins*, the Senate deputed *Baptista Nani*, and *Vincent Gussoni*, to enter into Negotiation with them, and all the Conferences were held at the Palace. After the Arrival of Cardinal *Bichi*, they were sometimes held at his House, but most commonly at the Palace.

In *France* Embassadors and publick Ministers repair to the Chancellor's, who is the first Commissioner in all Affairs of this Nature, and who by reason of the Dignity of his Office never repairs any where else, except it be to the King's Palace. Neither does he visit any Body, unless it be *Monsieur* the King's Brother, and the Princes of the Blood; and these but very rarely. His House is consider'd as the King's, because the Seal is kept there. One of the hundred *Swiss* Guards his Gate, and two of the Grand Prevost's Guards always attend his Person. The late Mr. *Seguier*, who seem'd to be born for this eminent Dignity, and who enjoy'd it above thirty Years, held at his own House, under the Reign of the late King, and

under Cardinal *de Richelieu*'s Miniſtry, the Council relating to the Finances, or the King's Revenues, at which the Prince of *Conde*, firſt Prince of the Blood, did not think much to be preſent.

In *England* the Conferences are held in one of the Council Chambers at *Whitehall*, or in ſome other of the King's Palaces. When the Marquiſs *de Roſny* went thither in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary on the part of *Henry* IV, he had ſeveral Conferences at his own Houſe with the King's Commiſſioners, who were willing to do him that Honour, on account of the Confidence with which the King his Maſter honour'd him.

M. de Baſſompierre being come in the Year 1621. to *Madrid*, at the time that *Philip* III. fell ſick, could not receive his publick Audience; yet that did not hinder him from treating, by virtue of his Credentials which he had ſent to the King. Wherefore the Commiſſioners, who for that reaſon could not ſend for him to the Palace, went nevertheleſs to his own Houſe, and there treated. But the Count *de Benevente*, who was one of the Commiſſioners, refus'd to be there; and inſiſted on having the Conferences held at the Palace. After the Death of the King, *Baſſompierre* took his publick Audience, notwithſtanding he had not freſh Credentials; but from that time all the Conferences were held at St. *Jerome*'s Convent, or elſe at the Palace.

In the beginning of the Year 1646, the *French* Plenipotentiaries, having a mind to negotiate with the States of the Empire immediately, without the Intervention of the Emperor's Miniſters, ſignify'd to thoſe of the Electors, Princes and Towns, that if they would ſend their Deputies to the Duke of *Longueville*'s Palace, they ſhould have communicated to them the Reply the *French* would make to the Emperor's Anſwer. The Imperial Miniſters perceiving what was doing, repreſented the Conſequences thereof to the Electors Plenipotentiaries, who did not require much Pains to be perſuaded, that the Honour of the Empire was concern'd and that of their Maſters. Inſomuch that they ſignify'd to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, that when the Emperor himſelf had any thing to propoſe to the States of the Empire in the Diets, he did not ſend for them to come to his Palace, but had them ſpoken to in the uſual Place of their Aſſembly by his Commiſſioners or Repreſentants: That they were ready to be complaiſant to the *French* Plenipotentiaries; but they were of Opinion, that they could not without wronging themſelves, reſort to the Duke of *Longueville*'s Palace at their ſimple Requeſt: That they did not doubt but the Embaſſador of *Venice* would make the ſame Difficulty they did, ſo that *if the Plenipotentiaries of* France *had any thing to communicate to them, they might repair to the Place, and at the Hour, the States of the Empire are accuſtom'd to aſſemble:* That in the Year 1630, *M. de Leon Brulard* had obſerv'd this Method in the Diet at *Ratisbon*, and that the Embaſſadors of *Poland* in the Year 1636, and thoſe of *England* had follow'd the ſame Cuſtom in the ſame Place in the Year 1641. Whereupon it was reſolv'd that the Replies ſhould be put into the Hands of the Mediators, to be communicated there according to the uſual Method. Here the Buſineſs was with the States of the Empire in a Body, that is to ſay, with the Deputies of the three Orders, of the Electors, the Princes, and free Towns: but when the Plenipotentiaries of an Elector, or of a Prince, or the Deputies of a Town, had any thing to negotiate with the Embaſſadors of *France*, they made no Difficulty to repair to their Houſes. On the contrary, *d'Avaux* being come to *Oſnaburg*, in order to confer with the Miniſters of *Sweden*, and with the Deputies of the Proteſtant Princes; thoſe of *Magdeburg*, of *Saxe Weimar*, of *Saxe Lawemberg*, of *Baden-Dourlach*, and of ſome Towns, went to his own Houſe to talk to him, but all ſeparately. I think it may not be from the purpoſe to mention here a Paſſage remarkable enough. When *George Frederick* Count of *Waldeck* went into the Service of the United Provinces in the Year 1672, as *Mareſchal de Camp*, he had no manner of Knowledge of the Conſtitution of that State, where he pretended to be able to reſtore his Affairs by a Policy peculiar to himſelf. He made no Diſtinction between the States General and the particular States of the Provinces; and not knowing what was the Power of the Council of State, nor what Authority the Magiſtrates have in the Towns, he had form'd to himſelf an odd Idea thereof. In theſe Thoughts he undertook to regulate every thing, and to command, not according to Method and Cuſtom, but as a Chief in War, with the Staff, and imperiouſly. Being one Day come to *Amſterdam*, where he had occaſion to ask for ſomething requiſite for the Execution of a Deſign in the Neighbourhood, he ſent to the Burgher-Maſters to come to him to the Inn where he was quarter'd; but he receiv'd for Anſwer, That the Burgher-Maſters were us'd to aſſemble at the Town-houſe, and that if the Count had any thing to propoſe, he might repair thither, and they would give him Audience.

By a particular Act, which was ſign'd on *May* 5, 1646, the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain* and of the United Provinces agreed, that the Conferences ſhould be held alternately at each of their Houſes, and that they at whoſe Houſe the Conferences were held, ſhould do the Honours of the Houſe.

As for the Form of Negotiation it is very various, and it is commonly agreed upon in the firſt Conferences. In the beginning of the Treaty at *Munſter* and at *Oſnaburg*, the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and of *Sweden* agreed, that each Party ſhould purſue that Method it lik'd beſt. Theſe were for making their Propoſitions in Writing, and giving in the Reaſons with which they back'd them. The *French*, on the contrary, were for having only the naked Propoſitions put in Writing. The *Swedes* deſir'd alſo that the firſt Propoſition the Allies ſhould make, to enter upon Buſineſs, might be general; that is to ſay, that it might comprehend all the Articles of the Treaty. The *French* oppos'd it, as a thing contrary to the Cuſtom of *France*, where all the Articles are examin'd one after another, and all are agreed to before they are reduc'd into the Form of a Treaty. Wherefore they agreed at laſt, that the Propoſitions ſhould be made in the moſt

general Terms could be thought of, becauſe they could afterwards inſert whatever Particulars they had a mind to.

M. de Baſſompierre being Embaſſador Extraordinary at *Madrid* in the Year 1621, wrote to the King his Maſter on *March* 18, that being ready to enter into Conference with the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſioners, the Embaſſador in Ordinary and himſelf had been of Opinion, *That they ought to except againſt the Count* de Benevente; becauſe being Unkle to the Duke of *Feria*'s Wife, who was himſelf Governor of *Milan*, and made the Affair of the *Valteline* his own, he would not in all Likelihood be very favourable to them in the Conferences; but however they judg'd at laſt that it was better to bear with him than to offend by ſuch Exception a great Nobleman, who was very powerful at Court. It was very great Prudence in theſe Miniſters not to irritate a Perſon of that Quality; but I cannot tell whether there was not full as much in not undertaking an Affair, in which perhaps they would not have ſucceeded. The Laws indeed allow Parties to except againſt a Judge for certain lawful Cauſes; but to pretend to regulate the Will of a Prince, concerning the Nomination of his Commiſſioners whom he chooſes amongſt the ableſt and faithfulleſt of his Council, is what I can find no Example of: and I am of Opinion that they who would undertake any ſuch thing with Princes who know themſelves, would not be very well receiv'd.

The Earl of *Carliſle*, Embaſſador from the King of *Great Britain* to the Czar of *Muſcovy* in the Year 1663, not receiving any great Satisfaction in that Court, laid the Blame thereof particularly on a *Muſcovite* Nobleman, call'd *Pronchiſſoff*, who was one of the Czar's Commiſſioners, and diſcharg'd with the Embaſſador the Office of *Priſtave*, that is to ſay, of Introductor. The Earl did not ſcruple to accuſe this *Muſcovite* Lord, in a publick Audience, of ſeveral Impoſtures and Falſhoods; and endeavour'd to have him put out of the Commiſſion, as a ſuſpected Perſon, and an Enemy to the Embaſſador and his Negotiation. But this did not hinder him from being maintain'd in his Functions; as well becauſe the Czar believ'd his Dignity was concern'd therein, as becauſe he was not at all ſatisfy'd with the Earl's Conduct, who after that had the Mortification to ſee every Day near his Perſon a Miniſter whom he would have remov'd, but who notwithſtanding was kept in againſt his Will. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador made preſſing Inſtance at *Paris*, that he might be attended at his Audience of Leave by another Introductor than he who was in Waiting; becauſe, as he ſaid, he had been affronted by him: but it was judg'd that they ought not to have ſo much Complaiſance for a foreign Miniſter, as for his ſake to diſpoſſeſs the King's Officer of the Function of his Employment.

During the Aſſembly at *Munſter* there were mighty Diſputes about the Rank and Titles ſhould be given to the Emperor, and to the two Kings of *France* and of *Spain*, in the Treaty, and in the Writings and Projects which their Miniſters ſhould communicate each to the others by the Hands of the Mediators. The Emperor's Plenipotentiaries apprehended leſt thoſe of *France* ſhould renew their former Pretenſions; and that the King of *France* would precede the Emperor; becauſe the *French* had formerly maintain'd, that the Election gave him no other Quality than that of King of the *Romans*, and that the Imperial Dignity depended on the Crown, which the Elect was to receive from the Hands of the Pope; and that ſince *Charles* V, who was crown'd at *Bologne*, not one of his Succeſſors had endeavour'd to receive this Honour at *Rome*. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters fear'd on their ſide, leſt thoſe of *France* ſhould inſiſt on having the Name of their King plac'd in ſuch manner, that there could no longer be any Doubt concerning the Precedency. The *Imperialiſts* therefore conſented, that there ſhould never be in the ſame Inſtrument theſe Words, *The Emperor and the Crowns*; as alſo, that after the Emperor ſhould be nam'd therein, the Quality of Majeſty which ſhould follow, ſhould be common to the Emperor and the King, who ſhould be there mention'd with him; *and that in the Projects which the Plenipotentiaries of* France *ſhould cauſe to be communicated to thoſe of the Emperor, they ſhould ſign in the moſt honourable Place.*

On this Occaſion I ſhall ſpeak of the Signature of Treaties, where the Embaſſador ought to be very ſcrupulous in preſerving the Rank that belongs to the Prince his Maſter. At the Contract of Marriage which was to be between Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* with the Duke of *Anjou*, whereof a Draught was made in the Year 1581, the *French* and *Engliſh* Miniſters had ſome Difficulty to agree upon the Rank they ſhould obſerve at the ſigning. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, who had drawn up the Articles, had put their Names before thoſe of the *French* Embaſſadors, and theſe maintain'd, *That the Precedency was due to them*, as well in thoſe Deeds they ſhould carry away with them, as in thoſe that ſhould remain in *England*. They ſaid it was what was due to the Dignity of the King of *France*; and that it was what had been obſerv'd without Contradiction at the Treaty which had been concluded at *Blois* in the Year 1572. The *Engliſh* ſaid, on the contrary, that in all the Writings they had prepar'd or exchang'd, even with the Emperor's Miniſters, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners had ſign'd before the others, and that their Names preceded every where, throughout the Text as well as in the Signature. That this was what had been obſerv'd alſo with the *French*, and offer'd for this purpoſe to produce the Original Deeds of the Treaties made between *Edward* VI. and *Francis* I. in the Year 1546, between the ſame *Edward* and *Henry* II. in the Year 1551, and that of *Chaſteau* in *Cambreſis* in the Year 1559. "They "at laſt agreed that the Names, Signatures and "Seals of the *French* Embaſſadors ſhould pre-"cede thoſe of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, as "well in the Marriage Contract as in the o-"ther Deeds the ſaid Embaſſadors ſhould de-"liver to the Engliſh Commiſſioners; and "that reciprocally the Names, Signatures and "Seals of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners ſhould "be firſt in the Duplicates theſe ſhould give "to the *French* Embaſſadors; And this with-"out Prejudice to theſe, and on Condition "the *Engliſh* ſhould make out that ſuch had "been the Practice in times paſt in all the

" Treaties, except that of *Blois*, where the " *Engliſh* acknowledg'd they had committed " an Overſight; notwithſtanding it was *Wal-* " *ſingham* who had negotiated and concluded " it, who was not very much accuſtom'd to " make any." In the Year 1596, the Duke of *Bouillon la Tour* concluded an Alliance in the Name of King *Henry* IV, with the ſame Queen, and with the States of the United Provinces; but when theſe Inſtruments were to be communicated and exchang'd, the Duke refus'd to receive that of the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, becauſe they had ſign'd in the moſt honourable Place. He ſaid, that the King his Maſter was in Poſſeſſion of the firſt Place, which had never been diſputed him in all the Treaties which had been made between the two Crowns, and alledg'd amongſt others that of *Blois*, which I before mention'd. It is certain it had been the Practice, while the Kings of *England* were Vaſſals to the Crown of *France*, on the account of the Dutchies of *Normandy* and of *Guyenne*; and that they had never diſputed the Rank with the King of *France* at the Councils or elſewhere. So that there is no reaſon to wonder that *Walſingham* and his Collegues ſuffer'd themſelves to be carry'd away by what was cuſtomary after ſo many Examples, of which we find a Collection printed by the Care of *John du Tillet*, chief Regiſter in the Parliament of *Paris*. But as in the Year 1581, the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners carry'd it againſt the *French* Embaſſadors, ſo likewiſe did they carry it this time againſt the Duke *de Bouillon*, who had Orders to yield; becauſe the Queen's Friendſhip was neceſſary to the King his Maſter.

This Difficulty was reviv'd in the Year 1624, on account of the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* with the Daughter of *France*, and it was regulated after the ſame manner as above; after the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors had given a Writing under their Hands, which deſerves to be inſerted here in its proper Terms. " *We the* " *underwritten Embaſſadors Extraordinary, Pro-* " *curators and Deputies of the moſt ſerene King* " *of* Great Britain, *&c.* to treat about the " Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* his Son " with *Henrietta Maria*, Siſter to the moſt " Chriſtian King, do acknowledge and own, " that in paſſing the Articles of the ſaid Con- " tract of Marriage, the Commiſſioners and " Deputies of the moſt Chriſtian King made " Difficulty, and refus'd to ſign two Copies " of the ſaid Articles, by reaſon we pretended " in one thereof to put our Names firſt; main- " taining that their Names ought to be prepos'd " to ours, as well in the Inſtrument which " was to be deliver'd by us to them, to re- " main in *France*; as in the other Inſtrument " ſign'd by them, and deliver'd to us, to be " carry'd into *England*: grounding herein on " the Dignity, Prerogative and Preheminency " of the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King whom they " repreſent: Alledging alſo that in the Trea- " ty made in the Year 1572, at *Blois* on the " *Loire*, it was ſo done and obſerv'd between " the Deputies of their moſt Chriſtian and " moſt Serene Majeſties. To which we the " above mention'd Embaſſadors of *Great Bri-* " *tain* anſwer'd and maintain'd on the con- " trary: That as for any Writings which have " been deliver'd by the Embaſſadors or De- " puties of our ſaid Kings or Queens, to the " Commiſſioners of any Prince whatever, e- " ven of the Emperors themſelves, the Em- " baſſadors or Deputies of our ſaid Kings or " Queens, have always us'd to prepoſe their " own Names or Signatures, in the Writings " by them given on their Parts to the Commiſ- " ſioners of other Princes; and that it ſo ap- " pears by the original Deeds of the Treaties, " by them ſign'd and deliver'd to the ſaid Com- " miſſioners and Deputies of foreign Princes; " even by thoſe which were made in the Year " 1546, between King *Edward* VI, King of " *England*, and *Francis* I, the moſt Chriſtian " King; in the Year 1551, between the ſaid " King *Edward* and King *Henry* II, and in the " Year 1559, at the Treaty of *Chaſteau* in *Cam-* " *breſis*: in all which, in their ſigning and ſeal- " ing, the Commiſſioners of *England* have been " prepos'd to thoſe of *France*, in thoſe which " were by the ſaid Commiſſioners of *England* " given and deliver'd. To which we refer our " ſelves intirely for our Direction on this Oc- " caſion; and do agree to hold our Right by " the ſame. Whereupon it has been thought " adviſeable that purſuant to the ſaid Form, " and ancient Uſage by us alledg'd, the Names, " Signings, and Seals of the ſaid Commiſſio- " ners of the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King ſhall " precede ours in the ſaid Articles, and other " Deeds that depend thereon, which ſhall be " given and deliver'd to us by them; as alſo " that our Names ſhall precede theirs in the " Deeds which we ſhall deliver to them; as we " ſay it has been cuſtomary heretofore in the " like Caſes, without Prejudice to the Pre- " tenſions of the ſaid Lords Commiſſioners of " the ſaid moſt Chriſtian King. And more- " over on Condition, that where, by the ſaid " Treaties and Contracts heretofore paſs'd be- " tween the Deputies of our ſaid Kings and " Queens, with thoſe of the ſaid moſt Chri- " ſtian Kings (excepting nevertheleſs the Trea- " ty made at *Blois* in the Year 1572, which we " ſay, if ſo it be, to have been paſs'd through " Error and Inadvertency) it will not be found " nor appear, that the Names and Signings of " the Deputies of our Kings and Queens ſhall " have been put or plac'd after thoſe of the " Deputies of the ſaid moſt Chriſtian Kings: " In this Caſe, as well from this preſent as " then, we conſent and agree that the ſaid Ar- " ticles by us ſign'd and deliver'd to the ſaid " Commiſſioners of *France*, ſhall be reform'd " in that reſpect, and our Names and Signs " poſtpon'd to thoſe of the ſaid Commiſſioners. " Under which Conditions, Charges and Re- " formations the ſaid Articles have been re- " ſpectively ſign'd in the Form as above. In " Witneſs whereof we have ſign'd theſe Pre- " ſents the twentieth Day of *November* one " thouſand ſix hundred and twenty four. Sign'd " *Carliſle*, *Holland*.

When they began to put down in Writing the Project of a Treaty the Crowns of *France* and of *Sweden* were to make with the Emperor and with the Empire, the *Swedes* did not fail to give themſelves therein the moſt honourable Place. Since the Reign of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, *Sweden* had always acted in ſuch manner with *France*, that there was not the leaſt Inequality between the two Crowns in all the Treaties;

Treaties; and the Miniſters of *France* had ſuffer'd thoſe of *Sweden* to ſign the firſt in all the Treaties they provided. But they judg'd alſo, that this ought not to have Place in a Treaty which they ſhould make with a third Party, and which would be ſeen by all the World. Nevertheleſs as they would not offend *Sweden*, they conſented that the two Crowns ſhould do as they ſhould think fit for the Preſervation of their reſpective Dignity, in the Inſtruments they ſhould give to the Emperor's Miniſters, to the end there might be an exact Equality obſerv'd between them. But when after the Peace of *Weſtphalia* it was propos'd to renew the Alliance between the two Crowns, *Chanut* was order'd to ſecure punctually to *France* the Advantages which were due to it, and to yield nothing to the *Swedes*, who were very difficult on this Subject. It is true that all Kings are equal as to Dignity, but then they are not ſo in the point of Power; and there is nothing that can hinder one to be firſt in Rank, even among thoſe who are otherwiſe equal.

There is hardly at preſent any Diſpute about the Signature. In the Year 1642, two *Muſcovite* Embaſſadors, who were at *Copenhagen*, preſs'd very much the King of *Denmark* to finiſh the Treaty, which had been talk'd of eleven Years before, concerning the Renovation of the Alliances between the two Crowns. But after all the Articles of the Treaty had been regulated, the *Muſcovites* were obſtinate as to the nominating the Czar firſt in both Inſtruments. They founded their Pretenſion on Example, and ſaid, That it was what had been done in the time of King *Frederick*, Father of the King Regnant. The *Daniſh* Commiſſioners anſwer'd, *That it was a general Cuſtom for every Sovereign Prince to name himſelf firſt in the Inſtrument he gives to the other*; and that if this had not been obſerv'd in the late King's Time, the Fault muſt be laid on the Ignorance of the Secretary, who had made the Draught of the Treaty, from whence no Conſequence could be drawn. And in reality it is what is obſerv'd at this Day between Sovereigns who are of equal Dignity: ſo that it admits of no Exception in reference to Crown'd Heads, who always obſerve this Equality amongſt themſelves; but not in reference to Republicks, whom Kings conſider as their Inferiors, whatever Honours they may otherwiſe do them. The United Provinces have gain'd this Equality with the Northern Crowns, and they have likewiſe agreed it with the Electors.

There was ſome Conteſt about the Signature of the Treaty, which *d'Avaux*, *Servien* and *la Tuillerie* made at the *Hague* in the Year 1644. The Deputies of the States did not diſpute the Rank with the *French* Miniſters, but they were for having them all three ſign in one and the ſame Column, and not in the ſame Line. They alledg'd, that at the Treaty of *Compeigne* in the Year 1624, the Mareſchal *de Leſdiguieres*, and the Marquiſs *de la Vieuville* had indeed ſign'd in the firſt Line; but that *Bullion*, who was the third Commiſſioner, had ſign'd in the ſecond: and that in the ſame manner *Charnace* had ſign'd in the ſecond Line, after the other Commiſſioners in the Year 1635, and that the Miniſters of the United Provinces had ſign'd in the firſt. But *d'Avaux*, *Servien* and *la Tuillerie* would not ſo much as hear it mention'd, and they all ſign'd in the ſame Line; but in ſo ſmall a Character, that the firſt Deputy had ſtill Room enough left to ſign. The Pretenſion of theſe was not well grounded, and the others Difficulty was of no Utility; becauſe the Treaty being made from Sovereign to Sovereign, and all the Embaſſadors repreſenting together but one ſingle Prince or State, whether they all ſign in the ſame Line, or in a Column, thoſe in the firſt Rank were all in a more honourable Place than thoſe of the ſecond; by this Rule, that the laſt of the firſt Order precedes the firſt of the ſecond. Neither do I believe that the Miniſters of the United Provinces, who had ſign'd the Treaties of the Year 1624, and that of 1635, imagin'd they had any Advantage over *Bullion* and *Charnace*. In the Year 1662, there were ſo many Commiſſioners on the part of the King of *France*, that they could not all ſign in the ſame Line, but they ſign'd on both ſides in Columns; however I don't think that *M. de Ghent*, who was the firſt in the ſecond Column, conceiv'd himſelf to be in a more honourable Place than the Duke and Mareſchal *de Villeroy*, who was the ſecond in the firſt.

What I have here obſerv'd will be eaſily illuſtrated by the following Example. At the Treaty which was concluded at *Breda July* 31, 1667, between *France* and *England* ſeparately; the Mediators, *George Fleming* and *Chriſtopher Delfique de Dona*, Embaſſadors of *Sweden*, ſign'd in the moſt honourable Place, and in a Column. *D'Eſtrades* and *Courtin*, Embaſſadors of *France*, ſign'd after them in the ſame manner, and *Hollis* and *Coventry*, the *Engliſh* Embaſſadors, ſign'd in the Place that remain'd vacant, as the others had done. By this mean *Fleming*, *d'Eſtrades* and *Hollis* were upon the ſame Line, but neither *d'Eſtrades* nor *Hollis* pretended to have ſign'd in a more honourable Place than Count *de Dona*, to whom they yielded Precedency as to one of the Mediators; and *Hollis* did not pretend to precede there *Courtin*. *The laſt Place of the firſt Rank is more honourable than the firſt of the ſecond, and the laſt of the ſecond is more honourable than the firſt of the third.* It ſeems therefore that the Diſpute the *French* Embaſſadors had at the *Hague* with the Commiſſioners of the States was very needleſs. *Charnace*, in ſigning in the ſecond Line, at the Treaty of 1635, ſign'd nevertheleſs in a more honourable Place than that which was left to the firſt of the *Dutch* Embaſſadors in the firſt. There was ſomething of Humour in it on both ſides, and it ſeems as if the *French* Embaſſadors made a Point of Honour of it, only becauſe the Commiſſioners of the States had a mind to make a matter of it.

The Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, who had no mind to enter upon a Negotiation with *Doſſat*, Biſhop of *Rennes*, finding himſelf at laſt ſo much preſs'd thereto by him, that he could no longer put him off, fix'd certain Articles, which were agreed to on both Sides: But after they were reduc'd into the Form of a Treaty, the Great Duke refus'd to ſign it, and ſaid, That ſince the Biſhop had only a Procuration from the King, he would likewiſe give one to *Vinta*, Secretary of State of *Florence*, who ſhould ſign

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for the Great Duke. *Doſſat* would not acquieſce hereto, nor even accept the Offer which was made him, to have the Treaty ſign'd by the Great Dutcheſs: and both Sides remain'd ſo obſtinate, that the Great Duke comply'd at laſt, but on *Doſſat*'s declaring to him, that the Moment his Highneſs ſhould tell him poſitively he would not ſign, he would mount his Horſe and be gone. *Doſſat* was in the right; becauſe, as the Great Duke was there preſent, his refuſing to ſign gave a Suſpicion of his Intentions.

There are a World of Remarks to be made on the Terms which are commonly made uſe of in Treaties; but as that would alſo prove an infinite and unprofitable Labour, I ſhall here content my ſelf to make ſome, which, in my Opinion, deſerve very well to be reflected on by the Embaſſador. Firſt then, he ought not to ſuffer thoſe Words of Form (which it concerns the Prince his Maſter to have expreſs'd) to be compris'd or ſtifled under general Terms; becauſe this Negligence affords Princes, who adhere rather to the Gloſs than to the Text, the Advantage of making thereof an Explanation more conformable to their Intereſt, than to the Intention of the Embaſſador's Maſter. He ought not neither to ſuffer an eſſential Clauſe, or important Condition, to be made a ſeparate or ſecret Article; unleſs it be there expreſſly ſaid, That ſuch Article ſhall have the ſame Force, as if it had been inſerted Word for Word in the Treaty. While Queen *Elizabeth* was negotiating in the Year 1572, the Defenſive Alliance which I before mention'd, ſhe was for having it poſitively ſaid therein, That the King of *France* ſhould give her ſuch Aſſiſtance as ſhould be agreed upon, *even if ſhe were attack'd for the Cauſe, or under the Pretext of Religion.* The Miniſters of *France* ſaid, That the General Terms of ſuccouring the Queen, for any Cauſe, or under any Pretext whatever ſhe ſhould be attack'd, were ſufficient, and comprehended alſo that which the Queen was for having expreſſly inſerted. They moreover ſaid, That if the Queen was not ſatisfy'd therewith, the King would give her a particular Aſſurance thereof, by a Letter under the Privy Signet, by a Brief, or elſe by a ſeparate Article. But the *Engliſh* affirm'd, That neither the Letter, nor the Brief, nor the ſeparate Article, did ſecure them, unleſs this Article were ſign'd by the King, and diſpatch'd under the Great Seal, as well as the Treaty it ſelf. After very great Debates hereupon, the Queen order'd her Embaſſadors to have a little more Complaiſance for the King, and to be contented with a particular Declaration. She did it on the Aſſurance her Miniſters gave her of that Prince's Sincerity, who was the greateſt Diſſembler, and the moſt perfidious of all the Kings *France* ever had. The only Difficulty which ſo long delay'd the Concluſion of the Treaty, between the King of *France* and the United Provinces, in the Year 1662, aroſe from the *Dutch* Embaſſadors inſiſting on *the King's being Guarantee expreſſly for the Fiſhery.* The Council of *France*, who was unwilling to offend the King of *Great Britain*, maintain'd that the General Guaranty which was mention'd in the Treaty comprehended alſo this; and that it was not neceſſary for a ſuperfluous Expreſſion, which was of no Utility, to create a Quarrel with a powerful King, who was a Friend and near Relation of that of *France*; and it ſtopp'd here with ſo much Firmneſs, that there was nothing but the ſingle Conſideration of the Union the ſaid Provinces might enter into with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that oblig'd the *French* Commiſſioners to give way, in a Point which they thought to be very nice and full of Difficulty. The three Embaſſadors, who were concern'd in this Negotiation, are ſtill living, as well as the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades*; and they cannot be ignorant, that it was much forwarded by a private Perſon, who had no Concern in the Matter, and who nevertheleſs was very ſerviceable therein, tho' he was not very well rewarded for his Pains.

One of the Points which prov'd the hardeſt to adjuſt, at the Treaty of the Truce of the Year 1609, was the Continuation *of the Navigation, and of the Commerce with the* Indies, for which the Eſtates requir'd an expreſs Article in the Treaty. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and thoſe of the Arch-Duke, would not conſent thereto, and aſſerted that the States ought to be contented with the general Expreſſion, which allow'd the Commerce every where. But while both ſides were ſo obſtinate on this Article, that they were on the Point of breaking off, the Mediators, that is to ſay, the Embaſſadors of *France* and *England*, bethought themſelves of propoſing an Expedient, and to declare by a particular Deed ſign'd by themſelves, That notwithſtanding the Commerce of the *Indies* was not namely expreſs'd in the Treaty, yet nevertheleſs the *Spaniſh* Miniſters had declar'd, That it was the Intention of the King their Maſter, to compriſe it in the General Expreſſion; but that the Regard to the ſaid King's Reputation had not permitted it to be more particularly explain'd in Writing. So that the Embaſſadors Mediators remain'd Depoſitaries of the Words of thoſe Deputies, and formally promis'd, That the Kings their Maſters ſhould warrant the Execution of this Article, as well as of all the others. Thoſe who have the leaſt Knowledge of the Affairs of thoſe Times, cannot be ignorant how much Pains were taken, to give a good Turn to the Words Liberty and Sovereignty, which nevertheleſs were the Grounds of the whole Treaty.

Likewiſe it is not ſufficient that in a Treaty, one of the Princes concern'd makes a general Ceſſion of all the Conqueſts the other ſhall have gain'd over him; but *it is neceſſary to expreſs the particular Names of all the Towns and Places ſo yielded, with their Appurtenances and Dependencies*, which it would do well to ſpecify alſo, if it was poſſible; and that in ſuch Terms, as may leave no Scruple or Doubt in the Mind; to the end it may be known preciſely what is pretended to be compris'd under the Word Dependencies, and in what they conſiſt. It is what the *French* Plenipotentiaries particularly inſiſted upon, when, in the Year 1647, there was ſome Talk of ſigning ſome Articles which were to make part of the Treaty, which was hop'd might be concluded between the two Crowns. They ſaid that the King their Maſter pretended that *Spain*, in yielding to *France* a Town which was the chief of a Caſtellany, or of a Bayliwick, yielded to it alſo all that depended

pended on the ſame Caſtellany or Bayliwick, *excepting thoſe Places which were fortify'd, and wherein there was a Garriſon.* There can be nothing ſeen more exact on this Head, than the Contents of the 35th, 36th, and 37th Articles, and thoſe that follow, to the 49th incluſively, of the *Pyrenean* Treaty. It was the Work of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who underſtood the Chicane of Negotiation better than any Man in the World. Yet nevertheleſs every body knows, that, after the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, the *French* rais'd freſh Difficulties about the Dependencies of the Places which *Spain* yielded to them by the ſame Treaty, and that they were the Seeds of a new War, which was only delay'd becauſe *France* had a mind to declare it againſt the United Provinces. *The Saluting of the Flag*, of which mention is made in ſeveral Treaties, between *England* and the ſaid Provinces, was never ſo well explain'd in any, but it has been divers Times the Cauſe, or Pretext of the bad Underſtanding between the two Nations; till at laſt the Matter was ſo well regulated by the Treaty of the Month of *February*, in the Year 1675, that there is no Room left to cavil on that Subject.

The Embaſſador ought not to be leſs exact in cauſing to be ſet down preciſely, and ſpecifying the Succour, to which the Allies mutually oblige themſelves. There are every where Examples hereof. In the Treaties made between *Francis* I, and *Henry* VIII, in the Year 1532; between the Emperor *Charles* V, and the ſame *Henry*, in the Year 1543, and 1548, and in many others; but particularly, and more lately, in thoſe the States of the United Provinces have made with *France*, ſince the Year 1624 to the Year 1662. In this laſt the King promiſes to aſſiſt the States with twelve thouſand Men at his own Expences; and the States, on their Side, oblige themſelves to aſſiſt the King with ſix thouſand Foot alſo, at their Expences; leaving to the Choice of the Party attack'd, to receive the ſaid Succour in Men, Money, or in Ammunition, in the whole or in part. Likewiſe in the Year 1668, the ſame States made a Defenſive Alliance with the King of *Great Britain*, where the Allies reciprocally oblige themſelves to aſſiſt one the other with forty Men of War, whoſe Rate, Mounture, and Equipage, are there ſpecify'd; and beſides that, with ſix thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe. The whole, at the Expences of the Party attack'd, who notwithſtanding ſhould not be oblig'd to refund the Charges, and reimburſe his Ally, till three Years after the War ſhould be ended. It muſt be own'd theſe two Treaties were very punctually executed between *France* and *England*, in the Year 1672. In the Alliance which was concluded at *Brunſwick*, on the 22d of *September* of the ſame Year, between the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, *Zell* and *Wolfenbuttel*, and the *Lantgrave* of *Heſſe Caſtle*; the Succour was regulated at three thouſand Horſe and ſix thouſand Foot for each of the three firſt; at twelve hundred Foot and ſix hundred Horſe for *Zell*; at a thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe for *Wolfenbuttel*; and at four hundred Horſe and eight hundred Foot for the *Lantgrave*. Which I ſet down on purpoſe, that the Reader may obſerve the Proportion the Princes themſelves ſettled amongſt them.

The General Terms, which are commonly made uſe of to confirm foregoing Treaties, are not Precautions ſufficient againſt the Artifices of thoſe who are for eluding the Effects thereof, unleſs it be expreſſly ſaid, That they ſhould be executed according their Form and Tenor, as if they had been inſerted Word for Word in the preſent Treaty. And if in the preceding Treaties there be a particular Clauſe, or any eſſential Article, which ought to be inſerted in the following Treaty, or that ought to be executed at its making, it cannot be neglected, without running the riſque of loſing the Effect of the firſt. On the 15th of *March*, 1638, a Treaty of Guaranty was ſign'd at *Hamburg*, between *d'Avaux* and *Salvius*, Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Sweden*, the 15th Article whereof bore, *That the ſame Article ſhould be inſerted Word for Word in the Treaty of Peace, which was going to be negotiated in* Germany; *and that ſuch Treaty of Peace ſhould be ſign'd reſpectively by the Plenipotentiaries of both Crowns.* Which was however ſo far neglected in the Year 1648, that the *French* did not ſign the Treaty of *Sweden*, nor the *Swedes* that of *France*. And this 15th Article not being inſerted, neither in the one nor in the other, the Obligation into which the two Crowns were enter'd for the Guaranty was extinct. So that it was judg'd that, in the Neceſſity which oblig'd them to a reciprocal Guaranty of the Conqueſts they had made in *Germany*, it was requiſite to make a new Treaty of Guaranty; which notwithſtanding was not done till ſome Years after.

If it be intended that the Alliance ſhould extend beyond the Life of the Princes who treat, it is abſolutely neceſſary that the Words, Heirs and Succeſſors, ſhould be expreſs'd in the Treaty, and it is not enough to ſay that it ſhall be perpetual. This is what *Chanut* maintain'd, when, in the Year 1651, he was concern'd with *Salvius* in the Renovation of the Alliance between the two Crowns of *France* and *Sweden*. On the other ſide, *Chanut* would not ſuffer the Words, *the King and Kingdom of France*, to be inſerted. He urg'd that this manner of ſpeaking would make it be believ'd, That the Kingdom could have or repreſent a Body ſeparate from its Head, which is the King; or that it could have ſome Diſtinct Right or Action. He farther ſaid, That perhaps this had not been ſo ſcrupulouſly obſerv'd heretofore, but that he was oblig'd to be careful therein, and to hinder its being put at the Head of a ſolemn Treaty; and that too, at a Time when there were but too many who encroach'd upon the Regal Authority. *Salvius*, on the contrary, would have the Words, *the Kingdom of Sweden*, particularly expreſs'd, as making a ſeparate Body; and, notwithſtanding he was a *German*, he could not bear that in the Treaty, the *Swedes* ſhould be conſider'd as Subjects, in ſo great a Submiſſion as the *French*. *Chanut*'s Scruple partook a little of Superſtition, and has not been approv'd; at leaſt his Example has not been follow'd in the *Pyrenean* Treaty, which ſays, That there ſhall be a Peace between *the two Kings, their Kingdoms, States, Countries and Subjects*, &c. That is to ſay, That the Kingdoms, States, Countries and Subjects, ſhall enjoy the Peace

the two Kings were making. Which is in my Opinion, the moſt natural Explication that can be given to this ſort of Expreſſion.

In like Manner, in the making a Treaty of Friendſhip or Alliance, it is uſual to inſert this Clauſe, *That this Treaty ſhall not derogate from preceding Treaties, which the Allies may have made before between them, or with others.* Queen *Elizabeth* ſays, in one of her Inſtructions to her Embaſſadors, who negotiated an Alliance in *France*; That it is an ancient Cuſtom to compriſe therein the Friends in common to both Parties, or the particular Friends of each Ally. But then it is neceſſary that the Parties ſhould explain themſelves before the ſigning of the Treaty; becauſe it may happen, that the one may be for excluding him, whom the other would have compris'd. Queen *Elizabeth* would not ſuffer the Pope and the See of *Rome* to be nam'd in the Treaty ſhe concluded at *Blois* in the Year 1572. The 122d Article of the *Pyrenean* Treaty carrys, that beſides the Princes and Potentates which are therein nam'd, all thoſe ſhall be compris'd, who *by the Conſent of both Kings*, ſhall have a mind to be comprehended within a Year after the Publication of the Peace. Where may be remark'd by the by, That the King of *Spain* caus'd to be comprehended on his part, the States of the United Provinces; but *France*, who remember'd, and will perhaps for a long time remember the ſeparate Treaty of *Munſter*, ſaid nothing at all of it.

It is not very neceſſary, in my Opinion, to add to what I have here ſaid, that if equivocal Terms and Ambiguities are troubleſome in Converſation, they ought with much more Reaſon be baniſh'd from Treaties, where it is impoſſible to ſpeak too clearly, and where ſuch Words ſhould be made uſe of, as do not leave the leaſt Scruple or Doubt in the Mind, nor the leaſt room for an Explication contrary to the Intention of thoſe who treat. For as Diſtruſt is the Mother of Safety, it is but too lawful, in the very bad, and nevertheleſs very true Opinion, which ought to be had of the major part of thoſe, with whom Princes intruſt the Management of their Affairs. It is what the Embaſſador ought to be by ſo much the more exact and nice in, as by giving a little Turn to a Period, and by putting a Word in a certain Place, it is poſſible to give it quite another Senſe, and directly contrary to the Intention and Intereſt of the Prince who employs him. In the Year 1607, the Arch-Duke had agreed with the States of the United Provinces for a Suſpenſion of Arms; with a Deſign to treat of a Peace, which ſhould ſecure Liberty and Sovereignty to the Provinces, as well on his part, as in the Name of the King of *Spain*. The King indeed acquieſc'd to the Suſpenſion of Arms, but he would not conſent to the Liberty nor Sovereignty, unleſs the States granted to the *Roman Catholicks* the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and renounc'd the Commerce to the *Indies*. Theſe Conditions were impoſſible; ſo that the Negotiation which was on foot for a Peace not ſucceeding, they began to talk of a Truce, but at firſt with very little appearance of Succeſs; becauſe the Provinces inſiſted on their Liberty and Sovereignty, of which they had had formal Aſſurances. The Arch-Duke's Miniſters ſaid, That their Maſter could not renounce the Sovereignty; becauſe the End of the Truce put Affairs again in the ſame State they were in before. The *French* Embaſſadors were for having theſe Words put into the Treaty; *The Arch-Dukes declare, as well in their own Name, as in the Name of the King of* Spain, *That they hold and acknowledge the United Provinces for free States and Countries, over whom they pretend nothing, and in this Quality they treat with them.* But the Deputies of *Flanders* chang'd the Period after the following Manner; *The Arch-Dukes declare, that they are willing to treat with the United Provinces, as holding and acknowledging them for free Eſtates and Countries, over whom they pretend nothing; and in this Quality they offer to make a Truce with them.*

There are often very great Conteſts concerning the Titles. The Arch-Duke's Deputies would never permit, that in the Treaty of the Truce the Titles of *High and Mighty* ſhould be given to the States of the United Provinces, and oblig'd them to be contented with that of *Illuſtrious*. The Embaſſadors who made the Treaty of the Year 1635, ſuffer'd to be put therein ſimply, *The States General of the United Provinces:* whereas the Treaties of the Year 1608, and 1624, ſay, *Meſſieurs the States General*, and that of the Year 1610, *High and Mighty*. Thoſe who have made Treaties ſince the Year 1635, have therein made uſe of the ſame Terms, till in the Year 1644, *d'Avaux*, *Servien* and *la Tuillerie*, being for uſing the ſame Style, the Deputies of the States oppos'd it, and obtain'd the Title of Lords to be let ſlip in. The States General, to whom moſt of the Chriſtian Kings gave the Quality of *High and Mighty Lords*, do not aſſume it themſelves; but they call themſelves *Hoog Mogende*, that is to ſay, *Highly Powerful*, tho' they have explain'd themſelves otherwiſe in the Titles they require foreign Princes ſhould give them. The Quality of *High and Puiſſant* is ſo common in *France* that the Dukes, Peers, and Mareſchals of *France* diſdain it: and there is not any pretended Marquiſs, who does not aſſume it in the Acts he paſſes before a Notary. The Miniſters of *France* are very difficult therein, and ſometimes too ſcrupulous. The ſame Embaſſadors of *France*, whom I lately mention'd, ſeeing that one of the Deputies of the States took the Quality of Counſellor to his Highneſs Monſieur the Prince of *Orange*, would not ſuffer the Quality of *Highneſs* to appear in an Act where the King ſpoke: ſo that it was taken away, leaving ſimply *Monſieur the Prince of* Orange. In which theſe Embaſſadors had by ſo much the more Reaſon, as the King does not treat otherwiſe the Dukes of *Savoy* and of *Lorrain:* and in ſpeaking of the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, his Siſter, he only ſays, *Madam the Dutcheſs of* Savoy. But it is to be wonder'd at, that the ſame Embaſſadors ſhould make Difficulty to give the Quality of *Meſſieurs* to the States General, while they gave that of *Monſieur* to the Prince of *Orange*, and that of *Meſſieurs* to the younger Sons of the Houſe of *Savoy*. There is no Reaſon to be found for it but in the Irregularity, which is remarkable in all Acts of this Nature. The Marquiſs *de St. Chaumont*, Embaſſador of *France*, making a Treaty with *William*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, on the 21ſt of *October*, 1630, takes the Qualities of *Moſt Illuſtrious*, and *Moſt Ex-*

Excellent, and gives only that of *Very Illuſtrious*, and *Puiſſant* to the *Lantgrave*; that is to ſay, to a Prince who treated as Sovereign to Sovereign, with the King; who for Antiquity, might go upon the Level with the firſt Princes of the Empire, and who had had ſome in his Houſe, before the Marquiſs had had Gentlemen in his Family.

It is not the Buſineſs of a Novice, that of negotiating a Treaty of Alliance on the part of a Prince, who is already in Rupture, to engage therein another Prince, whoſe chief Intereſt conſiſts in enjoying Quiet, and the Benefit of a Neutrality. I have ſaid, that in the War about *Caſtro*, the *Barberins* employ'd both the Temporal and Spiritual Arms of the Pope, with which the Duke of *Parma* could not pretend to cope. The Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Duke of *Modena*, were his Brothers-in-Law, and the Republick of *Venice* beheld but with regret, the Motions that bid fair to diſturb all *Italy*. *France* favour'd the Duke under-hand, and *Spain* had an Intereſt to prevent a War, which was kindling in the Neighbourhood of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and which would not fail to communicate its ill Effects to *Lombardy* and the Dutchy of *Milan*. But the two Crowns, who were employing all their Forces in *Germany*, in *Flanders*, and on the Frontiers of *Spain*, could not ſuccour the Duke but with their Wiſhes and good Offices, while the Princes of *Italy* were neither in the Humour nor Condition to declare themſelves; for fear of drawing into their Countrey thoſe Arms, which did not as yet threaten their Frontiers. It concern'd both the ones and the others to ſmother the Fire in its Aſhes, before it ſet all *Italy* in a Flame; yet not one of them would declare. The Duke of *Parma* ſent to *Venice* the Count *Ferdinand Scotti*, who was a very able Negotiator; who repreſented to the Senate, not only the Glory the Republick might thereby acquire, but alſo the Intereſt it had to oppoſe the powerful Arming of the *Barberins*, in the face of the whole World; to diſperſe the Troops which were gathering on the Frontiers, and to hinder the Fortifications of ſeveral Poſts of the *Ferrareſe*, almoſt under the Canon of the Places belonging to the Republick. It was neither the Intereſt nor Inclination of the Republick to break with the Pope, and thereby give Birth to a War, whoſe Conſequences would be very diſmal, as well as of long Duration. The Senate diſtruſted alſo the fiery Spirit, and the irregular Procedure of the Duke of *Parma*, as well as the Thoughts he might have, to bring foreign Troops to his Aſſiſtance, which was of all things what *Venice* apprehended moſt: Inſomuch that the Senate before it engag'd it ſelf, was for being ſure of the Intentions of the Great Duke, and of the Duke of *Modena*, who had full as much Concern therein as the Republick. For which Reaſon Count *Scotti*, at his Arrival at *Venice*, found the Senate ſo little diſpos'd to comply with the Duke, that far from obtaining an open Declaration, it did not give him the leaſt Hopes of any Succour, either in Men or Money. All he could get from it was, that the Senate promis'd him to do him powerful and efficacious Offices with the Pope; but there were by ſo much the leſs Hopes of any good Effect, as the Pope, who was of an obſtinate Temper enough, was become inſolent, haughty and inflexible, after the Reduction of *Caſtro*. Nevertheleſs it was this rigorous Diſpoſition, and the little Conſideration they had at *Rome* for the Interceſſion of this powerful Republick, which contributed moſt to the Succeſs of *Scotti*'s Negotiation. In order to make it ſucceſsful, and to engage the Republick, at leaſt indirectly, he deſir'd the Senate to ſend Orders to its Reſident at *Rome*, to employ his Offices, that the Embaſſador the Duke his Maſter had a mind to ſend thither, might be admitted. From whence the Duke drew this Advantage; that if his Miniſter was admitted, the *Barberins* open'd an Ear to an Accommodation; and if the Pope refus'd to admit him, he thereby offended in the higheſt Degree, and irritated the Republick, which had Power from the Duke, to offer to his Holineſs all the Submiſſions could reaſonably be requir'd from him. The Nuncio *Vitelli*, who often took Audience at the College, endeavour'd to juſtify the Pope's Intention, and the Actions of his Nephews; and did not fail to exaggerate the Duke of *Parma*'s Obſtinacy, who as the Nuncio ſaid, did not ſhew any Diſpoſition to humble himſelf, nor to give his Holineſs Satisfaction. The Senate was very much offended at the Procedure of the *Barberins*, and at the Contempt they expreſs'd for all the Interceſſions and Inſtances it was continually making for the Duke of *Parma*; but it was alſo of Opinion that the Dutchy of *Caſtro* was not of ſo great Importance, that it ſhould for its ſake break with the Pope, and trouble the Repoſe of *Italy*. It alſo made Reflection on the Indifferency of the Princes, who beſides the general Intereſt, had alſo that of their own Houſes, and who nevertheleſs did not declare themſelves: ſo that it perſiſted with greater Firmneſs than ever, to refuſe any Succour to the Duke, and to engage with him; expreſſing an Averſion to an open Declaration. The fear the *Venetians* had, leſt Stubbornneſs or Deſpair ſhould make the Duke fling himſelf into the Arms of ſome foreign Power, ſhook indeed, but did not overcome their Reſolution: and it is very certain that Count *Scotti*, as able a Man as he was, would have effected nothing at *Venice*, if the *Barberins* had not ſpoil'd all at *Rome*; and if they had been wiſe enough to husband the Friendſhip of the Republick, and not to give it any Jealouſy, as they did by advancing their Arms towards *Lombardy*. This Temerity extorted from the Senate the Declaration, which neither *Scotti*'s Ability, nor the Strength of the other Miniſters Reaſons could not have wreſted from it.

I might here add ſomething concerning the Treaties of Guaranty; but foraſmuch as the Embaſſador negotiates them in the ſame manner as he does all other Treaties, I ſhall only ſay, that there is no Guaranty nor Precaution that can procure Security in a Treaty, unleſs the Guarantee and Guaranted have the ſame Intereſt. It was not without the utmoſt Reluctancy that *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* conſented to the Treaty which was made at *Aſt* in the Year 1615; and he refus'd to ratify it, unleſs *France*, *England*, and the Republick of *Venice* would be Guarantees for the Execution of it, as they were, and that after a very extraordinary

dinary manner: For the King of *Spain* ſuffer'd to have it expreſs'd in one of the Articles, that in Caſe of Infraction the Mareſchal *de Leſdiguieres* Governor of *Dauphine*, ſhould have Power to ſuccour the Duke with the Troops of his Government, and thoſe of the neighbouring Provinces, without ſtanding in need for that purpoſe, of any freſh Orders from Court. The ſixteenth Article of the Treaty of *Ratisbone* ſays, that for the better Security of the Execution of the Treaty, Hoſtages ſhould be given on both ſides: That of *Queraſque* ſays the ſame; but as the Pope refus'd to charge himſelf with the Guard of the Hoſtages, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to other Means. Above two Years were ſpent at *Nuremberg* in regulating the Execution of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*. During the Negotiation which was carry'd on in the beginning of this Century with the United Provinces, about a Peace which was afterwards turn'd into a Truce of twelve Years, the Eſtates requir'd that they who were under the Obedience of the King of *Spain*, ſhould remain Guarantees for the Obſervation and Execution of the Treaty. Preſident *Jeannin* remonſtrated to them, that not only this Demand was unjuſt, but alſo that this Precaution was altogether of no Utility; becauſe Subjects act only according to their Princes Pleaſure, and thoſe cannot oblige theſe to act contrary to their Intereſt and Intention. The Emperor's Miniſters made the like Propoſition to thoſe of *France*, during the Negotiation of *Munſter*; but *d'Avaux* and *Servien* ſaid that there was no Nobleman in *France* that was able to interpoſe in the Treaty as Guarantee or Security; and that the Verification of Treaties which is done in Parliament, is only a bare Regiſtring and a kind of Publication; to the end they may be executed with the greater Facility within the Diſtrict of its Juriſdiction. In like manner the Treaties that relate to Commerce, are regiſter'd in the Parliaments of *Roüen*, *Bourdeaux*, *Rennes*, and *Aix* in *Provence*, as well as in that of *Paris*, on account of the Traffick which is carry'd on on the *Seine*, the *Garone*, the *Loire*, and in the *Mediterranean* Sea. In the particular Treaty which was made at *Munſter* for the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Orange*, ſeveral Prelates of *Brabant* were concern'd by the way of Sureties; but was it the better executed for that?

For which reaſon the Miniſter ought to be very cautious of obliging his Maſter to give any other Sureties than thoſe of his Word, his Signature and Seal. *Doſſat* having receiv'd the King's Commands to treat with the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* about the Reſtitution of the Iſlands of *If*, *Rateneau* and *Pomegues*, on the Coaſts of *Provence*, met therein with ſo many Difficulties, that not to leave his Negotiation imperfect, and thoſe Iſlands in foreign Hands, he prevail'd with the King to give Security for the Sums of Money which were to be repaid to the Great Duke, and that ſuch twelve Perſons as the Duke ſhould name ſhould be engag'd for the ſame. *Doſſat* writing on this Subject to the King on *May* 5, 1598, confeſſes that it was a bold Stroke in him to paſs the Article of Sureties; but that without it he could have done nothing: That he had learnt that in Affairs of Importance, to avoid a great Evil, and to obtain a great Good, ſomething muſt be riſqu'd, in order to get out of the Perplexity the beſt way one can. He juſtifies his Procedure by ſeveral other Reaſons, but he ſufficiently makes known, that the Miniſter ought not inconſiderately to involve his Prince in ſuch Engagements; and that it is a very nice matter to venture to engage him without expreſs Orders.

What *Philip de Commines* ſays of a Treaty which was made in the Year 1472, at *Bovines* near *Namur*, between *Lewis* XI, King of *France*, and *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, is without Example. The Embaſſadors of theſe two Princes had agreed between themſelves that the Conſtable *de St. Pol* ſhould be publickly declar'd an Enemy to the King and the Duke, and that he of the two Princes that could firſt cauſe him to be taken, ſhould be oblig'd to put him to Death in eight Days, or to deliver him into the Hands of the other, that he might do what he would with him. The Conſtable who could not doubt but this Aſſembly was held on his account; as well becauſe he knew the Intention of the Princes, as becauſe the Embaſſadors were his declar'd Enemies, knew ſo well how to wheedle with the King, and to perſuade him that the Duke intended to deceive him; that *Lewis* ſent Orders to his Embaſſadors to ſtop, and leave the Affair in the State it was in, without concluding it: But when the Courier arriv'd at *Bovines* the Buſineſs was done; the Treaty was ſign'd; and according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, the Embaſſadors had exchang'd the Inſtruments in Form, and had taken the Oath for the Execution thereof. However they were ſo good Friends, that the King's Embaſſadors prevail'd with thoſe of the Duke to conſent, that they ſhould be reſtor'd on both ſides, and that they ſhould ſeparate without doing any thing. The *French* executed the Orders and Intention of the King their Maſter; but the *Burgundians* plaid a bold Stroke.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Treaties of Munſter *and* Oſnaburg.

FOR many Ages paſt there has not been any Negotiation where ſo many Monarchs, Potentates and Princes were concern'd; where ſo many Difficulties were to be overcome; where ſo many different and oppoſite Intereſts met; and where ſo many able Miniſters were employ'd, as at the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*. I therefore thought I ſhould do a thing neither diſagreeable nor unprofitable to thoſe who deſign themſelves for publick Employs, if I related the moſt eſſential Particulars in a ſeparate Chapter from that which ſhall ſpeak of the principal Treaties which have been made within theſe fourſcore Years. The Emperor, to whom were join'd, with the Elector of *Bavaria*, the Princes and Catholick States of *Germany*; the King of *France*, the King of *Spain*, the Crown of *Sweden*, who ſpoke for the Proteſtants of *Germany*, and the States of the United Provinces, were the Heads of the Parties. The King of *Denmark* had offer'd his Mediation to the Emperor and to the Crown of *Sweden*, and it had been agreed to: But that King having made himſelf ſuſpected by the ſecret Intelligence he entertain'd at the Court of *Vienna*, and by the Negotiations he carry'd on in *Muſcovy*, where he had but too much diſcover'd the Jealouſy he had of the Proſperity and Grandeur of the neighbouring Crown, the *Swedes* were for diſingaging themſelves from this Mediation, and did diſingage themſelves after a terrible manner, by an open Rupture in the Year 1644. By this means the whole Mediation remain'd in the Pope, and in ſome meaſure in the Republick of *Venice*, who made uſe of the Talents of *Fabio Ghiſy* and of *Aloiſio Contarini*, to bring to Perfection ſo glorious a Work. The firſt had amongſt many other great Qualities that of knowing perfectly well how to cover his bad ones; and that with ſo admirable an Artifice, that the whole College of Cardinals did not perceive them till after he was choſen Pope. The other was a Man of Honour; and he had come off with Reputation in ſo many Embaſſies, that he had acquir'd that of being one of the ableſt Negotiators of his Time. It was the Intereſt of both of them to bring the Negotiation to a good Iſſue; as well for their own Honour, as becauſe *Ghiſy* thereby open'd himſelf a Way to greater Dignities; and that *Contarini*, by procuring a Peace, gave to the major part of the Chriſtian Princes the Means to ſuccour the Republick againſt the *Turks*, who had made a Deſcent in *Candia*. But it was all an Opera.

The Kings of *France* and *Sweden* were declar'd Enemies to the Emperor, and in open Rupture with him. The Lantgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, who had treated with *France*, even in the Year 1630, had alſo an Army in the Field againſt the Emperor. All the Proteſtant Princes, except the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Lantgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt* his Son-in-Law, were not ſatisfy'd with the Court of *Vienna*; and even the Elector of *Bavaria*, Brother-in-Law to the Emperor, being jealous of the Grandeur of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which was rais'd to a formidable Power, after the Conqueſt of the Dutchies of *Mecklenburg* and of *Pomerania*; not only did not purſue his Intereſt, but even pretended to regulate them. *France* demanded for Satisfaction, and to indemnify it, the Town of *Briſac* with the *Briſgau*, *Alſace*, *Philipsburg*, and the Biſhopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*; that is to ſay, all that its Arms had ſeiz'd or conquer'd from the Empire, during almoſt a hundred Years: So that it diſmember'd a very conſiderable Province from it, and it took from the Houſe of *Auſtria* one of its beſt and moſt important Places, with a good part of its Territory. *Sweden* pretended to both *Pomerania*'s, to the Town of *Wiſmar* in the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, to the Archbiſhoprick of *Breme*, and Biſhoprick of *Verden*, beſides ſeveral Millions of Crowns for the defraying the Expences of its Army. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had very lawful Pretenſions to *Pomerania*, oppos'd that of the *Swedes*, who moreover demanded the Biſhoprick of *Paderborn* for the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, with ſome other Advantages. The Miniſters of *Sweden* were rather for giving him this Recompence at the Expence of the Clergy, than conſenting to his taking it from the Lantgrave of *Darmſtadt*; becauſe this laſt being a Lutheran, they were for favouring a Prince who made Profeſſion of the ſame Religion with them. They alſo inſiſted on the Reſtoration of the Elector *Palatin* to the Electoral Dignity, as well as to both the *Palatinates*; and on the free and publick Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, as well in the Emperor's Hereditary Provinces, as throughout the whole Empire, where it had been ſuffer'd in the Year 1618. The Duke of *Mecklenburg* could by no means conſent that the Town of *Wiſmar* ſhould be lopp'd off from his Demeſne; and the King of *Denmark* pretended that they could not refuſe to his Son the Reſtitution of the Archbiſhoprick of *Breme*. There were long and very vexatious Conteſtations about *Pomerania*, between *Sweden* and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; at firſt for the whole Province, and afterwards for the Partition, and finally for the Recompence ſhould be given to the Elector. The *Swedes* were for having him recompenc'd in Biſhopricks, to which ſhould be added the Dutchies of *Jaguerſdorf*, of *Segan* and of *Glogau* in *Sileſia*. The Miniſters of *Spain* exhorted the Elector to ſtand firm, and not to yield up *Pomerania*. They gave him Hopes of Succours from the Kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*, and they promis'd him the whole Strength of their Maſter; when at the ſame time he was not able to hinder the *French* from making a very great Progreſs in the *Low Countries*, the Preſervation whereof was of greater Importance to the King of *Spain*, than that of *Pomerania* was to the Elector.

The Intention of *Spain* was to oblige the Elector to declare for the Houſe of *Auſtria*; but ſuch was the Conſtitution of his Council at that time, that he could do no Good to his Friends, nor any Harm to his Enemies; but indeed a great deal to himſelf, by giving to *Sweden* a plauſible Pretext to deprive him of all *Pomerania*, and obliging it to fruſtrate him of all the Recompence it was for procuring him elſewhere. *France* acquir'd an incomparable Advantage by the Ceſſion of *Alſace*, and of two important Places on the *Rhine*; becauſe ſhe thereby ſecur'd *Lorrain*; *Briſac* ſerv'd it for a Line of Communication with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and *Philipsburg* was a Curb to the four Electors on the *Rhine*.

The Emperor conſidering that theſe Satisfactions diſmember'd the Empire, even to the disfiguring it; and that the perfect Union between the Crowns of *France* and *Sweden*, took from him all Hopes of getting clear of the War with Advantage, endeavour'd to ſeparate their Intereſts, and particularly to gain *Sweden*. He therefore gave it Hopes of a greater Satisfaction than it could lawfully pretend to, if it would join with thoſe who ſhould oppoſe the Demands of *France*, which the Emperor's Miniſters ſaid were ſo exorbitant, that they ought to be ſuſpected even by the *Swedes* themſelves. The Count *de Trautmanſdorf*, who manag'd this Intrigue particularly, would have ſucceeded therein, if he had known how to make his Advantage of the Conjunctures which were very favourable to him. *Oxenſtiern*, one of the *Swediſh* Plenipotentiaries, had no great Affection for *France*, no more than the Chancellor his Father; and he was offer'd ſuch advantageous Conditions, that he believes he could not refuſe them without prejudicing the Crown of *Sweden*: But the Count *de Trautmanſdorf* loſt the Opportunity very unſeaſonably, and render'd (by his imprudent Obedience, which was precipitate, and truly blind) the Intereſts and Councils of the two Crowns inſeparable. However all the Firmneſs of the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies, would not have been able to have extorted from the Emperor the extravagant Satisfactions they demanded, if the Duke of *Bavaria* had not thwarted his Deſigns. During the *Bohemian* War, he had lent the Emperor to the Sum of Nine millions of Crowns, and had the *Upper Auſtria* engag'd for the ſame; ſo that the Emperor, to reimburſe him at the Expence of others, and to clear at the ſame time ſo important a Province, gave him the *Upper Palatinate*, together with the Electoral Dignity, which he had confiſcated from *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*. The Elector of *Bavaria* was ſo advanc'd in Years, and his Son ſo young, that he could not hope to continue the Electoral Dignity in his Houſe, unleſs he ſettl'd it during his Life. The Emperor was become a very bad Guarantee to him, ſince the Progreſs the Arms of the *French* and *Swedes* had made in *Germany*; as well becauſe the Court of *Vienna* was not in a Condition to protect him againſt the Arms of the Allies, while they ſhould continue to act in Conjunction, as becauſe he was in continual Fears, leſt the Emperor ſhould make an Accommodation with the Crowns to his Excluſion. *Sweden* at firſt made mighty Inſtances for the Reſtoration of the Elector *Palatin*; in which it was ſeconded by the Duke of *Newburgh*, preſumptive Heir to the Electoral Dignity, for want of Iſſue Male in the Branch of *Heidelberg*. Wherefore the Elector of *Bavaria*, having recourſe to Religion, which is a mighty Help to thoſe who have Addreſs enough to make a good Uſe of it, ſent his *Confeſſarius* to the Court of *France*, where he repreſented how much it concern'd the Roman Catholick Religion, that the Electoral Dignity ſhould not be conferr'd on a Prince who was an Heretick; and that the ſame Religion which had been introduc'd into the *Upper Palatinate* might be preſerv'd there. There is no Court where Religion finds fewer Bubbles than in that of *France*; but the Queen Mother was ſo devout, that it was but making Religion the Pretext, to any Impreſſion one would give her: and Cardinal *Mazarin*, altho' he was neither ſuperſtitious, nor exceſſively devout, had no great Difficulty to enter into the ſame Sentiments: as well becauſe it was requiſite to grant ſomething to the Religion of the Prince, and to the Queen's Devotion, as chiefly becauſe the Declaration of the *Bavarian* was an ineſtimable Advantage to *France*. This *Confeſſarius* aſſur'd the firſt Miniſter, that the Elector his Maſter would oblige the Emperor to give Peace to the Empire, and Satisfaction to the two Crowns. The Elector of *Bavaria* was the *Swedes* Averſion, who not only conſider'd him as the Head of the Catholick Party in *Germany*; but alſo as him whoſe Friendſhip would render theirs deſpicable: or at leaſt that *France* being ſecure of the Elector's Intention, who was the moſt powerful and the wiſeſt of all the Princes of the Empire, would for the time to come oppoſe their Wills with more Firmneſs, which the *French* Miniſters ſaid were always very abſolute, and ſometimes not very reaſonable. The *French* on their ſide could not conſent to the Ruin of that Prince, becauſe it drew along with it that of all the Catholicks, and in all Appearance that of the Religion it ſelf throughout *Germany*; and that it would put *Sweden* in a Condition to have no need of the *French* Troops nor Subſidies. Inſomuch that it was no ſmall Task that *d'Avaux* and *Servien* undertook to get this new Union approv'd of at *Oſnaburg*: but after they had obtain'd the firſt Acquieſcence, by the Aſſurance they gave the *Swediſh* Miniſters, that their Queen would find her Account in it, and that *France* would accept of no Satisfaction till *Sweden* had hers; they no longer thought of that Zeal for Religion, which had made them ſpeak in the Behalf of the Elector *Palatin*. His Intereſt was forſaken, and the Houſe of *Bavaria* was declar'd for. It was agreed that the *Upper Palatinate* ſhould remain to the Duke, as a Province which he could better preſerve than the *Upper Auſtria*, which the Emperor might at any time withdraw, either by reimburſing the Elector, or by indemnifying him otherwiſe. Before that this Prince had made ſure of *France*, and by its Means of *Sweden*, it was propos'd to transfer the Electoral Dignity of *Bohemia* to the Houſe of *Bavaria*; or elſe to make that of the *Palatin* alternative to the two Branches of *Heidelberg* and *Munich*; or elſe to leave it to the Duke during his Life, and to revert after his Death to

the Princes *Palatins*: but after this Reconciliation it was reſolv'd to gratify him with it and all his Poſterity, and to create an eighth Electorate for the *Palatin*.

I juſt took notice of the ſtrongeſt Motives *France* had to declare for the Elector of *Bavaria*; but ſhe nevertheleſs gave out that there were a great many others which oblig'd her not to concern her ſelf for the *Palatin* Houſe, which ſhe ſaid was but indifferently affected towards that Crown. They were quite of a different Opinion in King *Henry* IV's Time, and it was well known, that had it not been for the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Houſe of *Auſtria* would have been reduc'd to the laſt Extremities in *Germany*; for which Reaſon *France* would not have it thought that ſhe oppos'd his Satisfaction; but, on the contrary, that it was to her that the *Palatin* ſhould be oblig'd for the Advantages which his other Friends ſhould obtain for him, or that Fortune ſhould fling in his Way. She proteſted however, and ſaid ſhe was reſolv'd, that in Caſe *Sweden* and the other Proteſtant Princes obſtinately perſiſted to demand the Reſtoration of the Elector *Palatin*, ſo as make it unavoidable, ſhe would join with them, and would ſecond them with Zeal; giving the *Swediſh* Miniſters to underſtand nevertheleſs, that the more they demanded for the Elector *Palatin*, the leſs would they obtain for themſelves. Which *Servien*'s Addreſs knew ſo well how to repreſent to them, that in *Sweden* all the Reſolutions were chang'd which had been taken there on this Subject; and ſhe took the part of her greateſt Enemy.

There were moreover other Jealouſies between the two confederated Crowns. The Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, who had a particular Treaty with *France*, and who receiv'd Subſidies from it, was the only one of all the Proteſtant Princes, who having taken that ſide openly, depended more on her than of *Sweden*. The Elector of *Triers*, and ſome Biſhops of *Franconia*, whom the Emperor could not defend againſt the Arms of *Sweden*, reclaim'd the Protection of *France*. The Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had nothing to hope for from *Sweden*, and nothing to fear from the Emperor, courted alſo the Friendſhip of that powerful Crown. All theſe Jealouſies ſerv'd only to augment that which was already conceiv'd in *Sweden*, of the Intrigues which were on Foot between the Courts of *Paris* and of *Munich*. There were more than one Miniſter in the Senate of *Stockholm*, who were perſuaded that the Alliance of *France* was not very neceſſary, nor even very advantageous to that Crown, and that after the Peace in *Germany* it would not be any way beneficial to it; in what however they were very much deceiv'd. They were of Opinion that the *French* Plenipotentiaries ought to moderate their Demands a little, and contenting themſelves with the three Biſhopricks, the *Lower Alſace*, *Briſac* and *Philipsburg*, not form any higher Pretenſions. They ſaid, that *France* was unjuſt, in deſiring to tye up the Emperor from ſuccouring the King of *Spain*, while at the ſame time ſhe reſerv'd to her ſelf the Liberty of aſſiſting the King of *Portugal*, altho' ſhe was not oblig'd thereto by any Conſideration either of Parentage or Alliance: That it ought not to hinder the Emperor from interceding for the Duke of *Lorrain*, nor from compriſing the Circle of *Burgundy* in the Empire. This was the Reaſon why *France* ſtrengthen'd it ſelf with the Duke of *Bavaria* againſt *Sweden*, which on its ſide fortify'd it ſelf with the Proteſtant Princes: So that it would have been no very hard matter for it to have acquir'd a great Advantage in the Empire over the *French*; more eſpecially if in the Continuation of the Proſperity of its Arms, ſhe had gain'd ſome ſignal Victory over the other Party; becauſe then ſhe would have ſtood in no need of *France*. The *Swedes* alſo were not a little vex'd, as well as reaſonably, at the Violence *France* offer'd them, in obliging them to conſent to a Truce, which the Elector of *Bavaria* broke immediately after he had concluded it. But notwithſtanding all theſe Jealouſies, Diſtruſts and Diſſatisfactions, the two Crowns ſo well conſider'd, that their Diviſions ruin'd the Intereſt of both the one and the other, that they reſolv'd to ſeek and to find their mutual Good in an indiſſoluble Union. The Emperor's Miniſters endeavour'd to gain the Princes of *Germany*, and eſpecially the Proteſtants; and particularly the Princeſs Regent of *Heſſe*, who was the Honour of her Sex, and the Heroine of her Age; but they met with an invincible Reſiſtance, which forc'd them to yield to the Neceſſity the Emperor found himſelf reduc'd to by the Elector of *Bavaria*'s Menaces. He was for leaving to his Son, together with Quiet, an indiſputable Poſſeſſion of all his Acquiſitions and Conqueſts, of which the Electoral Dignity made a part, under the Protection of *France*, accompany'd with the Guaranty of the whole Empire; which were Advantages he could not hope for either from a Continuation of the War, or from the Friendſhip of the Emperor his Brother-in-Law.

The Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain* was a great Obſtacle to the Peace; at leaſt they who were not for having it on the Conditions the confederated Crowns demanded it, made uſe of his Pretenſions to keep it off. The Duke had been diſpoſſeſs'd of his Eſtates; or to ſpeak properly, of thoſe of his Wife, for having taken the Emperor's part againſt the late King of *Sweden*, contrary to the Intentions and Intereſt of *France*. His Troops acted ſtill in Conjunction with thoſe of *Spain*, and one part of *Lorrain* was held of the Empire; ſo that it ſeem'd that his Friends had reaſon to urge that his Intereſts might be conſider'd at *Munſter*. The Miniſters of *France* aſſerted, on the contrary, that they had nothing in common with the Affairs of *Germany*: That the Duke had made ſeveral Treaties with the King, without the Conſent, and even without the Participation of the Emperor and the States of the Empire: That the King intended to execute them on his part, and to cauſe them to be executed by the Duke, and that for that reaſon he had never ſuffer'd in the Preliminary Treaties Paſſports to be granted to the Dukes Miniſters, becauſe he was not to be concern'd in what was to be negotiated at the Congreſs. The King had an Intereſt to ſecure *Lorrain*, which ſerv'd him as a Line of Communication with *Alſace*, and with the other Conqueſts of *Germany*, which it was a hard matter to preſerve without that; as it was almoſt impoſſible for the Duke of *Lorrain*

to

to preſerve his former Inclinations for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, while the King ſhould remain Maſter of *Briſac*. I have ſeen the Original of a Letter the Duke of *Lorrain* wrote a few Days after the Duke of *Weimar* had made himſelf Maſter of that Place; where he ſaid, That it was high time to lay by the Profeſſion of Arms, and put on a religious Habit, ſince they had not been able to ſuccour the moſt important Place the Houſe of *Auſtria* had, in all its hereditary Countries. After the Treaty he had made on *March* 29, 1641, and that he had caus'd the King ſolemnly to ſwear to the Obſervation of between the Hands of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, and which the Duke had violated three Days after he had ſign'd it; there was no Likelihood that the King would ſuffer ſuch a Prince as the Duke of *Lorrain* to make a Jeſt of him. And in effect the *French* Plenipotentiaries had Reſolution enough to get granted to them what they demanded, and to cauſe the Duke to be excluded the Negotiation and Treaty of *Munſter*. This is not the Place to relate how he was us'd in that of the *Pyrenees*, where he was not more conſider'd by his pretended Friends, than by his real Enemies.

France was willing to conclude with the Emperor; becauſe there had appear'd ſome Beginnings of Troubles at *Paris*, the Conſequences whereof might be very dangerous in the Continuation of the War with *Germany*. She conſum'd a vaſt Fund in Subſidies, which were given to *Sweden*, to the Lantgrave, and elſewhere: Her Armies might be more uſefully employ'd in the Low Countries; and ſhe was in a continual Uneaſineſs, leſt ſome Whim or Diſſatisfaction ſhould oblige the *Swedes* to make a Party with the Proteſtants of *Germany*, which might eſtabliſh them ſo powerfully in the Empire, that the *French* Intereſt ſhould be no longer conſider'd, and that of the Catholicks be quite ruin'd. Wherefore that this might not be too much weaken'd in the Perſon of the Elector of *Bavaria*, who was the Head thereof, as I even now ſaid, *France* made the *Swedes* conſent to a Suſpenſion of Arms, by repreſenting to the Miniſters of *Sweden*, That the King not being able to ſupply any longer the exceſſive Charges of the War, nor even of the Subſidies, it was time to make a Peace; ſince thereby the two Crowns would get all the Advantages they could promiſe themſelves, from all the Hoſtilities which a Continuation of the War might extort from the Emperor. *France* look'd upon it as her Right to cauſe this Suſpenſion of Arms, ſince the *Swedes* had not ſcrupled to make one with the Elector of *Saxony*, without the Participation of their Allies. The Elector of *Bavaria* was in great Perplexities. He had conſtantly ſided with the Emperor, who was his neareſt Relation, and his Brother-in-Law; and he was oblig'd to the Houſe of *Auſtria* for the Electoral Dignity, and, as one may ſay, for all his Fortune. There was alſo ſome likelihood that it was from her he was to hope for the Preſervation thereof, inſtead of expecting it from a ſtrange Crown, from whence he could receive but very uncertain Sureties. He was ſenſible that the Emperor could not be loſt, nor the Empire diſſipated, but he muſt be involv'd in the ſame Fate with them. His Intention was to make himſelf equally conſiderable at *Vienna* and at *Paris*, and to put himſelf in ſuch a Condition as to be able to turn the Scale on which ſide ſoever he ſhould declare. He therefore, when he concluded a Suſpenſion of Arms with *France*, was for reſerving to himſelf the Liberty of aſſiſting the Emperor againſt *Sweden*. And foraſmuch as *France* neither could, nor would conſent thereto, he immediately broke the Truce, and did not renew the Negotiation with *France*, till this had aſſur'd him that the *Swedes* ſhould joyn with her, to procure him all the Advantages he could hope for for his Houſe, and that they would endeavour to procure Satisfaction to the Elector *Palatin* ſome other way.

France had a great Advantage in the Congreſs; becauſe ſhe was equally conſider'd and reſpected there by the Proteſtants, and by the Catholicks. Theſe had been always zealous Partizans to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and Enemies to the *French*, who had been the Cauſe of *Sweden*'s arming againſt the Empire, and were the true Occaſion of the Misfortunes with which *Germany* had been afflicted for ſo many Years: Nevertheleſs, ſuch was their Averſion to the Proteſtants, who had a Deſign againſt their Religion and their Benefices, that they deſir'd Satisfaction might be given to *France*; becauſe they hop'd to be protected by it. On the other ſide, the Proteſtants expected no Good from the Union *France* was going to make with the Catholicks, contrary to the ancient Maxims of that Crown, and could willingly have wiſh'd that all the Satisfaction might be given to *Sweden*; but they were afraid of making it known, becauſe they had been ſo ill us'd by the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that they ſtood in need of a powerful Protection againſt it. The *Spaniards* preſs'd the Emperor's Miniſters to grant to the Proteſtants whatever they ſhould demand; and if *Trautmanſdorf* had had the Power, or Reſolution enough to have done it, he had greatly perplex'd Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Policy, and that of the Miniſters who acted by his Orders.

The Differences between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* were not ſo eaſy to be adjuſted. *Portugal*, *Catalonia*, *Lorrain* and *Caſal* were powerful Obſtacles; but the greateſt of all was Cardinal *Mazarin*'s little or no Inclination thereto, who could not conſent to a Peace, if thereby he did not unite the Provinces of *Flanders* to the Crown of *France*. He had imagin'd that *Spain*, to recover *Catalonia*, and to procure *Portugal*'s being forſaken, would make no Difficulty to give up the Low Countries. But this was what there was ſo much the leſs likelihood of, that the *French* judg'd themſelves it would be impoſſible for them to keep *Catalonia*, where they were not better belov'd than the *Spaniards*; and there was nothing oblig'd them to protect the *Portugueſe* but the Deſign the Cardinal had and continu'd to have after the *Pyrenean* Peace, to ſtir up there a new War againſt *Spain*. Moreover the Meaſures the Count *de Peguaranda* took with the *Dutch*, to make 'em conſent to a ſeparate Peace, broke thoſe of the Cardinal. The Count, who was a Miniſter without Experience, and without Genius, had imagin'd that *Spain*, having made a Peace with the United Provinces, would be able to oppoſe equal Forces to *France*, when thoſe of the Low

Countries

Countries ſhould no longer be diverted by the *Hollanders*; and he ſtill flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes of a great Revolution, with which he thought *France* infallibly threaten'd. There was no Diligence omitted by the Miniſters of the two Crowns, nor any Artifices which they did not employ, either to preſerve or acquire the Friendſhip of this Republick. But the *Hollanders*, who could not bear the imperious Deportment of the *French* Miniſters, and who dreading the Neighbourhood of a powerful Monarch, and of a warlike and reſtleſs Nation, were not leſs ſenſibly touch'd with the Progreſs the Arms of *France* continu'd to make in *Flanders* than the *Spaniards* themſelves, willingly lent an Ear to a ſeparate Agreement. They conceiv'd that *France* having declar'd a War with *Spain*, but for their Sakes, would rather chuſe to make a Peace than to continue to carry on a War alone, in a Countrey where each ſingle Place would take them up at leaſt a Campaign; and that by that mean there would be always a ſtrong Barrier between the Frontiers of *France* and the United Provinces. But they, as well as the *Spaniards*, have had the Leiſure to undeceive themſelves, and to know, that the Strength of the Kingdom of *France* is able to oppoſe that of all the reſt of *Europe*, under ſo great a Monarch as he who now reigns there. The Cardinal, who was unwilling to bring upon himſelf the Hatred of all *Chriſtendom*, which thirſted after Peace, was for having it believ'd he paſſionately deſir'd it.

The Plenipotentiaries of *France* judg'd that the King their Maſter ought to be contented, if he was allow'd to keep the County of *Rouſſillon*, with the Town of *Roſes*, all *Artois*, comprending therein *Aire* and St. *Omer*, *Gravelines*, *Bourbourg*, *Thionville*, *Cambray* and the *Cambreſis*; and that in Conſideration thereof he might abandon *Catalonia*, as being a Province very hard to keep; and even reſtore *Damvilliers*, *Landrecy*, and ſome other Places in *Flanders*, and in the County of *Burgundy*. The Reaſon was, That *France*, by the Acquiſition of thoſe Places on the ſide of *Picardy* and the *Boulogneſe*; of the three Biſhopricks on the ſide of *Champagne*, of the beſt part of *Lorrain*, with *Briſac* and *Philipsburg*, enlarg'd very much the Frontiers of the Kingdom, and gave the City of *Paris* a noble outſide. But the *Spaniards*, who were aſſur'd of the Intention of the *Dutch*, had no mind to treat with *France*, and much leſs to yield to it *Cambray*, *Aire*, and St. *Omer*, which do not only cover the Low Countries, but alſo give an Entrance into *France*. The Cardinal, on his part, was for profiting of the Proſperity of the King's Arms, and reducing *Spain* to ſuch a Condition as ſhould hinder it from breaking the Treaty whenever it ſhould think fit; and he did not ſcruple to ſay, That that was the only Guaranty for the Execution of the Peace. *France* did not dare to propoſe the Exchange of *Catalonia* for ſome other Province, leſt the *Catalans*, who were not very well ſatisfy'd with the *French* Government, ſhould prevent it, and reconcile themſelves to their natural King. For which Reaſon they were made to believe, That the King offer'd to reſtore ſix of the beſt Towns in the Low Countries, in Exchange for thoſe the *Spaniards* poſſeſs'd in *Catalonia*; thereby to unite the whole Province to the Crown of *France*. But this is what had not been mention'd, becauſe it was too well known in *France*, that *Spain* would be far from yielding up one of the beſt peopled Provinces of the Kingdom, and which is ſo neceſſary to it for a Communication with *Italy*. *France* was for keeping all her Conqueſts, unleſs *Spain* would reſtore to her thoſe ſhe had made in former Wars, and amongſt the reſt the Kingdom of *Navarr*. Her Miniſters gave out, that ſhe would beſides pretend to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and perhaps alſo to the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Piombino* and *Portolongone* were alſo amongſt the greateſt Difficulties. The *Spaniards* would by no means ſuffer the *French* to have ſtrong Places on the Coaſt of *Tuſcany*, from whence they might extremely incommode the Kingdom of *Naples*, and demanded an Explanation of the Treaties of *Monçon* and *Queraſque*. They inſiſted on a Regulation concerning *Caſſal*: That Satisfaction ſhould be given to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and that the *French* ſhould leave off aſſiſting *Portugal*. The *French* ſaid it was not their Intention to keep *Caſſal*, but they would however have good Security, that at no Time, and in no Caſe, this Place ſhould be liable to fall into the Hands of the *Spaniards*: And this Security was a very Chimerical Thing, concerning which it was impoſſible to agree. There was nothing could oblige the *French* to ſpeak in the Behalf of the King of *Portugal*; as I ſaid before. There was no Alliance between the two Kings; and that of *Portugal*, not only had not done any thing for *France* ſince his Acceſſion to the Crown, but had not ſo much as known how to make an Advantage of the powerful Diverſions *France* had made to the Arms of *Spain*, even into *Spain* it ſelf. The *Dutch*, who had no Reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with the *Portugueze*, on the Account of what had paſs'd in *Braſil*, joyn'd with the *Spaniards* againſt them. Inſomuch that the *French* Plenipotentiaries had not only the invincible Reſiſtance of theſe who were their Enemies to deal with, but alſo the Diſſatisfaction of thoſe who were their Friends, and who could not ſuffer they ſhould ſpeak in the Favour of the *Portugueze*, becauſe the *Spaniards* gave them Hopes that, by means of the ſeparate Treaty which was negotiating with them, they ſhould eaſily re-enter into the Poſſeſſion of *Braſil*.

The Cardinal, who contriv'd all theſe Perplexities, who delighted therein, and gain'd his Point thereby, was for clearing himſelf however; and, to make it be believ'd that it was both his Intention and Intereſt to make a Peace, conſented that for ſome Time the Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces ſhould do the Office of Mediators between *France* and *Spain*; but as he had quite another View, ſo many freſh Difficulties were ſtarted every Day, that the *Hollanders*, ſeeing they were made a Jeſt of, laid down their pretended Mediation as a thing ridiculous, and of no manner of Utility. The Cardinal was at the ſame time for having every Body believe that Peace was not only his Inclination, but alſo his Intereſt: And he ſpoke ſo often of it, and in ſuch ſtrong Terms, that he was almoſt himſelf perſuaded that he deſir'd a thing which was his Averſion, and which he could not covet for many Conſiderations, which

they cannot be ignorant of, who have a particular Knowledge of the Affairs of thoſe Times. They who believ'd that *Servien* knew his real Intentions were deceiv'd. He knew indeed more thereof than his Collegues, but he could not boaſt of having the Confidence of the Cardinal, who intruſted no body therewith; hardly himſelf: eſpecially in thoſe things he coveted ſhould be kept a Secret; or wherein it concern'd him to diſguiſe the Truth; ſo conſummate a Diſſembler he was, or to expreſs it better in *Italian*, *Cupo*, with his moſt confident Friends. He was ſenſible he could not keep himſelf altogether impenetrable to the piercing Sight of *Servien*. *M. Colbert* ſerv'd him in his moſt important Concerns. *Ondedei* had ſome Intereſt with him; and the Cardinal could not intirely conceal himſelf to *Lionne*, and the Abbot *Bentivoglio*, who had a great Share in the Affairs of *Italy*, to which he apply'd himſelf more, than to thoſe of *France*: But amongſt all theſe, there was not one for whom he had not ſome Reſerve; ſo that what has been known of his Intentions, has been only by Conjectures, which do not always fail thoſe who have ſome Capacity. One Day diſcourſing a conſiderable time with the Miniſter of one of the firſt Princes of *Germany*, who had receiv'd Orders to repair to his Maſter, he told him, That he knew very well that there was a Talk there of forming a third Party between the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, and the Houſe of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, which would oblige the Emperor and the Crowns to make a Peace in the Empire; but he did not doubt, but all thoſe Princes were perſuaded that *France* deſir'd it: and as for himſelf in particular, that it was his Paſſion: That Foreigners might indeed believe he was wicked, but he hop'd they had not a bad Opinion enough of him, to believe he was either a Fool or a Mad-man: That it was requiſite he ſhould be ſomething more than all that, if he prefer'd the Vexations and Uneaſineſs the ill State of the King's Revenues gave him, while the War exhauſted them all, to the Repoſe and Satisfaction he ſhould find in the Plenty Peace would bring to the Kingdom. This is what he would have all the foreign Miniſters believe; yet nevertheleſs it is certain, that it was only with the utmoſt Unwillingneſs, that he conſented to the Peace which was concluded ſince at the *Pyrenees*, eleven Years after the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*; at a Time when the intire Conqueſt of the Low Countries was much more probable, than during the Negotiation of *Munſter*. The Kingdom enjoy'd a perfect Tranquillity within; and abroad a Proſperity which made its Power to be both reſpected and fear'd: But the Queen was for preſerving to the King her Brother what he had ſtill left him of the Provinces of *Flanders*; ſhe was for having the Satisfaction of procuring Peace to *France*; and her ſtrongeſt Paſſion was to ſee the King her Son, marry'd to the *Infanta* of *Spain* her Niece. The Cardinal oppos'd it at firſt with Warmth, and repreſented the incomparable Advantages *France* might infallibly promiſe it ſelf from a Continuation of the War; and he yielded at laſt but to the preſſing and repeated Inſtances of the Queen; but with ſo much Concern, that he did not ſcruple to tell her, That by entring into her Majeſty's Sentiments on a Point of this Importance, at a Time when there was no Doubt to be made of a complete Conqueſt of all the Provinces of *Flanders*, he quitted all the Obligations he had to her, which were neither ſmall, nor few in Number. This Reluctancy, which he ſhew'd in the Courſe of ſo many Years, and the ſtrict Union he made with the Uſurper of the *Engliſh* Crown, made an End to undeceive thoſe the Cardinal might have impos'd upon concerning the Sincerity of his Intention in reference to Peace. The Duke of *Longueville* ſaw into it; wherefore perceiving that *Servien* was the King's chief Inſtrument, or rather the Cardinals; and that the *Dutch* had concluded their Treaty with *Spain*, he deſir'd to be recall'd, and return'd to *France*. *D'Avaux* was recall'd becauſe he was not agreeable nor complaiſant enough to juſtify the whole Procedure, and all the Intentions of the firſt Miniſter: and after theſe two Plenipotentiaries were withdrawn, *Servien* remain'd ſole Maſter of the Negotiation: and he made an end of it ſo far as it related to the Affairs of *Germany*, conformably to the Cardinal's Project.

The United Provinces had a mind to treat with *Spain*; but every body was not perſuaded they could do it, without violating the Treaties they had with *France*. They did not agree about the Explication of the foregoing Treaties, which were many; but that which regulated Affairs moſt, was the Treaty *Charnacé* had made at the *Hague* the 16th of *April*, 1634. The King therein oblig'd himſelf to aſſiſt the States with a Million and three hundred thouſand Livers every Year, beſides the Million he gave them by the Treaty of the Year 1630. He alſo promis'd to break with the King of *Spain*, if he violated the Peace or the Truce, which the States might make with him: and the States oblig'd themſelves on their ſide, not to treat with the King of *Spain*, without the Intervention of the King of *France*, and to break with the firſt, if he attack'd *France*, *in the States, Towns or Places, ſhe poſſeſs'd at the time of the Treaty*. From whence the Miniſters of *France* concluded, as well as from the Memorial *Charnacé* had given in at that time, that the *Hollanders* were oblig'd to break with the King of *Spain*, in caſe the King of *France* was attack'd in the Countrey of the *Griſons*, in the *Valteline*, on the Account of the Affair of *Mantua*, *Caſal*, *Pignerol*, and of *Lorrain*, and generally in all his other States. They ſaid, that the King's Thoughts could not then be confin'd to the Low Countries, where there was as yet no War, and where he poſſeſs'd nothing: That ſince in that caſe the United Provinces were to break with the King of *Spain*, even altho' they ſhould have made a Peace with him, with much more Reaſon were they oblig'd not to treat with him, without the Conſent of *France*: That the Term of ſeven Years, which the Treaties of the Years 1630, and 1634, ſpoke of, had been extended by that of the Year 1635, till the Concluſion of a Peace, or till the *Spaniards* were utterly expell'd the Low Countries: That the King, who had the Choice either of continuing the Subſidies, or of breaking with *Spain*, had choſen the laſt: That the *Dutch* themſelves had inſiſted on the King's breaking with that Crown, and

and that the Treaty of 1635, does not only regulate the Actions of the Armies, and the Partition of the Conquests; but that it also provides, that the States shall not treat with *Spain* but in Conjunction with *France*; and that they shall be oblig'd to come to a Rupture with the *Spaniards*, if they attack the King: That this Rupture being general, altho' the greatest Effort was made in the Low Countries; the mutual Guaranty ought to be so too, in reference to all the Conquests, on which side soever they were made. In *Holland* they asserted, That the the seven Years, of which mention is made in the Treaty of the Year 1634, being expir'd, and that of the Year 1635, not taking any notice of the Interest *France* had in the Affairs of the *Grisons*, of *Mantua*, &c. the United Provinces could not be oblig'd but to the Guaranty of the Conquests, which should be made in the Low Countries. But the *French* Ministers reply'd, That the last Treaty was so far from destroying the former, that it confirm'd it, and gave it a greater Extent in reference to Time. Some thought they could silence the *French* by saying, that the secret Article, which serves as an Explanation to the 9th Article of the Treaty of the Year 1635, oblig'd the Allies to make War only in the Low Countries. But therein was a little Sophistry; because that that Article, in speaking of the principal Employments of the Armies of the Allies, did not excuse *France* from the general Rupture, and could not hinder the King of *Spain* from attacking her every where, nor the United Provinces from succouring her, if she was attack'd elsewhere. The *French* Ministers urg'd, That the Diversions the Arms of *France* would make in *Italy* and in *Spain*, would have the same Effect, and afford the same Advantages to the *Hollanders*, as if she caus'd them to act in *Flanders:* That the secret Article did not provide against making War in any other Parts of *Europe*; but only took notice, that it might be more usefully made in the Low Countries than in *Italy* or in *Spain*. The United Provinces believ'd they had a Right to hinder *France* from concluding separately with the Emperor without their Consent: But forasmuch as they had refus'd to break with him, when in the Year 1636, he sent an Army into *Burgundy* under *Galas*, and after that another into *Piccardy* under *Piccolomini*, they did not dare to oppose it; for fear of drawing on themselves a Reproach, which would have been but too just. Of all the Provinces, that of *Holland* was most tir'd with the War. They were all jealous of the continual Victories of the *French*, and dreaded more their Neighbourhood, than the remote Power of *Spain*; so that they resolv'd at last to make a separate Treaty with this; since *France* could not consent to a general Peace, wherein she did not find all the Advantages she could promise herself from the Prosperity of her Arms. *D'Avaux* and *Servien* had made a Treaty at the *Hague* on the 1st of *March*, 1644, by which the Estates had enter'd into a new Obligation not to treat, but in Conjunction with *France*; so that it seem'd as if by making a separate Treaty, they fail'd in all that they ow'd to *France*, and in what they ow'd themselves; unless they were (for the Preservation of their Republick) necessitated to get rid of a War, that exhausted them, and entirely ruin'd them. *France* on its part resolv'd to continue it even after the *Hollanders* should have concluded their Treaty; and she has made it plain, that for that purpose, she had no need either of the Assistance or of the Diversion of the Arms of the United Provinces: who were sensible but too late, that neither they nor their Allies were able to hinder the most Christian King from making Conquests, which would in the End unite the Provinces of *Flanders* to his Crown, unless he were prevented by a good Peace; as he indeed was.

CHAP. XIV.

The most considerable Treaties relating to the Affairs of this Age.

I Have said in the VIth Chapter of the first Part of this Book, that the Study of the modern Treaties ought to make the strongest Application of the Embassador. A Collection of the Treaties which have been made since the beginning of this Century, would be an excellent and very useful Work, and would serve for a general Instruction to a publick Minister, because he would there find a Plan of those Affairs, which he ought not to be ignorant of, if he will succeed in his Employment. I do not scruple to say, That the Publick would have no small Obligation to him who should present it with such a Work: especially if he put at the Head of the Treaties, those Occurrences which were the Occasion of their being made, with the most remarkable Particulars of the Negotiations which were carry'd on for that Purpose. *John du Tillet*, chief Register to the Parliament of *Paris*, and Keeper of the Charters of *France*, has printed a Continuation of the ancient Treaties, which have been made between the Kings of *France* and *England*. My Intention was to follow his Example, and to communicate to the Publick all the Treaties which have been made in our Time; and have the greatest Analogy with the present Affairs; wherein those, who should one Day apply themselves to the writing a History, might have discover'd great Lights to guide them in the Course they were to hold therein: But the Court of Justice of *Holland* having seiz'd all my Papers and Memorials without distinction, without causing the least Inventory to be made thereof, (which ought to be observ'd) and having since dissipated and dispers'd them, without the Participation of those who have most Interest therein;

I have

I have loſt, together with the Work of ſeveral Years Labour, both the Mind and the Means of continuing it. Inſomuch that all I can do in the Condition I am in, is to lay down in this Chapter the Project of a Work which perhaps might not have been unſerviceable nor diſagreeable to thoſe who delight in this kind of Study; which is one of the moſt neceſſary a publick Miniſter can apply himſelf to.

The Treaty of *Vervins* made the Beginning of the Work, as it was the Beginning of the Repoſe Chriſtendom was going to enjoy towards the End of the laſt Century, if it had not been diſturb'd by other Accidents, which happen'd ſome Years after a Peace was made between *France* and *Spain*. *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* had deſir'd to be compris'd therein, but he was againſt its regulating the Difference he had with the King about the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*. Both ſides referr'd themſelves to the Pope, who as Arbitrator was to decide it in a Year. The Duke who had uſurp'd the Marquiſate during the Diſorders of the League, and who could not hope for a favourable Determination, contriv'd ſo well to diſguſt the Pope, that he would no longer meddle in the Affair. The Duke, who did not want Wit, and who knew that King *Henry* IV, had a great deal of Generoſity, went to ſee him at *Fontainbleau*, and made him ſeveral Propoſitions, which would not have been rejected by a King leſs clear-ſighted than this, and leſs devoted to an Intereſt which in this Conjuncture was inſeparable from true Glory. He declar'd to the Duke, that all the Overtures that could be made him, before the Reſtitution of the Marquiſate, would be to no purpoſe: and this Firmneſs oblig'd the Duke to make the Treaty of *Paris* on *February* 27, 1600, by which he promis'd to reſtore the Marquiſate, or elſe to give the King the *Breſſan*, with ſome other Territories in the Neighbourhood of *Burgundy*. The Duke being return'd back to *Savoy*, repented himſelf of the Treaty, and refus'd to execute it: So that the King to compel him thereto made uſe of his Arms; and having conquer'd in a few Days all that the Duke poſſeſs'd on this ſide the *Alps*, he obtain'd at laſt the *Breſſan*, with the Bayliwick of *Gex*, *Viromay*, &c. by the Treaty which was made at *Lions*, *January* 17, 1601.

After this there was no other War talk'd of but that of the *Low Countries*. King *Henry* IV, who was willing to have it believ'd that all his Thoughts were bent on Peace, and who grew weary of aſſiſting the United Provinces with the conſiderable Subſidies he ſupply'd 'em with towards the Support of the Charge of the *Spaniſh* War, while all his Thoughts were intent on accumulating Treaſures for ſome ſecret Deſign; made preſſing Inſtances to the States to hearken to the Overtures of Peace which the Arch-Duke *Albert* made them. But foraſmuch as the *Spaniards* were for inſerting therein Conditions which were hard enough; as the Exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Religion, and a Prohibition of Commerce with the *Indies*, no farther mention was made of a Peace: but the Parties were brought to conſent to a *Truce of twelve Years*, which was concluded at *Antwerp* on *April* 9, 1609.

Before this Negotiation was finiſh'd, the King of *France* was willing to make a *Treaty of Alliance defenſive*, with the ſaid Provinces on *January* 23, 1608, and by his Example *James* King of *Great Britain* concluded one with them on *June* 26, in the ſame Year 1608. After the Arch-Duke had treated with theſe Provinces, as with a free State, over which neither the King of *Spain* nor he pretended any thing, *France* and *England* made another more particular Treaty with them at the *Hague*, *July* 17, 1609.

King *Henry* IV. being kill'd in the Month of *May* 1610, all his great Deſigns vaniſh'd, and *France* thought on nothing elſe but of being well with *Spain*, and keeping ſo: So that from the Year 1598, there was no Treaty made between thoſe two Crowns till the Peace of *Munſter*, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Only on *November* 13. of the ſaid Year 1610, there was concluded at *Paris a Treaty of Neutrality*, between the *Franche Compte* on the one ſide, and the Viſcounty of *Auxonne*, with the Countrey of *Baſſigny* on the other. And on *September* 27. 1614, a Treaty was concluded at *Madrid*, about a Difference between the two Crowns concerning the Frontiers of the *Upper* and *Lower Navarre*, wherein the *Spaniards* had all the Advantage, and made their Benefit of the Weakneſs of the *French* Government under Queen *Mary* of *Medicis*, and afterwards under the Miniſtry of the Duke *de Luines*.

While the Truce was negotiating in *Holland*, and before it was concluded, there appear'd the Grounds of a new War in *Germany*, where the Duke of *Cleves* dying without Iſſue, left a very rich Inheritance; but it was diſputed by ſo great a number of Heirs and Pretenders, that there was no room to doubt that the Sword muſt decide the Right of the ones, and regulate the Pretenſions of the others. The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Duke of *Newburgh* were the next Heirs. The Elector of *Saxony*, the Marquiſs *de Burgon*, of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, pretended alſo thereto; and the Emperor was for diſpoſing of it as of a Fief which eſcheated to the Empire for want of Heirs Male. He accordingly ſent thither the Arch-Duke *Leopold* to take Poſſeſſion thereof, as Imperial Commiſſioner. *France* could not ſuffer that the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould unite to its Power Provinces which might ſerve for a Line of Communication between the *Low Countries* and *Germany*; for which reaſon *Henry* IV. thought himſelf oblig'd to oppoſe this Eſtabliſhment: and it was partly the Cauſe or the Pretext of the Preparations he made for ſome Years before his Death. He had openly enough declar'd for the two Princes of *Brandenburgh* and of *Newburgh*, who were both Proteſtants, and who on *May* 31, 1609, had concluded the Treaty of *Dartmont*, and on *July* 14. of the ſame Year that of *Dousbourg* for their common Intereſt; and again a third at *Hall* in *Swabia* on *January* 27, 1619. *France* which found it ſelf concern'd therein, as I juſt ſaid; *England*, and the United Provinces, who fear'd leſt Intereſt might alter the Friendſhip of thoſe Princes, made them conclude the Treaty of *Santen* on *November* 12, 1614. But this Treaty was not executed, notwithſtanding the Offices of the two Crowns and of the States. On the contrary, thoſe two Princes having

ſince enter'd into different and oppoſite Intereſts, and having even declar'd War, it was found difficult enough to ſuperſede now and then their Hoſtilities by proviſional Treaties: the moſt remarkable whereof are the three Treaties which were concluded at *Duſſeldorp* on *May* 11, 1624, on *March* 9, 1629, and on *April* 8, 1647, for the Partition of the Inheritance, till their Difference could be regulated. On *October* 11, 1651, there was another made at *Eſſen*, where was concluded on *September* 9, 1666, a Treaty, which converted all the proviſional Treaties into an effective Partition, with a Deſign to ſettle an indiſſoluble Friendſhip between theſe two Princes. At leaſt if it can be believ'd of two Relations, who pretending each to the whole Inheritance, were oblig'd to be contented with half thereof. On *February* 15, 1645, the States of *Juliers* and of *Cleves*, &c. made a Treaty between them at *Cologn*.

The Alliance the Duke of *Newburgh* took to in the Houſe of *Bavaria*, of which he was a Branch, making it believ'd that he would ſeek for Support in the Catholick Party, as he had embrac'd its Religion, the Elector ſought with ſo much the more Earneſtneſs the Friendſhip of the Proteſtant Princes, and amongſt the reſt that of the United Provinces, with whom he had made a Treaty *April* 25, in the Year 1605. On *December* 23, 1618, there was again a Treaty made at the *Hague* for the Succeſſion of *Juliers*, between the States General and ſome Proteſtant Princes, who were aſſembl'd at *Hailbron*. After the Duke of *Newburgh* had declar'd openly, the Elector did the ſame on his ſide, ſtrengthening himſelf by means of the Treaties he made with the States, as in the Year 1616, for the Loan of a hundred thouſand Crowns, which were advanc'd under the Name of one *Hoefyſer*. After that was made the Treaty of the *Hague* of *October* 23, 1624: That of *July* 31, 1629, for the Repayment of the Sum of a hundred thouſand Crowns, with the Intereſt, and the Intereſt of the Intereſt: Another on *April* 2, 1632, and another on *September* 4, 1636, for the ſame Debt. On *July* 27, 1655, was concluded at the *Hague* a Treaty of Alliance, and ſince another in the Month of *December* 1665. The Treaty of *Cleves* was made *February* 16, 1666, with the ſeparate Article for the Toll of *Guennep*, and a particular Treaty for a ſtricter Alliance. On *January* 6, 1667, there was another made at the *Hague*, on account of the War with which *France* threaten'd the *Low Countries*. On *May* 6, 1672, while the *French* Armies were already marching to attack the United Provinces, they made a Treaty of Alliance at *Berlin*, for the raiſing and ſubſiſting an Army of twenty thouſand Men, with which the Elector was to aſſiſt the States, who had two powerful Enemies upon them, to wit, the Kings of *France* and of *England*.

The Princes of *Germany*, the Roman Catholicks on one ſide, and Proteſtants on the other, liv'd in continual and incurable Diſtruſts. Even before the Peace of *Vervins* there was a Schiſm in the Chapter of *Strasburg*, where ſome had choſen *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*; and the others *John George* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, who took to Arms about it, till a proviſional Treaty was made on that account at *Hagueneau*, *November* 22, 1604, and ſince confirm'd by a Treaty at the ſame Place, *February* 22, 1620. The Proteſtants had for a long time complain'd of the Judgments and Decrees the Chamber of *Spires* and the Aulick Council gave, out of Hatred to the Religion; concerning the Church Lands, which the Catholicks uſurp'd contrary to the Treaty of *Paſſaw*; but chiefly about the Proſcription of the Town of *Donawert*, which the Duke of *Bavaria* executed rather with Cruelty than Rigour. They had often complain'd thereof, but to no purpoſe; ſo that fearing leſt the Houſe of *Auſtria* and the Catholick Party ſhould benefit themſelves by the Succeſſion of *Juliers:* and above all, taking Umbrage at the part *Spain* aſſum'd in the Management of the Affairs of the Empire, as it had already but too much Authority in the Council of *Vienna*; they met at *Hall* in *Swabia*, where they made on *January* 17, 1610. that Union, which made it ſelf ſo much talk'd of at the Beginning of the firſt Wars of *Germany*, and of the Commotions of *Bohemia*. It was follow'd by a Treaty which the ſame Princes made at the ſame Place with the United Provinces on the eleventh of *February* of the ſame Year, which was confirm'd by the King of *France* at *Paris* the 23d enſuing; by that of *Hailbron* of *September* 20; by another which ſome Electors made with the United Provinces *December* 23. of the ſame Year; and afterwards by another Treaty which was made at the *Hague*, *May* 16, 1613.

The Catholick Princes oppos'd this Union by the League they made at *Mulhauſen* the

One may ſay that it was what ſav'd the Emperor, and preſerv'd the Imperial Dignity of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. From the Year 1606, *Spain* had made a private Treaty with the Arch-Dukes *Matthias*, *Maximilian*, and *Ferdinand*, by which they had agreed, that they ſhould endeavour to raiſe to the Empire him amongſt them, which was the oldeſt Prince of that Houſe: to which the King of *Spain* conſented, on Condition, That for Default of Heirs Male, he ſhould ſucceed to the Kingdoms of *Hungary and Bohemia*. This Treaty was afterwards renew'd and enlarg'd at *Prague*, *June* 6, 1617, where *Ferdinand* conſented, that for Default of Male Iſſue, *Spain* ſhould ſucceed to all the Hereditary Countries; and by this mean they render'd their Intereſt one and the ſame.

The Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* had for his Appennage, together with *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola* and the *Frioul*, at leaſt that part of this Province which belongs to the Houſe of *Auſtria*; on which account he had an unlucky Difference enough with the Republick of *Venice*. He protected the *Uſcoques*, who not only committed ſeveral Depredations in the Gulph, but alſo very much annoy'd the *Turks*, who reſented it to the *Venetians*, who were Guarantees for the Safety of the *Adriatick* Sea. The Emperor accommodated the Difference by a Treaty which was concluded at *Vienna* in the Year 1612. But *Ferdinand* neglecting to execute it, both ſides took to Arms; and the War which at firſt was confin'd to *Frioul* and *Dalmatia*, communicated it ſelf to the reſt of *Italy*, on the Score of the Difference the Duke of *Savoy* had with that of *Mantua*.

The Duke of *Savoy* had Pretenſions to the *Montferrat*, and in marrying his Daughter to *Francis*, Duke of *Mantua*, he allow'd that no mention ſhould be made thereof: But *Francis* dying in the Year 1612, and leaving but one only Daughter very young; and the Cardinal of *Mantua* having ſucceeded to the Dutchy, the Duke of *Savoy* reviv'd his old Pretenſions. He ſent for his Daughter, the Widow of the deceaſed, and requir'd that the young Princeſs, his Grand-Daughter (whom he conſider'd as Heireſs of the *Montferrat*) ſhould be put into his Hands. The Duke of *Mantua* oppos'd it, and declar'd himſelf Guardian to his Niece, who was but three Years old. He refus'd her even to *Don John de Mendoſſe*, Marquiſs of *Inoyoſa*, Governor of *Milan*, who demanded her of him in the Name of the King of *Spain*. The Duke of *Savoy* enter'd the *Montferrat* with an Army in the Month of *April* 1613, and thereby equally offended the King of *Spain*, who pretended to be, if not Judge, at leaſt Arbitrator of the Differences of all the Princes of *Italy*; and the Queen Regent of *France*, who was for protecting the Duke of *Mantua* her Nephew. The Treaties which had been made at *Chaſteau* in *Cambreſis* in the Year 1559, and at *Vervins* in the Year 1598, contain'd expreſſly, that neither of the two Kings ſhould attack the Eſtates of the Duke of *Mantua*, nor ſuffer the Duke of *Savoy* to proſecute his Pretenſions againſt the *Montferrat*. So that the Governor of *Milan*, apprehending leſt the *French* ſhould make uſe of this occaſion to ſend Troops into *Italy*, oblig'd the Duke of *Savoy* to acquieſce to the King of *Spain*'s Deſires: But foraſmuch as the Treaty which was ſign'd for that purpoſe at had been made without the Participation of the Duke of *Mantua*; and that the *Spaniards* had tack'd Conditions thereto, which both his Honour and Intereſt hinder'd him from fulfilling, there enſu'd a ſecond Rupture, which laſted till the Treaty of *Aſt*, which was concluded *June* 1615.

Some Months after, the Republick of *Venice* came to a Rupture with the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* on the Account of the *Uſcoques*, as I before obſerv'd. To give a Diverſion to the Forces of *Ferdinand*, whom *Spain* was going to ſuccour, ſhe reſolv'd to furniſh Employment to the Governour of *Milan*, who was he that could incommode her moſt. To this Effect ſhe treated with the Duke of *Savoy*, who complain'd of the Inexecution of the Treaty of *Aſt*, of which he accus'd the *Spaniards*; ſo that finding himſelf aſſur'd of very conſiderable Subſidies from the *Venetians*, he refus'd to hearken to the Propoſitions of Accommodation which the Pope and *France* made to him. The Council of *Paris* had no great Mind to engage the King in the *Italian* War, neither was the Chief Miniſter of the Court of *Madrid* inclin'd thereto; and the Arms of *Spain* not making any great Progreſs in *Piedmont*, no more than thoſe of the *Venetians* in the *Frioul*; the Parties eaſily conſented to a Negotiation, which produc'd the Treaty of *Madrid* in the Year 1617. But foraſmuch as the King of *Spain* ſpoke there like a Maſter and an Arbitrator, the Embaſſador of *Venice* would not accept of him; and the Pope refuſing to meddle therein on the Conditions which the Duke of *Savoy* annex'd to his Submiſſion, the Affair was at laſt carry'd to *Paris*, where the Treaty was concluded *September* 6, 1617, as ſhall be related in the following Chapter. The Court of *Madrid* confirm'd it towards the End of the ſame Month: and in the Month of *October* in the ſame Year a Treaty was made between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governor of *Milan* at *Pavia*, for the Execution of the Treaty of *Paris*. The Duke of *Savoy* was no ſooner got clear of this War, than he engag'd in new Intrigues with thoſe who labour'd to ſtir up *Bohemia* to an Inſurrection, as well as the other Hereditary Provinces of *Ferdinand*. The Republick of *Venice* had the ſame Intereſt and the ſame Intention: and it was in this View that ſhe made an Alliance with the United Provinces, by the Treaty which was concluded at the *Hague*, *December* 31, 1619, and confirm'd by another which was made at the ſame Place, *April* 18, 1620.

Before I ſpeak of the Commotions of *Bohemia*, which were the Cauſe of a very fatal War, that produc'd a great many Treaties; it is neceſſary to ſpeak of thoſe of the *Griſons*, which ſome People look upon to have been the Source of thoſe Diſorders which have harraſs'd *Europe* for above theſe threeſcore Years. The Diſputes the Duke of *Savoy* had with the Republick of *Genoa*, about the Marquiſate of *Zuccarello*; and the Duke of *Modena* with the Republick of *Lucca*, about the *Garfagnana*, do not deſerve to be dwelt upon; becauſe thoſe trifling Wars which were made on thoſe Accounts, began and ended almoſt at the ſame time. King *Henry* IV, when he renew'd in the Year 1602, the Alliance with the *Swiſs Cantons*, and the *Grey Leagues*, had reſerv'd to himſelf a Paſſage through the *Valteline* for himſelf and his Friends. The *Valteline* is a Valley which reaches from the Lake *Como*, and the Dutchy of *Milan*, of which it was formerly a part, as far as *Tirol*: So that that Paſſage which is of two and twenty Leagues extent, is very commodious for a Communication of the States the Houſe of *Auſtria* poſſeſſes in *Germany*, with thoſe which the King of *Spain* holds in *Italy*. The *Valtelines* are Subjects to the *Grey Leagues*; but the Duke of *Feria*, Governor of *Milan*, under the Pretext of maintaining the Roman Catholick Religion in the *Valteline*, and of protecting the Inhabitants againſt the *Griſons* their Sovereigns, ſeiz'd the whole Valley; and even compell'd the *Leagues* to conclude the Treaty of *Coire* with him on *March* 19, 1617; and after that another on *October* 15, 1619, which were both very prejudicial to *France*. King *Lewis* XIII. finding himſelf diſpoſſeſs'd of an Advantage which the King his Father had acquir'd and left him; and conſidering withal that this Uſurpation made an end to eſtabliſh the predominate Power of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, complain'd thereof to the Pope, and ſent *M. de Baſſompierre* into *Spain*, with Orders to procure a Redreſs of the Encroachment. *Baſſompierre* arriv'd at *Madrid* a few Days before *Philip* III. dy'd, but yet that did not hinder him from entring upon, and continuing his Negotiation; and notwithſtanding he had no Power to make a Treaty, yet he concluded that of *Madrid*, *April* 25, 1621. That Treaty regulated in ſome meaſure the Affair of the *Valteline*; it ſecur'd there the Roman Catholick

Catholick Religion, and the Sovereignty to the *Griſons*. But the *Spaniards*, who had ſhewn themſelves very eaſy to conclude the Treaty, rais'd a thouſand Difficulties about the Execution of it. The Duke of *Feria*, inſtead of following the Orders which were ſent him from *Madrid*, ſent for the Deputies of the *Griſons* to *Milan*, and oblig'd them in the Month of *January*, 1622, to make a Treaty, by which they renounc'd the Sovereignty of the *Valteline*. And in *September* of the ſame Year, the Arch-Duke caus'd them to ſign another Treaty at *Lindau*, by which the *Griſons* yielded up to him the League of the Ten Juriſdictions, with the Seigneury of *Mayenfelt*.

On *May* 3, 1622, there was indeed another Treaty concluded at *Madrid*, but he that had made it without Order was diſavow'd in *France*; becauſe thereby the Paſſage of the *Valteline* was granted to all the Catholick Princes and States without Diſtinction. The Refuſal the *Spaniards* made, to execute the firſt Treaty of *Madrid*, oblig'd the King to make, in the Year 1623, a Treaty with the Republick of *Venice* and the Duke of *Savoy*. It was equally fear'd at *Rome* and at *Madrid*, that, in this Diſpoſition of Humours, the two Crowns would come to a Rupture; wherefore the *Spaniards* employ'd the Pope, who, in the Year 1624, engag'd the Commander *de Sillery*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Rome*, in a Project of a Treaty which was diſavow'd in *France*; becauſe the Embaſſador did therein an irreparable Prejudice to the Sovereignty of the *Griſons*, and that he had neither Order nor Power to treat; ſo that to give a publick Teſtimony how little it was ſatisfy'd with his Conduct, he was recall'd. It was on the ſame Account that *Urban* VIII. ſent Cardinal *Barberin* into *France*, where he effected nothing. Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who at that time had been made firſt Miniſter, was of Opinion that the King's Honour was not leſs engag'd therein than the Intereſt of the Leagues, and was very angry with *du Fargis*, Embaſſador of *France* in *Spain*; who from a familiar Converſation, which he had with the Count Duke *d'Olivares*, had enter'd into a formal Negotiation. However, as the Party of the Religionaries was ſtill very conſiderable in the Kingdom, it was not thought adviſeable to break with *Spain*, nor to diſavow the Treaty; but Orders were ſent to *du Fargis* to get ſome of its Articles reform'd; of which, after ſeveral Debates, a formal Treaty was made, which was ſign'd at *Mouçon*, *March* 5, 1626; at leaſt it was dated from that Day: That Cardinal *Barberin*, who arriv'd in *Spain*, when it was juſt upon the Point of being concluded, might have no Hand therein. This Treaty was made without the Participation of the Prince of *Savoy*, who was in *France* at that time; neither was any mention made of it to the *Venetian* Embaſſador; ſo that the Republick and the Duke were very much offended thereat. The King endeavour'd to juſtify his Procedure by Embaſſadors Extraordinary, whom he ſent to *Venice* and *Turin*: But foraſmuch as the *Griſons* themſelves rejected the Treaty, which had been made without them, becauſe they were not therein treated very much like Sovereigns; and that it was not otherwiſe very punctually executed by either of the Parties; the King of *France*, while he was at the Siege of *Rochell*, in the Year 1629, made a Declaration, which was to ſerve as an Explanation to ſeveral Articles of the Treaty of *Mouçon*. The *Imperialiſts* ſaid, That it did not belong to *France* to explain alone a Treaty which had been made for the Common Intereſt; and carry'd their Arms, which they held ready in *Germany* for that Purpoſe, into the *Valteline*, of which they made themſelves Maſters. Hereupon it was found neceſſary to enter upon freſh Negotiations, which the Elector of *Bavaria* brought to Perfection at *Ratisbone*, where was concluded *October* 13, 1630, a Treaty between the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. and *Lewis* XIII; it contain'd, That the *Griſons* and the *Valtelines* ſhould be reſtor'd to their former State. But this Treaty not being executed in Reference to the 12th and 13th Articles, which ſpeak of the *Valteline*, two Treaties were made at *Queraſque* in *Piedmont*, *April* 6. and *June* 19, 1631, which provided for the Execution of that of *Ratisbone*; as well concerning the Affairs of *Mantua*, as thoſe of the *Valteline*, from whence the Emperor withdrew his Arms, becauſe he had Occaſion for them againſt the King of *Sweden*.

The Courſe of the War in *Bohemia* had brought them into *Germany*, where they who had the chief Management of the Affairs of *France* were for being concern'd; but upon Principles very different from thoſe on which King *Henry* IV. had grounded his Maxims. They diſpatch'd a ſolemn Embaſſy, compos'd of the Duke of *Engouleſme*, of the Count *de Bethune*, and of *M. de Chaſteauneuf*, who, inſtead of entering into the Intereſts of the ancient Friends of *France*, concluded the Treaty of *Ulm*, *July* 13, 1620. This Treaty contain'd, That no Elector, or Prince of either Party; that is to ſay, of the Union and of the League, ſhould attack directly or indirectly any Electorate, Principality, Province or Town, under any Pretext whatever. The Miniſters of *France* imagin'd they had play'd a fine Stroke of State, and nevertheleſs thereby they gave the Duke of *Bavaria* the Means to joyn his Troops to thoſe of the Emperor in *Bohemia*, and to procure him, together with the Victory of *Prague*, all the other Advantages which the Arms of *Ferdinand* acquir'd ſince in *Germany*. The firſt which he reap'd, from the Succeſs of this Battel, was the Reduction of *Hungary*, where *Gabor Bethlehem* had caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd King. *Bethlehem* had made an Alliance with *Frederick* King of *Bohemia*, *by a Treaty which had been concluded at* Presburg in the Year 1620. But after the Loſs of this Battel, and after the precipitate Retreat of the King of *Bohemia*, he lent an Ear to the Propoſals for an Accommodation, which the Court of *Vienna* made to him; and he demanded Paſſports for the Deputies he was to ſend to the Conferences, where the *French* Embaſſadors aſſiſted as Mediators. This was not the Emperor's Intention, who having overcome his Difficulties, and having no longer any Conſideration for *France*, continu'd the Negotiation with *Bethlehem*; and at laſt *concluded the Treaty with him at* Vienna, *May* 5, 1624.

While the Emperor, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, made an end to reduce *Bohemia*, and the Provinces that depend thereon, the *Spaniards* enter'd into the *Palatinate*, of which they made them-

themſelves Maſters in a very little time; and ſo terrify'd the United Princes, who were not in a Condition to oppoſe them, that to prevent being driven out of their Countries, they were forc'd to make an Agreement with the Marquiſs *Spinola*, who there commanded the Arms of *Spain*. The Lantgrave of *Heſſe* was the firſt that made his Treaty at *Bingue*, *April* 5, 1621; and the other Princes of the Union concluded their Treaties with the ſaid Marquiſs, at *Mayence*, the twelfth of the ſame Month.

James, King of *Great Britain*, had not approv'd of the Reſolution of his Son-in-Law, and was of Opinion that that which *Bohemia* had taken, to call him to the Crown, was a declar'd Revolt; but yet he could not bear that the Emperor ſhould deprive the *Palatine* of the Electoral Dignity, nor that the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Bavaria* ſhould diſpoſſeſs him of his hereditary Eſtates. However, as War was neither the King's Talent nor Inclination, he made uſe of no other Means than that of Negotiation, and endeavour'd to procure his Reeſtabliſhment by the way of Embaſſies, which he ſometimes ſent to the Emperor, ſometimes to the Diets, and ſometimes to *Madrid* and *Bruſſels*. The Infant ſent him alſo her Miniſters, accompany'd by thoſe of the King of *Spain*, who made two Treaties at *London*, on *March* 29. and *April* 14, 1623; the one for the Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and the other for the Sequeſtration of the Town of *Frankendal*. The *Spaniards*, who knew King *James*, and did not fear him, neglected him; and *France*, and the United Provinces, whom it behov'd to oppoſe all the Proſperities and prodigious Grandeur to which the Houſe of *Auſtria* was arriv'd, expected nothing vigorous from him. But as they were extremely jealous of the ſaid Grandeur, and that a great many other Potentates beſides, took Umbrage thereat, *France* and the United Provinces enter'd into a ſtricter Union, (of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter;) and on *Auguſt* 8, 1624, a Treaty was concluded at *Paris* for the Recovery of the *Palatinate* and the *Valteline*, between *France*, *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Venice*, the United Provinces, and the Duke of *Savoy*.

In the Year 1621, the Miniſters of *England*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, of the United Provinces, of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, of the Dukes of *Brunſwick*, *Lunenburg*, *Holſtein*, *Pomerania*, and of the States of the Circle of the *Lower Saxony*, had concluded the Treaty of *Segueberg*, in the Countrey of *Holſtein*; after another Treaty which the States of the United Provinces had caus'd to be made at *London*, on *June* 15, 1624, in Favour of the Elector *Palatin*. The particular Treaty which was concluded at the *Hague*, on *Auguſt* 1. of the following Year 1625, with King *Charles*, had no other Object, no more than that which was made at *Titchfield* on the twenty fifth of the ſame Month. On *December* 9, of the ſame Year, another Treaty was again made at the *Hague*, on the ſame Account, and the King of *Denmark* was brought into the ſame. It was after this Treaty that this laſt declar'd War againſt the Emperor; but his good Intentions were ſo ill purſu'd, and his Arms were attended with ſo little Fortune, that to get clear of all theſe Diſgraces he made an Accommodation with *Ferdinand* II, *by the Treaty which was concluded at* Lubeck, on *May* 22, 1629. He had from *March* 25, 1625, concluded the Treaty of *Lawemburg* with the Archbiſhops of *Magdeburg* and of *Breme*, with the Duke of *Brunſwick Wolfembuttel*, with *Adolphus Frederick* and *John Albert* Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, and with *Frederick* Duke of *Holſtein*, for the Preſervation of the *Lower Saxony*. But it was this Treaty that drew thither *Tilly*'s Army, and was the Cauſe of the Proſcription of the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, whoſe Dutchy was given to the Duke of *Fridland*.

The bad Succeſs of the King of *Denmark*'s Enterprize making *France* apprehend leſt her ancient Allies in the Empire ſhould be oppreſs'd by the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; ſhe labour'd at an Accommodation between the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*, which was effected at *Warſaw*, *October* 8, 1622, in Order to afford the Great *Guſtavus Adolphus* the Means, and Leiſure to apply himſelf to the Affairs of *Germany*. The Emperor had carry'd his Conqueſts as far as the *Baltick* Sea. He had taken all the *Mecklenburg* from its Princes; and in all *Pomerania* there was only the Town of *Stralſund* that refus'd to receive an Imperial Garriſon. This Town had put it ſelf under the Protection of the King of *Sweden*, by a Treaty made from *January* 23, 1628: So that when General *Arnhem* belieg'd it, it made ſo vigorous a Defence, that ſhe gave the King time to diſengage himſelf from the War with *Poland*, and to paſs into *Germany*. It was by the Treaty that was concluded at *Tiegenhof*, *February* 28, 1630; and in the ſame Year he began to treat with *France*, who employ'd therein *Hercules* Baron of *Charnacé*, with whom he concluded, on *January* 23. of the following Year, the Treaty of *Berwald* for five Years. On *Auguſt* 12, of the ſame Year, 1631, the ſame King made a Treaty of Alliance with *William* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, and afterwards with the Elector of *Saxony*, and ſome other Proteſtant Princes; to whom the Emperor oppos'd an Alliance, which he had contracted with ſome Catholick Princes at *Vienna*, on *February* 14, 1632. *Guſtavus Adolphus* being kill'd at the Battel of *Lutzen*, *November* 16. of the ſame Year, the Alliance between *France* and *Sweden* was renew'd with Queen *Chriſtina*, by the Treaty which was concluded at *Hailbron*, *April* 13, 1633; and this Alliance was to laſt till there was a Peace. On *September* 17, 1634, there was another Treaty made at *Franckfort* with Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, Director General of the Affairs, and of the Arms of *Sweden* in *Germany*, and with the other Confederates, whoſe Deputies were aſſembled in that Place. This Treaty was ſince confirm'd and enlarg'd by another Treaty, which was concluded at *Paris* on *November* 1. of the ſame Year. The Chancellor going afterwards through *France*, made again another Treaty at *Compiegne*, *April* 28, 1635. The Plenipotentiaries of the two Crowns made on *March* 20, 1636, another Treaty at *Wiſmar*; but this Treaty not being ratify'd in *Sweden*, and the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, againſt whom the Allies had taken Arms, being dead, it was judg'd neceſſary to renew the Alliances by a Treaty, which *d'Avaux* and *Salvius*, Embaſſadors of *France* and *Sweden*, made at *Hamburgh*, *March* 6, 1638. This Treaty, which was only made for three

three Years, was to expire *March* 15, 1641. On *January* 30, of the ſame Year 1641, another Treaty was concluded by the ſame Miniſters at the ſame Place, which was to laſt till there was a Peace.

The Preliminary Treaty for a General Peace was at laſt concluded at *Hamburgh*, *December* 25. of the ſame Year 1641. The Emperor on the one Part, and *France* with her Allies on the other, came there to an Agreement concerning the Time and Place for the Aſſembly, as alſo about the Paſſports for their Miniſters. Since that Time to the Concluſion of the Peace of *Weſtphalia*, there was not any Treaty between the two Crowns of *France* and *Sweden*. *March* 14, there was indeed a Treaty made at *Ulm* with the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had alſo Power from the Elector of *Cologn*, wherein was alſo compris'd the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; but it was as ſoon broke as concluded, and had like to have created a very bad Underſtanding between the two Crowns. Since the Peace of *Germany*, *France* has made ſeveral Treaties with *Sweden*, and particularly ſince the Abdication of Queen *Chriſtina*, and the Death of *Charles Guſtavus*; and among the reſt that of *Fontainbleau*, of *September* 22, 1661; that of *Stockholm*, of *December* 30, 1662, concerning the Commerce; and particularly that which *M. de Pomponne* made at *Stockholm*, on *April* 14, 1672.

The Congreſs of *Weſtphalia* produc'd the Treaty which was concluded at *Munſter*, *January* 30, 1648, between *Spain* and the United Provinces; that which was ſign'd at the ſame Place on *October* 28, of the ſame Year, between the Emperor and the King of *France*; another between the Emperor and *Sweden*, at *Oſnaburg*, *October* 28, 1648; and at laſt that of *Nuremberg*, of *July* 2, 1650, for the Execution of the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*.

Before *France* declar'd it ſelf againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was for ſtirring up Enemies to *Spain* on all ſides, undertook to give it a powerful Diverſion by Means of the *Hollanders*, who were again engag'd in a War with the *Spaniards*, ſince the Expiration of the Truce of twelve Years. To this Effect a Treaty was concluded at *Compiegne*, *April* 1, 1624, with a ſeparate Article *June* 18, of the ſame Year. On *April* 12, of the following Year, a particular Treaty was made concerning ſome Ships which were to be employ'd under Vice-Admiral *Hautain* at the Siege of *Rochelle*; on *Auguſt* 28, 1617, a Treaty was indeed concluded at *Paris* for nine Years, but it was not ratify'd; and on *June* 17, 1634, a more particular Treaty was made at the *Hague*, for the Subſidies, and for a ſtricter Alliance, which was confirm'd and enlarg'd by another Treaty concluded by the Baron *de Charnacé* at the *Hague*, *April* 15, 1634, and was to laſt ſeven Years. The States General, who then thought they ſhould reap greater Advantages from a Continuation of the War, if *France* was engag'd therein with them, oblig'd the King to declare againſt *Spain*, after the Treaty that was concluded at *Paris*, *February* 8, 1635, for a perpetual Alliance. Since that time, there has hardly paſs'd a Year, till the Peace of *Munſter*, in which there was not ſome Treaty made between *France* and the United Provinces: As that of *March* 16, of the ſame Year, concerning the Word and the Order which ſhould be given in the Army; that of the *Hague*, on *September* 6, 1636, for the Supply of fifteen hundred thouſand Livres; that of the ſame Place, on *December* 17, 1637, for a Subſidy of twelve hundred thouſand Livres; and of *April* 26, 1639, at St. *Germains*, for Subſidies; that of *Paris*, on *February* 14, 1641, for Subſidies; that of the *Hague*, on *March* 8, 1642, for thirty Companies of Foot; that of *Paris*, on *March* 30, 1633, which was renew'd *May* 16, following; that of the *Hague*, of *February* 19, 1644, for Subſidies; that for a Guaranty, on *March* 1, of the ſame Year; that of the *Hague*, on *April* 20, 1645, for the Campaign; thoſe of *Paris*, on *April* 6, 1646, for Subſidies; that concerning the *Marine*, concluded at *Paris*, *April* 18, 1646, which ſerv'd for a Model for all the Treaties of that Nature, which have been made ſince that time; and, in fine, that for a Guaranty, on *July* 29, 1647.

The United Provinces having, at the beginning of the following Year, made a ſeparate Treaty with *Spain* at *Munſter*, on *January* 30, 1648, have had no great Commerce of Affairs with *France* ſince then; but on the contrary, a very great Difference, on the Account of the continual Depredations which the *French* Privateers committed in the *Mediterranean*, which gave Occaſion to Repriſals, and afterwards to a kind of Treaty, which was made at the *Hague* with *M. de Thou*, in the Year 1657. On *May* 20, 1659, another Treaty was concluded at the *Hague*, between the Miniſters of *France*, *England*, and the Deputies of the States, for the Affairs of the *North*, which was not executed at all on the part of *France*, and but very faintly on that of *England*; as well for other Conſiderations, as by Reaſon of the Change which happen'd in the Government after the Death of *Oliver Cromwell*. On *April* 27, 1662, another Alliance was concluded at *Paris*, between *France* and the United Provinces, by virtue of which the King aſſiſted them againſt *England*, and againſt the Biſhop of *Munſter*. During this War with *England*, another Treaty was concluded on *May* 5, 1667, which was particularly for the Junction of the Fleets; which however was not done, becauſe the *French* employ'd theirs on the Coaſt of *Portugal*.

In the heighth of the War in *Germany*, and almoſt at the ſame time that *France* had treated with the King of *Sweden*, it labour'd to unlink the Elector of *Bavaria* from the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and to this Effect the Treaty of *Munich* was concluded with him, on *May* 8, 1631. The King promis'd the *Bavarian* by this Treaty, to ſecure the Electoral Dignity to his Perſon and Houſe, and neither to aſſiſt with his Arms nor Money, thoſe who ſhould make War againſt him. There was in this Treaty ſomething very oppoſite to that which *France* had lately concluded with the King of *Sweden*, who conſidering the Duke of *Bavaria* as the Head of the *Catholick* League, and as him who had alone retriev'd the Emperor's Affairs, by the powerful Succours he had from time to time ſent him, was not at all ſatisfy'd therewith; no more than with that which *la Saludie* concluded at *Ehrenbreitſtein*, with *Philip*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Triers*, on *April* 9, 1632; becauſe this Treaty con-

tain'd amongſt other things, That the King of *France* ſhould employ his Forces, to drive out the *Swedes* that ſhould be found within the Archbiſhoprick. *France* made another particular Alliance with him at *Fontainbleau*, on *October* 12, 1661.

France, to ſtrengthen its Party in the Empire after the Death of King *Guſtavus Adolphus*, made on *April* 13, 1633, a Treaty at *Hailbron*, with the Princes and States of the four Circles of the Upper and Lower *Rhine*, of *Franconia* and *Suabia*. On *September* 17, 1634, was concluded another, which we have before made mention of, as well as of that which was tranſacted at *Paris* on *November* 1. following, for the Continuation of the War with the Empire. The Emperor on his Part concluded on *May* 30, 1635, the Treaty of *Prague* with the Elector of *Saxony*, who therein ſtipulated certain Conditions for himſelf, and for the other *Proteſtant* Princes who would come into the ſame. On *October* 21, 1636, a Treaty was concluded at *Weſel*, between the Marquiſs of St. *Chaumont*, Embaſſador of *France*, and *William*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; after another Treaty which had been made at *Minden*, *June* 12. preceding; but had not its Perfection for want of being ratify'd; as alſo by reaſon of ſome Conditions which had been agreed to at the *Hague*, *September* 13, of the ſame Year, for raiſing the Siege of *Ehrenbreiſten* or *Hermeſtein*. The Lantgrave promiſes therein to raiſe the Siege of that Fortreſs, and to maintain ſeven thouſand Foot and three thouſand Horſe, for the Service of the common Cauſe: and the King promiſes to remit to him every Year a Subſidy of two hundred thouſand Crowns. This Treaty was to laſt till there was a Peace. It was renew'd after the Death of this Prince, with *Amelia* of *Hanau*, his Widow, Regent of *Heſſe*, by a Treaty concluded at *Dorſten*, *October* 22, 1639, on the ſame Conditions with the preceding Treaty. On the 30th of the ſame Month the ſame Princeſs made a Treaty at *Munden* upon the *Werre*, with the Princes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenbourg*. Even from *October* 26, 1635, a Treaty had been concluded at St. *Germain en Laye*, between *Ponica*, Miniſter of *Bernard*, Duke of *Saxe Weimar*, and the King's Commiſſaries, for the raiſing and ſubſiſting of twelve thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe, in Conſideration of four millions of Livres *per An.* On *October* 17, 1637, the Duke made another Treaty at *Briſac* with the Directors of the Army of the Deceas'd, in the Month of *October*.

Next to the Duke of *Bavaria*, there was no Prince that ſhew'd more Zeal or more Affection for the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, than *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*. For which Reaſon the Emperor made preſſing Inſtances, while the Preliminaries were negotiating at *Hamburgh*, that Paſſports might be granted to the Deputies the Duke pretended to ſend to the Aſſembly, which was to meet about a general Peace; but *France* would never conſent thereto, by reaſon of the particular Treaties he had concluded with the King, without the Intervention of the Emperor, and of the King of *Spain*. And in fact, on *January* 6, 1632, the Duke of *Lorrain* had made the Treaty of *Vic*, by which he renounc'd all the Alliances, and all the Treaties, which he had made contrary to the Intentions and Intereſt of the King. But forasmuch as the Duke did not make good the ſame, but oblig'd the King to carry his Arms into *Lorrain*; the King would not reſtore the Places which had been conquer'd from him, till he put into his Hands the Towns of *Stenay*, *Jametz* and *Clermont*, which were to remain ſo for the Space of four Years, and ſerve as a Pledge for the Promiſe he made, never to depart from the Intereſt of his Majeſty. This Treaty was made at *Liverdun*, *June* 20, 1632. This ſame Treaty not being able to hinder the Duke from continuing his Correſpondence with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as well in *Spain* as in *Germany*, the King, to prevent the *Swedes*, (who threaten'd *Lorrain*) was forc'd to enter it again with a powerful Army in the Year 1633, and beſieg'd *Nancy*, compelling the Duke to receive a *French* Garriſon, by a Treaty which was concluded in the Camp before *Nancy*, *September* 6, of the ſame Year. Some private Articles were added thereto, which were agreed upon at *Charmes* the 20th of the ſame Month. The Duke of *Lorrain*, inſtead of executing theſe Treaties *bona fide*, flung himſelf openly into the Party of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and declar'd againſt *France*. He remain'd ſo till in the Year 1641, he came into *France*; whether becauſe he was really diſhearten'd by the continual Improſperity of the Emperor's Arms, and thoſe of the King of *Spain*, or that his Intention was to make better Terms for himſelf with them; and he there concluded the Treaty of *Paris*, on *March* 29, of the ſame Year 1641. By this Treaty he yielded up the Towns of *Stenay*, *Jamets*, *Clermont* and *Dun*, to be anner'd to the Crown of *France* for ever, together with their Appurtenances and Dependencies; and conſented that the King ſhould put a *French* Garriſon into *Nancy* till a Peace ſhould be concluded. But this Treaty was almoſt as ſoon violated as made, and the Duke return'd immediately to his firſt Maxims and true Inclinations. Even from *January* 19, 1634, he had yielded up the Dutchy of *Lorrain* to the Cardinal his Brother; but with the Deſign to reſerve ſtill the Sovereignty and Revenue thereof to himſelf. As in effect, treating with *France* in the Year 1641, he ſpeaks in the Quality of Duke and of Sovereign. Some Years after he was for renewing with her, and paſſing with his Troops into the King's Service; but the *Spaniards* prevented him, ſtopp'd him at *Bruſſels*, and ſent him a Priſoner to the Cittadel of *Antwerp*, from whence they convey'd him into *Spain*. He remain'd a Priſoner there till the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, in which he was compris'd; but in ſuch a Manner as oblig'd him to make a particular Treaty with *France*, which was concluded at *Paris* the laſt Day of *February*, 1661: And after that another, of *February* 6, 1662, by which he yields up *Lorrain* to *France*, on Condition that the Princes of his Houſe, ſhould be acknowledg'd for Princes of the Blood of *France*, after thoſe of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. This was the Work of *M. de Lionne*; but it was not what made him deſerve the Encomium *M. D. S. E.* gives him, as to the moſt accompliſh'd Politician of our Age.

He did not know him ſo well as others have done ſince the Year 1636. By the Treaty of *Metz*, which was concluded on the laſt of *Auguſt*, 1643, the King reinſtates the Duke in the Poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, in the Condition it was reſtor'd him by the Treaty of 1661, with an Exception of the Town of *Marſal*, for which there was a particular Covenant in this Treaty. The *French* accus'd the Duke of *Lorrain* of Duplicity, even after theſe two laſt Treaties; for which reaſon the King was for ſeizing him. But as he liv'd in a continual Diſtruſt, he took the Alarm from the firſt Advice he receiv'd of the Motion of the Troops of *France*, and made his Eſcape to die in Exile, much regretted by his Subjects, tho' his reſtleſs Humour and Imprudence had reduc'd them to the utmoſt Miſery.

Charles Emanuel, Duke of *Savoy*, not having receiv'd from the King of *Spain*, neither the Aſſiſtance nor the Protection he had promis'd himſelf from him, in the Difference he had with *Henry* IV. about the Marquiſate of *Saluzzo*, joyn'd in Intereſt with *France*; but the Death of *Henry*, and of the Duke of *Mantua*, oblig'd him to take other Meaſures. *France* aſſiſted him againſt the Republick of *Genoa*, as we ſaid before: and on *December* 14, 1616, ſhe mediated an Accommodation between the Duke, and the Duke of *Nemours*, who being of the ſame Houſe, had rais'd Troops in order to procure to himſelf a larger Appennage. The Duke of *Savoy* was not ſatisfy'd with the Treaty of *Monçon*; for which reaſon he created a thouſand Troubles to Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and croſs'd all the Deſigns of *France* on the ſide of *Italy*. The Treaty of *Suſa* was indeed concluded with him on *March* 11, 1629, and afterwards that of *Mireſleur*, on *October* 19, 1631, but they did not alter the Duke's Inclination, who hated the Cardinal full as much as he was hated by him, and oppos'd all his Intentions: Inſomuch that he ſuffer'd the Miniſters of *Spain* to accommodate the Difference of *Zuccarello* by the Treaty of *Madrid*, of *November* 27, without the Participation of *France*. On the other ſide *Spain* had no Share in the Treaty, which the Mareſchal *de Toiras* and *Servien* (who had negotiated that of *Queraſque*) concluded at *Turin* on *October* 19, 1631, for the *depoſitum* of *Pignerol* during ſix Months: and on *July* 5, 1632, with *Victor Amadeus* Duke of *Savoy*, for the Town and Cittadel of *Pignerol*. On *July* 11, 1635, a Treaty was made at *Rivolles*, for a League offenſive and defenſive, between *Lewis* XIII, and the ſame Duke; who dying ſometime after, this Alliance was renew'd with the Dutcheſs his Widow at *Turin*, *June* 13, 1638. She was Mother and Guardian to the young Duke; but the Guardianſhip and the Regency were diſputed with her, by the Cardinal of *Savoy* and the Prince of *Carignan*, Brothers to the late Duke; who took to Arms, and made War againſt her, till ſuch time as the Difference was adjuſted by the Mediation of *France*, which procur'd the Treaty of *Turin* on *June* 14, 1642. There had been a Treaty concluded there with Prince *Thomas* of *Carignan*, on *December* 6, 1640. But he went from it, and did not execute it.

The States of the United Provinces, before they intermeddl'd in the War of *Germany* with the King of *Sweden*, had made a Treaty with him at the *Hague*, on *April* 5, and *December* 11, 1614, which was follow'd by another Treaty of *December* 11, 1616, by which the King oblig'd himſelf to furniſh a certain Quantity of Copper; and this again was follow'd by a third Treaty on *November* 26, 1618, for the Loan of the Sum of ſeven hundred fifty ſix thouſand, five hundred and four Livres, thirteen Sols. After the King of *Denmark* had loſt the Battel of *Lutern*, and had concluded the Treaty of *Lubeck*, of which we have before made mention, ſeveral Princes and States treated with *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*. The States of the United Provinces were among the firſt, and concluded the Treaty of..... Some Years after the Death of the King, they renew'd this Treaty with Queen *Chriſtina*, Daughter of the late King, and with thoſe who had the Management of the Affairs of the Kingdom, on *September* 1, 1640, at *Stockholm*. This Treaty was follow'd by a Treaty of Guaranty, which was concluded at *Suderocra*, *Auguſt* 15, 1645. On *September* 11, 1656, was concluded with *Charles Guſtavus*, Succeſſor to *Chriſtina*, the Treaty of *Elbing*; which the States of the United Provinces refus'd to ratify, unleſs ſome Articles were explain'd, which was adjuſted at *Elſenore*, *December* 29, 1659. The King of *Sweden* conform'd thereto, becauſe as he had procur'd himſelf but too many Enemies, he was oblig'd to yield to Neceſſity. Some Years after his Demiſe, to wit, in the Year 1665, a Treaty was made at the *Hague*, which regulated the Differences which the *Weſt-India* Company of *Holland* had with the *African* Company of *Sweden*, and the Commerce of the *Guinea* Coaſt. On *July* 16, 1667, a preliminary Treaty was concluded; and the 18th of the ſame Month a Treaty for the Renovation of Friendſhip. Towards the End of the ſame Year, Count *Chriſtopher de Dona*, who had been concern'd as Mediator in the Peace of *Breda*, caus'd alſo the Treaty of *Elbing* to be redreſs'd, ſome Articles whereof had been alter'd, contrary to the Intention of the King of *Sweden*. On *January* 23, 1668, was concluded with the ſame Count, the Treaty for a Peace between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. On *April* 25, 1668, was concluded at *London* the *Treaty for a triple Alliance*, of which the King of *England* had caus'd a Propoſition to be made at the *Hague* towards the End of the foregoing Year; but it had no effect. On the contrary, *England* attack'd the United Provinces directly, and *Sweden* endeavour'd to divert their Forces, by attacking their Allies. On *November* 16, 1675, *a Treaty of Commerce was concluded at* Stockholm with the aforeſaid Provinces.

It was during the War in *Germany*, that the Rupture happen'd between *France* and *England*. The Marriage of the King of *Great Britain*, inſtead of promoting a good Underſtanding between the two Crowns, caus'd ſuch an Alteration in their Friendſhip, that the two Kings came to a Rupture upon it. Their Confidence had not been very great, each in the other, ſince the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Treaties which had been made between them did not reach farther than Decency; as the Treaty which was made with King *James* in the Year 1603, ſoon after his Acceſſion to the

Crown

Crown of *England*. That which was made at *Fontainbleau* on *April* 14, 1633, was only a ſimple Treaty of Commerce; and the Treaty of *Paris* of *November* 20, confirm'd by King *Charles*, *May* 21, 1625, referr'd only to his Marriage. Their good Underſtanding was ſoon at an End, by the Deſcent the *Engliſh* made in the Iſland of *Ré*; and by the Protection they promis'd ſince to the *Rochellers*, by the Treaty of *January* 28, 1628. But their Arms having been unfortunate; and the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was in part the Cauſe of the bad Underſtanding between the two Kings, being kill'd; it was no very hard Matter to cement their Friendſhip, and diſpoſe them to a Peace: the Treaty whereof was concluded at *Suſa* on *April* 24, 1629. On *March* 29, 1632, a Treaty of Commerce was made at St. *Germain* between *France* and *England*. Since that time this Kingdom was ſo harraſs'd by Civil Wars, that the King had hardly any farther Commerce with foreign Powers. After his Death, a kind of Republick or rather Anarchy was form'd, of which *Oliver Cromwell* was the Head, under the Quality of Protector.

It was with him that the United Provinces engag'd in a War in the Year 1652, and afterwards made a Peace at *London*, *April* 5, 1654. On *April* 11, of the ſame Year, a Treaty was concluded at *Upſale*, between *Chriſtina* of *Sweden* and the ſame Protector, who ſuffer'd a Treaty to be made between him and the King of *Portugal*, on *July* 10. of the ſame Year. The King of *Denmark* treated with him at *Weſtminſter*, *September* 15. of the ſame Year 1654. *France* came in but late, and concluded its Treaty at *London* but on *November* 3, 1655, and ſhe found her Account therein: it being certain that it is to this Treaty chiefly, that ſhe is oblig'd for the Conqueſts ſhe has ſince made in *Flanders*. On *February* 6, 1659, another Treaty was made at the *Hague*, for adjuſting the Differences between the *Eaſt-India* Companies of both Nations; and on the 27th the Sum was fix'd which the *Hollanders* ſhould give to the *Engliſh*, after a Treaty which had been made the 3d of the ſame Month for the Affairs of the *North*.

Immediately after the Reſtoration of the preſent King, all the Princes of *Chriſtendom* courted his Friendſhip, and almoſt all of them treated with him. There had been no Interruption of Friendſhip between the Kings of *France* and *England*; for which Reaſon they were contented to make a ſimple Treaty of Commerce, which was concluded at *Fontainbleau*, *October* 15, 1661. The King of *Great Britain*, at his embarking in *Holland* in order to go to *England*, made ſuch mighty Proteſtations of an everlaſting Acknowledgment for the Affection the States expreſs'd to him in his Paſſage through their Countrey, that they thought themſelves oblig'd to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy after him; which was however above two Years a negotiating a Treaty of ſimple Friendſhip: or to ſpeak more properly, of mere Indifferency, which was not ſign'd at *London* till *September* 14, 1662. As it is eaſy to paſs from Coolneſs and Indifferency to an overt Enmity, the two Nations engag'd in a very cruel War: the End whereof not proving ſo ſucceſsful as the Beginning ſeem'd to promiſe, the King of *England* conſented at laſt, that a Peace ſhould be concluded at *Breda*, *July* 31, 1667, as well with the United Provinces, as with the Kings of *France* and of *Denmark*, their Allies; who made there particular Treaties of the ſame Date.

Before we ſpeak of the Invaſion the Arms of *France* made the ſame Year into *Flanders*, which will lead us to the Peace which was lately concluded at *Nimeguen*, and which ſhall alſo put an end to this Chapter, we muſt ſay a word or two concerning the War of *Caſtro*; which arm'd a good part of the Potentates of *Italy* againſt the *Barberins*, towards the end of the Pontificate of *Urban* VIII. The Republick of *Venice* enter'd into it with Reluctancy, and the ſame may be ſaid of the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and of the Duke of *Modena*, who got out of the ſame with Joy, by the Treaty which was made at *Ferrara*, *March* 31, 1644. The Invaſion *Charles Guſtavus* King of *Sweden* made into *Poland* in the Year 1655, was the Cauſe of a great Revolution in the Affairs of the World. Before that time in *May* 1653, a Treaty had been made at *Stettin* for the Partition of *Pomerania*, between the King of *Sweden* and the Elector of *Brandenburg*; and after this Rupture the King had oblig'd the Elector to come into his Intereſts; firſt by the Treaty which theſe two Princes made at *Coningsberg* on *January* 17, 1556, which was follow'd by another Treaty, concluded at *Marienburg June* 15, 1656, with ſeparate Articles of the ſame Month. *November* 20. and 23. following the King and the Elector made another Treaty at *Libau* in *Pruſſia*: But the *Swediſh* Conqueſts becoming inconvenient to the Elector, this laſt reconcil'd himſelf with *Poland* by the Treaty which was concluded at *Welau*, *September* 19, 1657; and ſince again by another made at *Baſtgotz* on *November* 6, 1659, where the Elector ſtipulated pretty conſiderable Advantages. The King of *Denmark* having broke with that of *Sweden*, while the Arms of the laſt were employ'd elſewhere; he made an Alliance with *Poland*, by a Treaty which was concluded at *Copenhagen*, *July* 28, 1657, and after that another at *Cologn* on the *Spree*, *January* 17, 1658, between the ſame King of *Denmark* and the Elector; by virtue whereof the Arms of *Brandenburg* being advanc'd into *Holſtein*, a Treaty of Neutrality was concluded on *November* 25, 1658. at *Flensburg*, between the Elector and the Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*. Some Time before, the King of *Poland* had made a Treaty at *Vienna* with the King of *Hungary* on *May* 27, 1657, for the Aſſiſtance this laſt ſhould furniſh againſt *Sweden*; and on *February* 14. of the following Year, the Elector of *Brandenburg* made a Treaty with the ſame King of *Hungary* to the ſame effect. Nevertheleſs the victorious Arms of the King of *Sweden* oblig'd the King of *Denmark* to conclude two Treaties with him, one at *Toſtrup* on the 18th, and the other at *Roſchild*, *February* 26, 1658. But theſe two Treaties being violated almoſt as ſoon as they were made, Hoſtilities began afreſh on both ſides, and ended but with the Life of the King of *Sweden*. For it was not till after his Death that the Treaty of *Oliva* was concluded, *May* 3, 1660, which gave Peace to *Poland*: as the Treaty of *Copenhagen*, which was concluded *June* 6, of the ſame Year, procur'd it to *Denmark*.

France

France, *England* and the United Provinces concern'd themſelves very much in all thoſe Treaties. The firſt, ſeeing the *Muſcovite* attack'd the King of *Sweden* in *Livonia*, and that the two Kings of *Hungary* and of *Poland*, with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, diverted his Arms in *Pomerania*, while he had occaſion for them in *Denmark*; fear'd leſt he ſhould be ſtrip'd of his Conqueſts in *Germany*. The *Engliſh* were for having it believ'd, that the Intereſt of the Proteſtant Religion oblig'd them to labour at the Reconciliation of the two Northern Kings: tho' it was not out of that Motive that they made a Treaty with *France* in relation to thoſe Affairs at *Weſtminſter*, *February* 3, 1659. The United Provinces, which had therein a truer and more ſenſible Intereſt, *viz.* that of their Commerce, and of juſt Apprehenſion of ſeeing the two Powers of thoſe Parts reunited in the Perſon of a ſingle Prince, concluded on *May* 21, of the ſame Year 1659, a Treaty at the *Hague* with the Miniſters of *France* and *England*: and afterwards thoſe of *Auguſt* 4, and of *September* 12. following, in order to put an end to that War. Hiſtory will give an account how thoſe Treaties were executed, as well as that which was made at *London*, *July* 29, of the ſame Year.

The United Provinces were not only extremely incommoded in their Commerce, but they were alſo oblig'd to oppoſe the prevailing Power of *Sweden*; as well out of Intereſt, as on the account of ſeveral Treaties which they had with the Crown of *Denmark*. Amongſt the moſt remarkable which have been made ſince the Beginning of this Century are, the Treaty which was made at the *Hague* on *May* 14, 1621: That of *October* 6, 1625, for a Supply of three thouſand Men: That of *May* 13, 1645, for the Duties that are paid in the *Sound*: That of *Chriſtianople* of *Auguſt* 13, of the ſame Year 1645, for the Duties that are rais'd in *Norway*; at the *Hague* of *February* 12, 1646: That of the *Hague* of *February* 12, 1647, concerning the Duties which are paid in *Norway*. The Treaty of Alliance made at the *Hague*, *October* 9, of the ſame Year 1647; and another of the ſame Date for the Redemption or Forfeiture of the Toll Duties in the *Sound*: That of *Copenhagen* of *February* 18, 1649, and another of *September* 26, of the ſame Year, made at the *Hague* for the Suppreſſion of the Treaty of *October* 9, 1649; with a Treaty for a defenſive Alliance of the ſame Date, concerning the Forfeiture of the Duty in the *Sound*. Another of *February* 8, for an Alliance, and of *September* 27, 1653, for for the ſame Toll. Another concluded at *Copenhagen*, *Auguſt* 16, 1656, againſt *Sweden*, with its Enlargement, of *July* 17, 1657. Another relating to the Gaging of Ships, of *April* 15, 1658. The Alliance made at the *Hague* between the King of *Denmark* and the United Provinces, on *February* 11, 1666, with the ſeparate Articles, relating to the *Weſt India* Company, and the Aſſiſtance of eight Men of War. Another Treaty concerning the Duties which are rais'd on Timber in *Norway*. A Treaty of Guaranty between *France*, *Denmark*, and the United Provinces. On *October* 25, 1666, the Quadruple Alliance was concluded at the *Hague* between the King of *Denmark*, the United Provinces, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, *Zell* and *Oſnaburg*. And finally, on *July* 10, 1674, the Treaty for ſuccouring the United Provinces was concluded at *Copenhagen*.

The two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* have been almoſt in continual Wars, which have furniſh'd occaſion for ſeveral Treaties, of which ſome have been taken notice of before. There was one made in the Year 1613. The *Swedes* fearing leſt King *Chriſtian* IV. ſhould declare againſt them, or ſhould form a third Party in the Year 1644, when the War in *Germany* was at its height, were for preventing him; and compell'd him to accept the hard Conditions they impos'd upon him, by the *Treaty which was concluded at* Bremſebro, *Auguſt* 13, 1645. This Treaty was follow'd by another, which was made at *Copenhagen*, *November* 5, of the ſame Year, with *M. de la Tuillerie*, Embaſſador of *France*. On *March* 19, 1641, the ſame King made a *Treaty of Commerce* with *Spain*. The Difference the King of *Denmark* has with the City of *Hamburgh*, which he pretends is a Dependance of the Dutchy of *Holſtein*, has alſo caus'd ſome Treaties; whereof that which he made at *Sternburg*, *July* 18, 1621, is the moſt conſiderable, after that he had made with the *Hanſeatick* Towns at *Odenzee* in the Year 1616. Both the one and the other are founded on the Treaty which was concluded at *Copenhagen* with the *Vandalick* Towns, on the Eve of St. *Bartholomew*, 1441, and on that which was made at *Odenzee*, *July* 20, 1560. The Treaty which the Archbiſhop of *Breme*, Son to *Chriſtian* IV, made at *Stade* on *October* 1639, is of the ſame Nature. In the Year 1660, immediately after the Reſtoration of the preſent King, a Treaty was made between the Kings of *England* and *Denmark*, and another at *Breda*, *July* 31, 1667. Beſides the Treaties which the Affairs of *Germany* caus'd *Sweden* to make with *France* and the United Provinces, and whereof we have before made mention, ſhe concluded a Treaty with *England* in *Cromwell*'s time: And ſince, between the two preſent Kings, firſt at *London*, on *October* 23, 1661, and another at the ſame Place on *April* 11, 1664, and afterwards a third on *February* 16, 1666; and in fine that of the triple Alliance, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere. One between *Sweden* and *Poland* for a *Truce of ſix Years* in the Month of *June* 1629, which being expir'd in the Year 1635, another Treaty was made for a Truce of many Years, which was concluded at *Stumpſdorf* on *September* 12, 1635, and was to laſt till *July* 11, 1661. It was not yet expir'd when in the Year 1656, *Charles Guſtavus* enter'd into *Poland*, as has been ſaid; which gave occaſion to the Treaty of *Oliva*. On *February* 18, 1630, a Treaty was concluded at *Dirſhau* between *Sweden* and the Town of *Dantzick*. And foraſmuch as by the Peace of *Weſtphalia* the Principality of *Breme* remain'd to the *Swedes*, who thereupon form'd Pretenſions over the Capital thereof; this, relying on its Privileges, oppos'd the *Swediſh* Arms; ſo that at laſt both Parties came to a Treaty, which was concluded at *Habenhauſen* on *November* 28, 1654. But freſh Differences ariſing between the Crown of *Sweden* and the ſame Town, it was neceſſary to proceed to another Treaty, which was finiſh'd at *Stade*, *Novem-*

ber 25, 1666. On *July* 6, of the ſame Year a Treaty had been made at *Hall*, between *Sweden* and the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*.

The United Provinces have made a great many Treaties with their Neighbours, eſpecially ſince the King of *Spain* has renounc'd his pretended Sovereignty over them, by the Treaty which was concluded at *Munſter*, *January* 30, 1648. They had long before, to wit, on *June* 26, 1608, made a Treaty of Alliance with *England*, and on *September* 17, of the ſame Year, for the Sum which Queen *Elizabeth* had lent them. On *May* 21, 1616, the Treaty of *Greenwich* for the Reſtitution of *Fluſhing*, &c. and thoſe of *London*, of *June* 5, 1624, and of the *Hague*, of *Auguſt* 5, 1625. Since the Peace of *Munſter* the King of *Spain* himſelf has treated with them as with Sovereigns: as in the *Treaty of Commerce, and Matters relating to the Sea*, which was made at the *Hague*, *December* 17, 1650. *The Treaty for the Proviſional Partition of the Countries on the other ſide the* Meuſe, on *March* 27, 1658, and *concerning the Eſtate of the* Carthuſians of *Auguſt* 28, of the ſame Year. On *December* 26, 1661, was at laſt concluded *the Partition of the Countries beyond the* Meuſe, and on *September* 20, 1664, the Treaty was made which ſettl'd the Limits of the County of *Flanders*. On *April* 29, 1665, a Treaty was made for the Suppreſſion of the Bipartite Court of Juſtice, whoſe Judges were half Roman Catholicks, and half Proteſtants. On *April* 9, 1668, that for the Loan of two Millions, but it was neither ratify'd nor executed. On *Auguſt* 30, 1673, was concluded at the *Hague* a Treaty of Alliance againſt *France* for five and twenty Years; and on *October* 16, 1675, one was made with *Spain*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*. The Irruption the *French* made into *Flanders* in the Year 1667, and the War they made in the Year 1672, againſt the United Provinces, occaſion'd theſe three laſt Treaties, as well as ſeveral others, which we have taken notice of above. The Treaties which were made with the Admirant of *Arragon* in the Year 1603, and with *Spinola* at *Calmthout* on *October* 18, 1622, relate only to the Quarters of the Priſoners of War.

Since the Peace of *Vervins* there had been no Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, for the Intereſt of the two Crowns directly, till on *November* 7, 1659, was concluded that of the *Pyrenees* in the Iſland of *Pheaſants*; and the Treaty which was agreed to by the Miniſters of *England* and *Holland* at *St. Germain en Laye* on *April* 25, 1668, and afterwards ſign'd and concluded at *Aix la Chapelle* on *May* 2, of the ſame Year. This laſt Treaty ſubſiſted only till the Year 1673; and the Rupture laſted till the Peace, which was concluded at *Nimeguen*, *September* 17, 1678. I have above made mention of a little Treaty which was concluded at *Madrid* in the Year 1614, and of ſome other Treaties which related to the Affairs of *Mantua* and of the *Valteline*.

There were great Diſcontents between the two Crowns, even before they broke out in the Year 1635. They have not fail'd of improving the Occaſions whereby either of them could create Troubles to the other. The Duke of *Rohan* caus'd a Treaty to be made with the Court of *Madrid*, *May* 3, 1629. The Marquiſs *d'Aytone*, who commanded the Arms of the King of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*, made a Treaty with the Duke of *Orleans* on *May* 12, 1632. On *March* 13, 1642, *Fontrailles* negotiated a Treaty at *Madrid* for the ſame Duke of *Orleans*, and the Count *de Soiſſons*; and in the Beginning of the Year 1643, another for the Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, *Cinq Mars*, &c. *France* return'd the Kindneſs when it had an Opportunity; as for Inſtance, When ſhe took the *Catalans* into her Protection, by the Treaty which was made at *Paris*, *September* 18, 1641: It is true that at that time ſhe was at War with *Spain*, and that ſhe was going to enter into the ſame when ſhe concluded the Treaty of *Lisbon* on *March* 31, 1667, for an Alliance with the King of *Portugal*. That Treaty, and the Invaſion the Arms of *France* made in *Flanders* in the Year 1667, were the Cauſe of that which was concluded at *Madrid* on *January* 5, of the following Year 1668, between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The ſaid Rupture between *France* and *Spain* gave occaſion to the triple Alliance, which was concluded at the *Hague*, *January* 23, 1668, between *England*, *Sweden*, and the United Provinces. On the ſame Day, and at the ſame Place, was made a *Treaty of Defenſive Alliance* between *England* and the United Provinces, to which was join'd a *Treaty of Commerce and Marine*, *February* 17. It ſeem'd as if the Treaty of *Breda*, and theſe fine and great Alliances, which were concluded but on the Overtures the *Engliſh* made thereof, were only intended to render the United Provinces irreconcileable with *France*; ſince even in the Year 1671, or at the beginning of the Year 1672, the King of *England* made a League with it for the Conqueſt of thoſe Provinces, againſt whom he made War, without any previous Declaration. However perceiving ſoon that his Subjects grew weary of a War that incommoded their Commerce, while *France* alone gain'd by his Conqueſts; he at laſt yielded to the Sentiments of the Parliament, and ſuffer'd the King of *Spain* to mediate a Treaty, which was concluded at *London*, *February* 15, 1674.

Among the Princes of *Germany* there was only the Elector of *Cologn* and the Biſhop of *Munſter* that ſided with *France*. The firſt had a Difference with the States about the Town of *Rhineberg*; but what animated him moſt againſt them, were the intereſted Counſels of the two Biſhops of *Straſburg* and *Metz* of the Houſe of *Furſtemberg*. But as ſoon as the Emperor had concluded his Treaty with the States at *Cologn*, on *April* 22, 1674, for the Junction of their Arms againſt *France*, the Elector concluded alſo his Treaty with them, on *May* 11, in the ſame Year 1674.

The Biſhop of *Munſter* had ſoon after his Election a Difference with the capital City of his Dioceſe, wherein the States General engag'd themſelves ſo far in behalf of the City, that the Biſhop never forgave them. He reduc'd the City in ſome meaſure after a Treaty which was concluded at *Schonvelt* on *February* 25, 1655, and made himſelf quite Maſter thereof, by the Treaty which was made at *Geiſten*, *October* 24, 1657. The ſame States intereſted themſelves alſo for the Prince of *Oſtfriſe* againſt the ſaid Biſhop, who had proceeded

to an Execution againſt the ſame Prince for a Sum of Money which he ow'd to the Prince of *Ligtenſtein*. This Difference was accommodated, but notwithſtanding the Accommodation, he engag'd in a League with the King of *England*, to cauſe a Diverſion to the *Hollanders*. The Alliance theſe made with the Dukes of *Luneburg*, and afterwards with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, oblig'd him to make the Treaty which was concluded at *Cleves*, *April* 18, 1666, into which the Dukes of *Luneburg*, *Zell* and of *Oſnaburg* enter'd. Theſe Princes had from *September* 9, 1665, made a Treaty at the *Hague*, with the United Provinces, by which they promis'd to raiſe and ſubſiſt four thouſand Horſe, and eight thouſand Foot. They enter'd afterwards into the quadruple Alliance, which was concluded at the *Hague*, *October* 25, 1666; and on *March* 16, 1668, they again made a particular Treaty with the United Provinces. On *Auguſt* 22, 1667, was concluded a Treaty of Alliance at *Brunſwick*, between the Electors of *Cologn* and *Brandenburg*, the Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Luneburg*, *Zell* and *Wolfenbuttel*, and the Lantgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*. After the Rupture in the Year 1672, ſeveral Treaties were made, whereof the firſt was concluded at *Berlin* on *May* 6, with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, for the raiſing and ſubſiſting of twelve thouſand Foot and eight thouſand Horſe. On *September* 22, of the ſame Year 1672, a Treaty of Alliance defenſive was concluded at *Brunſwick*, between the Emperor, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Luneburg*, and the Lantgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*; after a Treaty which had been made at the ſame Place, *Auguſt* 22, 1667, between the Princes and States of the Circle of *Lower Saxony*. But theſe two Treaties were, if not deſtroy'd, at leaſt very much invalidated, by that which the Elector made with *France* at the Camp at *Voſten* on *April* 23, 1673. On *Auguſt* 30, of the ſame Year a Treaty was made at the *Hague*, between the King of *Spain* and the United Provinces: as alſo a third between thoſe three Allies and the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Elector engag'd himſelf again ſince with the States, in a Treaty which was concluded at *Berlin*, on *July* 1, 1674. The Elector of *Cologn* reconcil'd himſelf with the Emperor, and with the States of the United Provinces by the Treaty of *Cologn* of *May* 11, 1674. The Biſhop of *Munſter* had alſo made his Accommodation, and the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Luneburg*, *Zell* and *Wolfenbuttel* had likewiſe treated with them. On *March* 9, 1675, was concluded at *Munich* a Treaty of Alliance for three Years, between the Crown of *Sweden* and the Elector of *Bavaria*, and on *September* 18. of the ſame Year, a Treaty of Neutrality was concluded between the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*; they engaging for the Emperor, with *John Fredrick* Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Luneburg*.

What chiefly caus'd the Elector of *Brandenburg* to make a freſh Engagement with the States of the United Provinces, was the Treaty which had been made at *London* the 29th of *February* preceding, 1675, between the two *Eaſt-Indian* Companies of *England* and *Holland*. The Elector had contracted a particular Intimacy with the King of *England*, during the Stay this laſt made in *Germany* and *Flanders*, under the Tyranny of *Cromwell*: So that after the King's Reſtoration, a Treaty of Alliance was concluded between them at *London*, *July* 20, 1661. It was by the Mediation of his Miniſters, that in the ſaid City of *London* a Treaty was concluded on *May* 17. preceding, in the Name of the Princeſs *Dowager* of *Orange*, for the Guardianſhip of the Prince her Grandſon.

Altho' the Prince of *Orange* be not of the Number of thoſe Sovereigns that at this time contend in War; nevertheleſs the Merit of ſome of his Predeceſſors, and the Poſt this holds in moſt of the United Provinces, obliges me touch upon ſome Treaties which have been made for his particular Intereſt: as for Inſtance, that which was concluded at *Ruel* with Cardinal *de Richelieu*, *November* 24, 1639. *January* 8, 1647, a Treaty was made at *Munſter* between the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain* and thoſe of the Prince of *Orange*, which was confirm'd after the Death of Prince *Frederick Henry*, *December* 17, of the ſame Year: but it was new model'd by the Treaty which was concluded at the *Hague* on *October* 12, 1651, with the Guardians of the young Prince. On *February* 15, 1659, a Treaty was made at *Coeſfelt*, between the Biſhop of *Munſter* and the Guardians of the Prince for the Eſtate of *Bevergarden*.

We may reckon amongſt theſe particular Treaties, that which was made on *December* 4, 1616, between the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Nemours*. This laſt pretended to a larger Portion, and had made ſome Levies with *Spaniſh* Money; but *France* intereeded, and reconcil'd theſe two Princes. It was in the ſame Year that the Count *de Bueil*, a Nobleman of *Savoy*, put himſelf under the Protection of the Crown of *France*. But this was not properly a Treaty, no more than the Agreement which the ſaid Count made ſince with the Governor of *Milan*, to put himſelf into the Protection of the King of *Spain*. On *July* 8, 1641, a Treaty was made at *Perone*, for *Monaco*. On *Auguſt* 31, 1643, a Treaty of Alliance was made at *Venice* between the Republick, the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Duke of *Modena*, againſt the *Barberins*. Their Difference was made up by the Treaty, which was ſign'd as I ſaid above, at *Ferrara*, on *March* 31, 1644, by the Cardinals *Donghi* and *Bichy*, Plenipotentiaries from the Pope and the King of *France*, and by the Allies at *Venice* the ſame Day. The Treaty of defenſive Alliance, which was made at *Cologn* on *December* 25, 1651, between ſome Princes of *Germany*, is of the ſame Nature; as alſo that which the Eſtates of *Clever* made amongſt themſelves at *Mehr*, *July* 24, 1646. Here we may add the Treaties which were made between the two *Eaſt-Indian* Companies of *England* and *Holland* at *London*, *June* 2, and *July* 17, 1619; as alſo that of the *Hague* of *February* 6, 1659; together with that which was made with the Deputies of *St. Malo* at the *Hague*, *October* 20, 1629. The Treaty made at *Avignon*, *March* 20, 1660, with the Count *de Duna*, for the Principality of *Orange*: That which the two Provinces of *Holland* and *Zeland* concluded at the *Hague* on *September* 21, 1662, for their Court

of

of Juſtice, and the Office of Captain General. On *July* 21, 1668, another Treaty was made at the *Hague*, between the Deputies of *South-Holland* and thoſe of *North-Holland*, for their Quota towards the Contributions of the Province, which could not be regulated ſince the Union. The United Provinces made alſo a particular Treaty with the Elector of *Cologn* at the *Hague*, on *February* 14, 1667; and another of *December* 22, of the ſame Year, for the Town of *Rhineberg*. I muſt hereunto add, the Treaty which the States of *Pruſſia* made with the Elector of *Brandenburg* at *Marienbourg*, on *November* 12, 1651; and that which was made at *Paris*, *December* 16, 1660, between the King of *France* and the Arch-Duke of *Inſpruck*, for *Alſace*; which properly ſpeaking, only facilitated the Execution of one of the Articles of the Treaty of *Weſtphalia*. The Treaty of *Piſa*, which was concluded *February* 12, 1664, between the Pope and the King of *France*, is ſingular and very conſiderable in all its Points; but it may be ſaid, to be an Inſtrument out of the way, becauſe it has nothing common with the general Affairs; no more than the Treaty which was made at *Tillemont* between *Maximilian Henry*, Elector and Archbiſhop of *Cologne*; and the Arch-Duke *Leopold William*, Governor of the *Low Countries*, for the Quarters of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Troops; which was concluded on *March* 17, 1654. And in *December* the ſame Year one was made at *Cologn* on the ſame account, between the Electors and the Princes of the *Rhine*.

The United Provinces were the firſt that acknowledg'd the Duke of *Braganza* after his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Portugal*, and concluded with him on *June* 13, 1641, the Treaty of the *Hague*, as well for the Good of both States, as for that of the *Eaſt India* Company. This Treaty, as well as all the others, which the States have made with the King of *Portugal*, were concluded at the *Hague*; as was alſo that of *March* 27, 1645, for Fort *Galle* in the Iſland of *Ceylon*, and the Treaty of Peace which was concluded on *Auguſt* 16, 1661.

The ſaid United Provinces were concern'd as Guarantees in the Treaties and Agreements which have been made from time to time between the Counts and Princes of *Oſtfriſe* on the one part, and the States of the ſame Province on the other. There are ſo many of them, that whole Volumes might be made thereof; and the Information I might give of them, or the Enumeration I might make of the ſame, would be uſeful only to thoſe who are employ'd in thoſe Affairs, and delight in Conteſts and Cavils. It is ſufficient to obſerve in general, that the Treaty of *January* 2, 1624, made Count *Manſfelt*'s Army leave thoſe Quarters. And foraſmuch as ſome Years after, the Lantgrave of *Heſſe* had quarter'd his there, it was requiſite to treat again with him, as had been done at *Lieroort*, *September* 23, 1637.

The Treaties which the States have made with the Hanſe Towns in general, or with ſome of them in particular, have procur'd no Advantage at all to the United Provinces. In the Month of *May*, 1613, they made one at the *Hague* with the Town of *Lubeck*. In *December*, 1615, they made one with the Hanſe Towns, likewiſe at the *Hague*. On *Auguſt* 4, 1645, they made one with the Towns of *Breme* and *Hamburgh*; and on *November* 14, 1641, one with the Towns of *Lubeck*, *Breme* and *Hamburgh*, both at the *Hague*. On *July* 10, 1656, a Treaty was made at the *Hague* with the Town of *Dantzick*, occaſion'd by the War the King of *Sweden* was making in *Poland*. To which I ſhall add, that the ſame Hanſe Towns, that is to ſay, *Lubeck*, *Breme* and *Hamburgh* obtain'd on *May* 10, 1655, the Confirmation of their Privileges, from the moſt Chriſtian King, for thirteen Years, to which they give the Name of Treaty. It was founded on a Privilege King *Lewis* XI. had granted them at *Amboiſe* in the Month of *September*, 1483, and confirm'd by King *Henry* IV. at *Fontainbleau*, *December* 2, 1604. Theſe three Towns had made a particular Alliance on *November* 24, 1614. One might compoſe a Volume of the Treaties which the *Swiſs Cantons* have made, either among themſelves or with their Neighbours; and particularly with *France* and *Spain*. With this laſt for the Defence of the Dutchy of *Milan*; as alſo with the Houſe of *Auſtria* for the Foreſt Towns; with the *Griſons*, &c. which have very little or no relation to general Affairs, if we except thoſe which have been made for the *Valteline*, which we have touch'd upon above.

Many Princes and Chriſtian States have made Treaties, as well with the Port as with the Pirates of *Africa*. On *July* 17, 1662, the King of *England* caus'd a Treaty to be made with the *Algerines*: On *October* 5. following, another with thoſe of *Tunis*; and finally a third on the 18th of the ſame Month, and one with thoſe of *Tripoli*. On *April* 2, 1666, a Treaty was made at *Tangier* with *Cid Hamet Hader Gailant*. On *December* 24, 1610, a Treaty was made at the *Hague* with the King of *Morocco*. In the beginning of *June* 1612, a Treaty was concluded at *Conſtantinople* with the Grand Seignior. In the Month of *May* 1617, and in *June* 1629, the States treated with thoſe of *Algiers*, as alſo on *January* 30, 1626. On *February* 7, 1631, a Treaty was made at the *Hague* with the King of *Perſia*. On *February* 9, 1651, a Treaty was made in the Ship *Leevarden*, with the Town of *Sally*, in the Road of the ſaid Town; and another Treaty at the *Hague*, *March* 25, 1657, with the Deputies of *Sally*; and an Explanation of the ſame Treaty on *October* 22, 1659. On *March* 26, 1662, one was made with thoſe of *Algiers*; and *November* 2, of the ſame Year, another with thoſe of *Tunis*. In the Year 1674, the *Algerines* made an Overture for a new Treaty with the United Provinces, but after great Negotiations they could come to no Concluſion, but concerning the Redemption of Slaves: of which a Treaty was made in the Year 1677, and ratify'd by the States *September* 25, of the ſame Year.

The moſt conſiderable Treaties *Poland* has made in our Time with the *Turks*, are, firſt that which *Staniſlaus Zolskiewsky* made in the Year 1617, with *Skinder Bacha* near the Town of *Buſſa*. He had neither Orders nor Power to treat with the *Turks*, and much leſs to yield to them ſo conſiderable a Province as is that of *Moldavia*, which cover'd *Poland* againſt the Incurſions of the *Tartars*. The other Treaty is that which was made *October* 9, 1621, near *Chocim*, and is beyond Compariſon more honourable

nourable than the firſt; but the *Turks* nevertheleſs preſerv'd therein the Advantages which the other Treaty had procur'd them. On *October* 18, 1672, was made in the open Field the laſt Treaty between the Grand Seigneur and the King of *Poland*.

In the Year 1640. was concluded a Treaty between *France* and *Poland*; but it ſpeaks only of the Liberty of Prince *Caſimir*, Brother to the King of *Poland*; and on *July* 13, 1656, a Treaty was made at the *Hague*, between the King of *Poland* and the United Provinces, but it had no Conſequence.

CHAP. XV.

Of Ratifications.

PReſident *Jeannin*, Embaſſador Extraordinary from *France* in *Holland*, for the Negotiation of the Truce of twelve Years, writing to *M. de Villeroy* on *September* 6, 1608, ſays ſomething very remarkable on the Subject of Ratifications. He there takes notice, that he had repreſented to Preſident *Richardot*, Embaſſador from the Arch-Dukes, That his Maſter having a good and ſufficient Procuration from the King of *Spain*, had no need of freſh Powers, to grant to the States of the United Provinces the Declaration they demanded concerning the Liberty of their Republick: That altho' there might poſſibly be ſomething contrary thereto in his Inſtructions, it was very likely, that if the Arch-Dukes could reſolve to take that Counſel, the King of *Spain* would rather chuſe to wink at it, and even to ratify the ſame, than to conſent expreſſly thereto before the thing was done: *That admitting the States ſhould have only this Treaty, without the King of* Spain's *Ratification in Form, yet this laſt would nevertheleſs be formally oblig'd in reference to them; becauſe his Procuration is a ſufficient Obligation:* Whereas at the time of the Suſpenſion of Arms the Arch-Dukes had none, yet having promis'd to get it ratify'd, they were oblig'd to deliver the Ratification in good Form.

I willingly quote this Paſſage, to ſhew that the Ratification is not an eſſential part of a Treaty; which is by ſo much the more evident, not only becauſe a Treaty is a common and publick Inſtrument, and the Ratification a private and particular one; but alſo becauſe a Treaty would be good, and ſubſiſt without the Ratification, if it were certain that the Treaty, and he that has made it, would not be diſavow'd. The Treaty of *Vervins* was concluded and ſign'd *May* 2, 1598; the Peace was publiſh'd at *Paris*, *June* 12; and the Oath for the Obſervation and Execution of the Treaty, which ſupply'd the Place of a Ratification, was not perform'd till the 21ſt of the ſame Month. The preſent King, writing to the States of the United Provinces, on *June* 30, 1678, ſays, That Cuſtom would require that things ſhould remain in the ſame State they were then in, till a Peace was thoroughly confirm'd by the exchange of the Ratifications, and by the Publication of the Treaties; but that nevertheleſs, at the Deſire of the States, he is willing to ſuperſede the Hoſtilities in the Low Countries. The King ſays, *That Cuſtom would require*; but in cauſing the Hoſtilities to ceaſe, he ſhews, that it is not abſolutely neceſſary. It is true, one might maintain by the ſame Reaſon, That the ſigning of the Treaty was not neceſſary, ſince the Treaty was not yet ſign'd; but the King ſuppoſes it was, ſince the Eſtates had aſſur'd him it ſhould be ſo by the latter end of *June*, of which the 30th was the laſt Day. So that in all likelihood, the Orders he gave for a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities, could not be brought to the Generals till after the ſigning. The Treaty which was ſign'd at *Paris*, *April* 27, 1662, was not ratify'd by the King till *March* 20, of the following Year.

After that, in the Year 1598, *Doſſat* had treated with the Great Duke about the Reſtitution of the Iſlands of *If* and *Pomegues*, and that the Treaty was ratify'd in *France*; the Great Duke told him, That if he would take along with him, or ſend back to the King the Letters of Ratification, he would be contented with his Majeſty's bare Word. He ſignify'd the ſame to him by the Chevalier *Vinta*, his Secretary; but *Doſſat* nevertheleſs put the Ratification into his Hands. Neither did I make uſe of this Example, but only to ſhew that the Great Duke did not doubt the Execution of the Treaty, even without the Ratification.

The Treaty which was made at *Nimeguen*, between *France* and *Spain*, on *September* 17, 1678, contains, That after the Ratifications ſhall have been deliver'd, the moſt Chriſtian King ſhall ſwear to the Obſervation of the Treaty on the Croſs and the Goſpel. In my Opinion, this is a needleſs Precaution; ſince the Prince who ſhall have engag'd his Faith in the Signature, and his Honour in the Ratification, if he violates either the one or the other, will make no Scruple to wound his Conſcience, which was not leſs concern'd (in thoſe that have any) in their Word. Here I muſt add, that the Ratification would not be at all neceſſary, if the Treaty was made and ſign'd by the Princes themſelves; or if there was a Certainty, that the Inſtructions Princes give to their Miniſters were conformable to the Powers theſe communicate to thoſe who treat with them.

In the Year 1449, the Count *de Dunois*, *Gaitivy* Admiral of *France*, the Lord of *Retz*, and *Bertram de Beauvau*, Lord of *Preſigny*, made a Treaty with the Duke of *Britany*, on the Part of *Charles* VII, King of *France*. As ſoon as the Treaty was concluded, *the Duke caus'd his Letters Patents to be prepar'd, which he ſign'd with his own Hand, and made them be ſign'd and ſeal'd by the Barons of his Country.* Beſides this,

the ſaid Duke, and the Barons and Noblemen of *Britany*, promis'd to do and fulfill religiouſly and punctually the Contents of the Letters Patents, and never to act any thing contrary to their Tenor; of which they gave their Faith and Word ſolemnly, by touching the *French* Embaſſadors in the Hand, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times. This was not a Ratification, but a kind of Guaranty; becauſe the Ratification being nothing elſe but the Approbation of the Action of another, it was not neceſſary that the Barons ſhould ratify what they had done and ſign'd themſelves. In like manner, when the Lord *de Cran*, and the Chancellor *Doriole*, made that fine Treaty with *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, which we have ſpoke of elſewhere, the Duke gave his Letters Patents; and the Embaſſadors of *France* promis'd, that the King their Maſter ſhould ſwear to the Obſervation thereof.

However, notwithſtanding that the Ratification is no eſſential part of a Treaty, nor even of the Function of the Embaſſador, yet it ſeems to be become a neceſſary Appendix to the one and the other; ſince it is by it that a Treaty receives its laſt Perfection, and that without it there is no Security that it ſhall be executed. This is one of the Reaſons why the Publication of Treaties is not perform'd, till after the Ratifications have been exchang'd; tho' it is what is not always nicely obſerv'd, for the Reaſon I have juſt now alledg'd, That the Ratification is not of the Eſſence of a Treaty, nor does not make a part thereof. As ſoon as in the Year 1571, the League was concluded againſt the *Turk*, betwen the Pope, *Spain*, and the Republick of *Venice*; Pope *Pius* V. immediately ſwore to the Execution of the ſame. Cardinal *Pacheco* did the like for the King of *Spain*; and the Embaſſador of *Venice* having alſo ſworn to it, after their Example, the Treaty was publiſh'd the next Day. The League was concluded at *Rome*, on *May* 20; the Embaſſadors did not ſign it, nor fix their Seals thereto, till after they had ſworn to the Obſervation thereof; and it was not publiſh'd at *Venice* till *July* 2; that is to ſay, ſix Weeks after it had been publiſh'd at *Rome*, and before it had been ratify'd in *Spain*. The Embaſſadors who have negotiated and concluded a Treaty, are oblig'd in Honour to get it ratify'd; becauſe that Prince that refuſes to ratify a Treaty, diſavows his Miniſter, or tacitly accuſes him of having exceeded his Powers.

John de Monluc, Biſhop of *Valence*, and Embaſſador of King *Charles* IX. in *Poland*, that he might ſucceed in the Election of the Duke of *Anjou*, which he had begun to negotiate, promis'd amongſt other things, That for the ſake of the *Poliſh* Lords, (who made Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, and who were pretty numerous at that time) great Advantages ſhould be granted to thoſe of the Religion in *France*. The Embaſſadors of *Poland*, who carry'd the Decree of Election into *France*, amongſt whom were ſome very zealous Proteſtants, inſiſted with Warmth on the Execution of that Point. The King's Council told them, That *Monluc* had had no Orders to promiſe any thing in Favour of thoſe of the Religion; and *Monluc* confeſs'd that neither his Powers, nor his Inſtructions, made any mention thereof: But he ſaid, That he had receiv'd a general Order to procure the Election at any rate; and that ſeeing it was impoſſible to anſwer the King's Intentions therein, unleſs the Proteſtant *Poliſh* Nobility were aſſur'd that neither the King nor the Duke of *Anjou* had had any part in the Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*; he had not ſcrupled to ſay, That the King was ſo far from conſenting to this Action, that he would cauſe the Authors thereof to be puniſh'd, and would give very good Treatment to thoſe of the Religion in his Kingdom: But that it was a thing in which *Poland* had no Intereſt; *ſo that the King was not oblig'd to ratify what his Embaſſadors had promis'd without Orders.*

This Expreſſion of the Biſhop of *Valence* is a little too general, and if he takes the Word, Order, for that of Inſtruction, it is abſolutely falſe. For if the Embaſſador does not exceed the Bounds of his Powers, altho' he does not keep within thoſe of his Inſtructions, the Prince is oblig'd to approve of him, and to ratify what has been negotiated in his Name, and by virtue of his Powers. The Reaſon is becauſe the Miniſter to whom the Powers are communicated, and to whom an authentick Copy thereof is given, ſuppoſing that the Embaſſador with whom he treats is fully inform'd of the Intention of his Maſter, and that he acts conformably to the one and the other, makes no Scruple to enter into a Negotiation, and to conclude with him, who is the Bearer of a full Power, and who ought to know what Latitude his Inſtructions allow him. But he that treats with a Miniſter, who has no Power at all, ought to expect a Diſapprobation; and has no Reaſon to complain if the Maſter refuſes to ratify what his Embaſſador has done without Orders, and without Power. The *Spaniards* would not execute the Treaty which *M. de Baſſompierre* had made at *Madrid*, in the Year 1621. And *France*, on its part, not approving the Articles which had been concerted with the Commander *Sillery* at *Rome*, concerning the *Valteline*; the Count Duke *d'Olivares*, fearing leſt *France* ſhould do it ſelf Juſtice by the way of Arms, engag'd *du Fargis*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Madrid*, in a Negotiation, which at laſt produc'd the Treaty which was ſign'd at *Monçon*, in the Year 1626. Upon the Advice that *du Fargis* gave to this Court, of the Overtures that had been made to him, and of the Advantages he hop'd to obtain thereby for the King, *if Orders were ſent him, or only a bare Permiſſion* to enter into a Negotiation; he receiv'd for Anſwer, That he might anſwer with Civility to fine Words that were given him at *Madrid*, and even ſignify that the King was not againſt the Accommodation, if honourable Conditions were propos'd for the ſame, and a full Security. He was given to underſtand in what theſe honourable Conditions, and this Security conſiſted, to wit, in preſerving to the *Griſons* the Sovereignty of the *Valteline*, and the Paſſage for thoſe Troops the King ſhould at any time ſend into *Italy*, comformably to the Treaty of *Madrid*. And foraſmuch as the *French* were in continual Diſtruſts of the Intention of the *Spaniards*, *du Fargis* had Orders ſent him, by another expreſs Diſpatch, to be very reſerv'd therein, and not to engage till he was well aſſur'd to come off with Advantage. Whereunto

unto was added an expreſs Prohibition to make any Anſwers, from which the *Spaniards* might draw any Advantage. Nevertheleſs on *January* 1, 1626, he ſign'd the Project of a Treaty with the Count Duke, and had the Aſſurance to ſend it to Court: but his Procedure was ſo ill receiv'd there, that in its firſt Reſentment, it was propos'd to recall immediately an Embaſſador, that had been ſo audacious as to make a Treaty without Orders and without Powers. Nay ſome of the Council were even for having him brought to his Tryal. However, as the Affairs of that Kingdom were not yet very well prepar'd for a Rupture, it was reſolv'd that the Fault ſhould be wink'd at; and *that inſtead of ratifying* what *du Fargis* had done, another Project ſhould be ſent him, by which he ſhould cauſe the firſt to be reform'd. He did it with ſome Advantage to the Intereſt of the King his Maſter, but yet not altogether conformable to the Intention of the firſt Miniſter; inſomuch that a third Project was ſent him, *to which was annex'd the King's Ratification*, to make the Exchange thereof, if he could get it approv'd at *Madrid*; where it was agreed to, as we have ſaid elſewhere.

I have related in Chapter VIII. of this Book, how the Republick of *Venice* got out of the Difference ſhe had with the Houſe of *Auſtria*, on the Account of the Depredations of the *Uſcoques*, and of the Engagement ſhe was enter'd into with the Duke of *Savoy* againſt *Spain*. The Treaty which was made at *Madrid* in the Year 1617, would have brought it off glorioufly; if the Duke of *Lerma*, firſt Miniſter of *Spain*, had not made the King his Maſter ſpeak therein more like an Arbitrator than a Mediator. The *Venetian* Embaſſador proteſted that he had made no Submiſſion, and that he had been very cautious of making any, becauſe he had no Power for that Purpoſe. This Difference was debated between the Duke and the Embaſſador with ſo much Warmth, that the Duke would needs have all the Embaſſadors that were then at *Madrid* witneſſes thereof; and the King was ſo very angry thereat, that he would not meddle any more in the Matter, but remitted it to the Pope. The Duke of *Savoy* being inform'd thereof by the Abbot *Scaglia*, who did his Affairs at *Rome*, commanded him to aſſure the Pope, that he approv'd of and ratify'd all that had been done at *Madrid* by *Peter Gritti*, who had been impower'd by him; provided the Execution of the Treaty of *Aſt* was likewiſe ſecur'd, and that the Republick found its Safety therein. Theſe Conditions giving the Pope to underſtand that the Duke would ratify nothing in effect, and that he did not allow him the ſame Liberty which the King of *Spain* gave him, refus'd to take Cognizance of the Affair. The Senate of *Venice*, which beheld a foreign naval Army in the Gulf, and the Preparations the Duke of *Oſſuna* continu'd to make at *Naples*, agreed to and approv'd the Treaty of *Madrid*; proteſting at the ſame time, that it receiv'd it as from the Mediation, and not from the Arbitration of the King of *Spain*. It alſo diſpatch'd an Expreſs, with Power to *Octavio Bon*, and to *Vincent Guſſoni*, who were on its part at the Court of *France*, to conclude the ſame Articles with the Miniſters of the King, giving them Power to ſubſtitute *Peter Gritti*, that he might give the laſt Perfection thereto in *Spain*. I ſhall not enlarge on the Reaſons that oblig'd the Republick to act after this Manner; but ſhall only ſay, That the Court of *France* was ſo pleas'd to be conſider'd in *Italy* as Arbitrator of ſo important a Difference, that it adjuſted all the Difficulties of the Treaty with the Embaſſadors of *Venice*, and regulated all things with them without the Participation of the Embaſſadors of *Spain* and *Savoy*; notwithſtanding the Duke, to hinder the Governor of *Milan* from carrying his Arms into the State of *Venice*, had not ſcrupl'd to draw them into his own Countrey. The Republick found therein its Advantage, and was glad to extricate it ſelf after this Manner: but conſidering that the Indifferency ſhe expreſs'd for the Duke's Intereſt, ſully'd the Reputation ſhe had in the World; and apprehending leſt ſhe ſhould one Day be made to repent the Contempt ſhe had ſhewn for the good Diſpoſition of the King of *Spain*, ſhe made as if ſhe diſapprov'd what had been done at *Paris*, *and refus'd to ratify it*. She took for Pretext, that the Treaty did not make mention of certain *Mahones* which had been taken by the Ships of the Viceroy of *Naples*; tho' the King had formally promis'd, he would prevail with the Court of *Madrid* to reſtore them; as alſo that the Embaſſador of *Spain* had no Powers concerning the Reſtitution. This was the Pretext the Senate made uſe of *to refuſe to ratify*. It diſavow'd the Embaſſadors, who had ſo happily extricated the Republick out of ſo troubleſome an Affair, and ſent them Orders to come and render themſelves Priſoners, to anſwer for what they had done. *Simon Contarini* was ſent to *France* at the ſame time, to acquaint the King with the Reaſons which oblig'd the Republick to proceed with ſo much Rigour againſt the two Embaſſadors, who, as ſhe ſaid, could not juſtify their Conduct. In the mean time it was given out at *Venice*, *That the Senate would not ratify what had been done at* Paris: But the King laugh'd at theſe ſlight Wiles, and commanded *Contarini* not to ſtir from *Lions* till the Republick had ratify'd the Treaty which the two Embaſſadors had ſign'd, and till ſhe had approv'd their Conduct. *Baptiſt Nani*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, who has wrote the Hiſtory of his Countrey, is very tender of the Senate's Reputation on this Occaſion, and relates but very few of the Particulars; for which Reaſon I was willing to dwell a little longer thereupon.

The Prince that will have nothing to reproach to himſelf, cannot refuſe to ratify the Treaty which his Plenipotentiary has made and ſign'd, unleſs he diſavows him openly, and puniſhes him for having exceeded his Power. He owes that Satisfaction, and ſomething more, to the Prince whom his Miniſter has impos'd upon, and he owes it even to his own Honour, which does not allow him to go from his Word, which he has given him in his full Powers. Moſt commonly theſe Terms are inſerted therein, *We promiſe on the Faith and Word of a King, or Prince, and under the Obligation and Pledge of all our Eſtates, preſent and to come, to hold for good, firm and ſtable, and to fulfil whatever ſhall have been ſo ſtipulated, granted and agreed by our Plenipotentiaries, and to cauſe our Letters of Ratification*

tification to be diſpatch'd within the time they ſhall have oblig'd themſelves to procure them.

I juſt now ſaid, That the bare diſowning a Miniſter who has exceeded his Power, is no Satisfaction to the Prince who has treated *bona fide* with the Plenipotentiary. As the Civil Laws oblige a private Perſon to ratify what his Mandatary has done by virtue of his Procuration; ſo the *Law of Nations* obliges the Prince to ratify what his Miniſter has done by virtue of his Powers: eſpecially if the Powers are full and abſolute, without any Clauſe or Condition, to limit or reſtrain the ſame. For which reaſon I cannot tell whether one can well juſtify the Refuſal, the States of the United Provinces made in the Year 1659, to ratify the Treaty, which their Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries had made with the King of *Sweden* at *Elbing*. It is certain that the Miniſters had their Powers in good Form, and that they had not exceeded them, ſince they had not made one ſingle Step therein, nor fix'd any one Article, without the Participation and Conſent of their Principals. It is alſo certain that the Deputies of the States, who examin'd the Treaty, found it conformable to the Orders and Inſtructions of the Embaſſadors. The States themſelves had communicated it to the Miniſters of their Allies, to the King of *Denmark* and to the Protector of *England*; inſomuch that it was not doubted but it would be ratify'd by the unanimous Conſent of all the Provinces.

Nevertheleſs the States of *Holland* were willing to give a Proof of their Ability, if what is ſaid be true: *That ableſt Men affect to decline exerting the cunning Part for a long time, in order to make uſe of it on ſome great Occaſion, and for ſome mighty Intereſt.* They did not only refuſe to ratify the Treaty of *Elbing*, as being inconſiſtent with their Intereſt, but they likewiſe brought over the Deputies of the other Provinces to their Sentiments; and made it be reſolv'd, that before they ratify'd the Treaty, they ſhould demand of the *Swedes* an Explanation of ſome Points, which were thought to be of the utmoſt Importance for the Commerce. The King of *Sweden* offer'd them this Satisfaction, provided they aſſur'd him, that that being done they would ratify the Treaty; but this was what they refus'd to be plain in; ſo that it ſufficiently appear'd, that it was not their Intention to ratify it; notwithſtanding the States of *Zeeland* and *Friſe*, which had had their Embaſſadors upon the Place, were for having it ratify'd purely and ſimply. Some time after a kind of Treaty was made, to which the Title of *Elucidation* was given: a Term altogether as new, as the Manner of acting was ſtrange, in a Countrey which had always affected to appear religious in executing what it had promis'd. It was but a Piece of Cunning in effect, and a Subtility, which are but falſe Virtues, and the utter Averſion of honeſt and able Men. The States were oblig'd to acknowledge the ſame, and to renounce the Advantages which the *Elucidation* gave them, when in the Year 1667, and 1668, they were willing to purchaſe the Friendſhip of *Sweden*, to bring it into the triple Alliance.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was no Slave to his Word, and who was willing it ſhould be known that he was not, had regulated, or caus'd to be regulated at *Paris* with *Don Antonio Pimentel*, all the Articles of which the Treaty of the *Pyrenes* was ſince compos'd. He had not ingag'd in this Negotiation, till *Don Antonio* had ſhew'd him Powers in good form; as ſome Years before, the King of *France* had ſign'd ſuch another Inſtrument for *Lionne* in the Preſence of the Perſon the King of *Spain* confided in. But being ſenſible that what *Lionne* had done at *Madrid*, had been broken off, but on account of the Difficulty which was found therein concerning the Intereſt of the Prince of *Condé*; and fearing leſt *Don Lewis de Haro* (who was extremely jealous of his Word) would fulfil that which he had given to the Prince, and diſavow *Pimentel*, as the Cardinal would have made no ſcruple to proſtitute a ſubaltern Miniſter, and even an Embaſſador for ſo important a Concern; he ſet out from *Paris* full of Fears; determin'd not to repair to the Frontiers, nor even to go beyond *Poictiers*, unleſs he receiv'd the Ratification of what had been agreed on at *Paris*; which was longer a coming, than the Term *Pimentel* had taken to procure the ſame. It was brought to him before he reach'd *Amboiſe*, and thereupon he continu'd his Journey to the Place appointed for the Conference, where the firſt Miniſter of *Spain* render'd himſelf at the ſame time, and avow'd all that *Pimentel* had concluded at *Paris*. And notwithſtanding ſome Alterations were made therein, in reference to the Intereſt of the Prince of *Condè*, yet it was only with the Cardinal's Conſent, who had full as much Addreſs as *Don Lewis*, and full as much Power in his Court; but *Don Lewis*, in making the Cardinal conſent to the Reſtoration of the Prince, and in executing his Word punctually, ſhew'd that he did not want Wit, and that he had Probity enough to cauſe to be ratify'd *bona fide*, what had been agreed to, on the Powers of *Pimentel*.

At the beginning of the Year 1646, ſome *Neapolitan* Noblemen ſent the Abbot *Laudati* to *Rome*, and ſignify'd to the Marquiſs *de Fontenay Marueil*, Embaſſador of *France*, that they would have no foreign King; but if *France* would be contented to ſee the Crown of *Naples* wreſted from the Head of the King of *Spain*, to transfer it into one of the chief Families of that Kingdom, they would endeavour to bring it about, and ſhe ſhould have the Diverſion thereof. The Embaſſador receiv'd and approv'd the Abbot's Propoſition; but he told him, It would be requiſite that ſome of thoſe Noblemen ſhould put themſelves at the Head of the People, which was already up in ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom, in order to diſpoſe it to receive the King the Nobility ſhould give it. The *Neapolitan* Lords made anſwer, That the Embaſſador was in the right; but that it was alſo juſt, that he ſhould promiſe them in his Maſter's Name, by a Writing under his Hand, that if they had the ill Fortune to miſcarry in their Enterpriſe, and that their good Intentions ſhould not produce the Effect they had reaſon to hope for, they ſhould be indemnify'd and ſav'd harmleſs; and have as much Revenues beſtow'd on them in *France*, as they ſhould loſe in *Naples*, either in Lands or Benefices. The Embaſſador made no Difficulty

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at all to do it, and gave them all Obligations; to ſome of ten, to others of twelve or fifteen thouſand Crowns in Revenue. The Embaſſador, who had no Order nor Power to oblige the King, gave them in effect but only blank Papers. He neither oblig'd the King thereby nor himſelf, becauſe he had caus'd the Obligations to be drawn in the King's Name, who had given him no Orders for that purpoſe; and he promis'd nothing in his own particular. The *Neapolitan* Lords could not complain thereof neither; becauſe they knew, or ought to have known, that the Embaſſador had no Procuration; that he would be diſavow'd, and that *his Maſter would not ratify* what had been done without his Order.

In the Year 1644, *Leonard Torſtenſon*, Legate Plenipotentiary of the Crown of *Sweden*, and General of the Armies ſhe had in *Germany*, made with *Ragotski*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, a Treaty, which was by ſo much the more odd, not to ſay extravagant, becauſe he had neither Order nor Powers from the King of *France*, who did not ſo much as know what was negotiating with *Ragotski*. He oblig'd him to the Payment of ſome Subſidies, and to ſeveral other things to which the King neither would nor could conſent: So that *there was no likelihood that the King would ratify a Treaty*, in which he had had no part, and which had been made contrary to his Intention. And indeed the King, inſtead of ratifying it, caus'd another Treaty to be made with *Ragotski* by *Croiſſy*, who promis'd him a Subſidy of a hundred thouſand Crowns, payable at *Conſtantinople*. Whereupon happen'd two things which were extraordinary enough. The one, That the Queen of *Sweden*, *inſtead of ratifying in Form the Treaty* which her Miniſter had made, was contented to write a Letter to *Ragotski*, wherein ſhe aſſur'd him, that *Torſtenſon* ſhould not fail to execute what he had promis'd him. *Torſtenſon* accordingly did it effectually, even beyond the Queen's Intentions. For notwithſtanding he was inform'd that *Ragotski* treated with the Emperor, and that the Treaty was near a Concluſion, yet that did not hinder him from cauſing the Subſidies to be paid, tho' he run the Riſque of being diſavow'd. The other is, That *Croiſſy* on his part perceiving the double Procedure of this Prince, ſtop'd at *Dantzick* the Bills of Exchange which he was to ſend to *Conſtantinople* on *Ragotski*'s Account. *Torſtenſon* ſaid, That for a little Money they ought not to loſe the Opportunity of preſerving a good Friend, who ſeeing himſelf compell'd by the Neceſſity of his Affairs, acted contrary to his Inclination; and that he would not fail to fulfil his Promiſe to him. This Hiſtory puts me in mind of another, of which I ſhall ſay a word or two, without making any great Digreſſion. St. *Aulnais*, Governor of *Laucatte*, ſharing the Diſgrace of the Mareſchal *de Toiras* his Unkle, was ſo forſaken by the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, that it ſeem'd as if he intended to let him periſh in his Poſt, or at leaſt to cauſe him to receive an Affront. This reduc'd him to ſuch great Extremities, that he treated with the Court of *Madrid*, and promis'd to ſurrender *Laucatte* to the *Spaniards*, if the King his Maſter did not ſend him by a certain Day, wherewith to pay his Garriſon. He at the ſame time ſent Advice thereof to the Cardinal, who remitted Money to him at the Day prefix'd, and continu'd him in the Place which he would before have diſpoſſeſs'd him of. The ſame Day on which St. *Aulnais* receiv'd the Money of *France*, or the next, a *Spaniſh* Commiſſary arriv'd at *Laucatte* with the Sum which he had demanded of the Court of *Madrid*. St. *Aulnais* told him, that he was no longer in a Condition to receive it, becauſe the King his Maſter had ſent him wherewith to pay his Garriſon. The *Spaniſh* Commiſſary reply'd, That it was not the Cuſtom of the King of *Spain* to return into his Coffers the Money which he had once taken out of them: That the Sum which he had deſtin'd to St. *Aulnais* ſhould remain with him, and that he would not carry it back. I know not how St. *Aulnais* behav'd himſelf then; but this I know, that continuing to render himſelf ſuſpected to the Court of *France*, ſhe alſo continu'd to perſecute him; ſo that being tir'd at laſt therewith, he accepted the advantageous Conditions the *Spaniards* offer'd him, and retir'd into *Spain*, where he dy'd, after he had done very great Services againſt his Countrey.

It is but after all Authors, without excepting even the *Spaniards* themſelves, that I ſpeak of the Infidelity of *Ferdinand the Catholick*: He deceiv'd all the Princes who treated with him; but in the following Example we ſhall ſee whether he had more Conſideration for his Son-in-Law than for the others. *Zurita* ſays, That he drove out *Frederick* King of *Naples* after an abominable manner, and that he did not ſhew more Honeſty in the Partition he made of the ſame Kingdom with *Lewis* XII, King of *France*. *Philip* of *Auſtria* his Son-in-Law, conſidering that a Rupture between thoſe two Kings would communicate its Evils to his Provinces in *Flanders*, endeavour'd to prevent it: He procur'd a very ample Power, for the Accommodation he pretended to effect between the two Crowns. *Ferdinand* ſent along with him two Embaſſadors, who were to aſſiſt him with their Counſel, and have the greateſt Share in the Negotiation, where the Arch-Duke could conclude nothing without them. It was by their Advice that the Treaty was made, and that the Parties agreed, that the Provinces of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which were the occaſion of the Difference, ſhould be put into the Hands of the Arch-Duke; and that all the Kingdom ſhould be given to *Charles*, Duke of *Luxemburg*, his Son, who ſhould eſpouſe the Daughter of *Lewis*. This Treaty was ſent into *Italy*, with Orders to the Generals of both Armies to cauſe a Ceſſation of all Hoſtilities. The Duke *de Nemours*, who commanded that of *France*, obey'd the ſame; but *Gonçale Fernandez*, who was call'd the Great Captain, having a mind to improve the Advantages he had over the *French*, anſwer'd, That he would receive no Orders unleſs they came from *Spain*, and that till ſuch time as he ſhould receive them, he would continue to purſue the War. And indeed he carry'd it on ſo well, that he made himſelf Maſter of the whole Kingdom, while *Lewis*, expecting the Effect of the Treaty he had juſt concluded with the Arch-Duke, neglected to ſuccour it. The Arch-Duke, who was not leſs incens'd at the Refuſal of the Great Captain, than *Lewis* was at the Arti-

fices and Infidelities of the Catholick King, protested he would have no Hand therein; and offer'd to remain at the Court of *France*, till what he had negotiated should be ratify'd and executed. He made continual Instances for that purpose to *Ferdinand*, but all to no purpose, because that King, who through the Disguise of his Devotion had no other Religion than his Interest, made use sometimes of one, sometimes of another Pretext, to delay dispatching the Ratification; till seeing himself sure of the Conquest of the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, *he refus'd absolutely to sign the Treaty which his Son-in-Law had made*; *alledging that* Philip *had exceeded his Power*: That it was indeed true, that to do him the greater Honour he had given him very ample Powers, but that he was limited by his Instructions, which he was order'd to follow. *Philip* maintain'd, on the contrary, That his Instructions were at least as ample as his Powers: That before he set out from the Court of *Spain*, the King and Queen had positively declar'd, that their Intention was that a Peace should be made by his Mediation; and that they had both made Oath on the holy Gospel, and on the Cross, to observe religiously, and execute punctually all that should be by him negotiated and concluded: That altho' he might have made use of his Power in its full Extent, yet he had not done it; but had neither granted nor resolv'd any thing without the Advice of the two Embassadors. *Lewis* was very well satisfy'd with the Procedure of *Philip*, who was a good *Flemming*, and a downright honest Man: But *Ferdinand* having sent two other Embassadors to him to excuse what was pass'd, and make an Overture of some other Accommodation, he gave them a publick Audience; wherein he told them in the Presence of the whole Court, That he would not hearken to any Proposition, till *Ferdinand* had ratify'd and executed the Treaty of *Blois*, and that *Ferdinand* had made Amends for what was past: That it not only appear'd strange to him, but also a thing abominable and detestable, that those Princes, who had just procur'd to themselves the Sirname of Catholicks, should have so little regard to their Faith, their Honour, their Oath and Religion; and that they had very little Consideration for their Son-in-Law, who was one of the great, powerful and best Princes of *Europe*, their Son and presumptive Heir. And after this he order'd the Embassadors to depart the Court the same Day.

There is no occasion to wonder at the Apology which a certain Observator of *Brussells* makes in the behalf of this Catholick King, since he does not scruple to make that of the Duke of *Alva*, and that of the *Portugal* Embassador, who was infamous enough to betray the Interest of the King his Master, and to enter publickly into the Party of his Enemy, becoming at the same time Deserter and Traytor. If this had been *Ferdinand*'s first Perfidy, it might have been, if not justify'd, at least excus'd, by the Example of other Princes; amongst whom one may say, that there is not so much as one whose Honour and Conscience is Proof against a Crown,

I have said in Chapter XII. of this Book, that *Bodin* maintains, That a King or a Prince is not oblig'd to execute the Treaty his Predecessor has made, if he finds therein any thing contrary to his Interest. And indeed 'tis usual to have all Treaties renew'd or confirm'd by the Successor, notwithstanding he was oblig'd therein by his Predecessor. Upon this Foundation it may be said, that there is a great deal more reason why a Successor shall not be oblig'd to finish a Treaty, which his Predecessor had left imperfect, for want of the Ratification. *Anthony Iſalan Ademar Paulin*, Baron *de la Garde*, having been sent by King *Francis* I. to *Constantinople*, was afterwards sent into *England*, where he made a Treaty with *Henry* VIII. This King being dead, and *Francis* I. dying soon after, *before the Treaty was ratify'd*, the Guardians of *Edward* VI, who had succeeded to *Henry*, and had sent *John Briand* his Embassador into *France*, to congratulate *Henry* II. on his Accession to the Crown, caus'd pressing Instances to be made for the Ratification of the Treaty which had been made between the Kings their Fathers. But *Henry* made Answer, That he would not ratify it; as well because it contain'd several unjust things, as *because he was not oblig'd to ratify what the King his Father had refus'd or delay'd to ratify*.

I shall not here repeat what I said before of the Obligation the Prince enters into by the full Powers he gives his Minister; because it is not properly the Business of an Embassador, who has finish'd his Negotiation, in concluding and signing the Treaty. Neither is it necessary that the Embassador should remain at the Place of the Congress till the Ratification is sent; because the Exchange which is to be made thereof, is not of Obligation to be made there: On the contrary, it is often made elsewhere by subaltern Ministers, or by the Mediators, if they think fit to give themselves the Trouble to wait for it. After that *la Tuillerie* had made the Treaty between the two Northern Crowns at *Bremsebro*, in the Year 1645, *the Ratifications of the one and of the other were put into the Hands of* Philibert Hennequin, *Resident of* France *at* Copenhagen, who made the Exchange thereof in a Village on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, whither the Deputies on both sides repair'd, and gave their Receipt for the same. When there are no Mediators, the Ratification is deliver'd to the Embassador in Ordinary, or else to some other Minister, who sends it to the Prince his Master. The Treaty which was made at *Blois* in the Year 1572, between *Charles* IX, King of *France*, and Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, contain'd, that it should be ratify'd on both sides within four Months; and that the Queen's Ratification should be put into the Hands of the Embassador in Ordinary of *France*, who should be particularly authoriz'd for that purpose. For which reason she order'd *Walsingham* to inform himself precisely of the Court of *France*, in what time it desir'd the Exchange should be made.

When a Treaty is made between Princes and Potentates between whom there is no Competition; as when Crown'd Heads cause a Treaty to be made with other Princes, or with Republicks, sometimes that Respect is shewn to the first, that the Ratifications are communicated to them before the Exchange thereof is made. Cardinal *Dongbi*, Plenipotentiary

tentiary of *Urban* VIII, at the Treaty which was made between the Princes of *Italy* and the *Barberins*, at the End of the War of *Caſtro*, writing to Cardinal *Bichi*, Plenipotentiary of *France*, ſpeaks to him in theſe Terms: *Tho' Duty and Cuſtom obliges Princes to give in their Ratifications firſt, that the Pope, who ought to be the laſt in preſenting it, may be able to make the neceſſary Reflections thereon; he knows nevertheleſs, that without this Conſideration of Cuſtom*, Bichi *would not fail to uſe all ſuitable Precautions that they be as full as may be, and that they might be conformable to that of the Pope.* The Republick found Fault with this, becauſe it contain'd a Clauſe, that oblig'd the Succeſſors alſo to the Execution of the Treaty; and ſaid, That her State being perpetual, no mention ought to be made of Succeſſors in the Ratification. The *Barberins* anſwer'd, That this was a mere Cavil, and not a Difficulty; becauſe the ſame Clauſe appear'd in the Treaty which had been made at *Bologn* in the Year 1630: That the Doge, who is nam'd therein, being mortal, they might and ought to mention alſo the Succeſſors; ſince it was an uſual Clauſe even of the Republick, which ſays in its Acts; *Nos, cum noſtro Senatu, pro nobis, noſtriſque Succeſſoribus, Dominioque noſtro:* or elſe, *Pro nobis noſtriſque Succeſſoribus, & Republica Veneta.* But there was found therein a greater Difficulty on the part of all the Allies, who would not ſuffer that the Ratification ſhould make the World believe that they were the Authors of the War, and deſir'd a Peace, becauſe both the one and the other was falſe. They ſaid, that the *Barberins* had begun the War; not only by the Invaſion of the Dutchy of *Caſtro*, but alſo by the Preparations they had made to carry their Arms into *Lombardy*: That it was requiſite the Pope ſhould cauſe that Clauſe to be left out of his Ratification, or elſe ſuffer the Republick and the other Allies to ſlip into theirs ſome Clauſes which would not pleaſe him. And indeed the Senate caus'd a Ratification to be drawn, which made the *Barberins* the Cauſe of the War, which had oblig'd the Princes to enter into a League, and to oppoſe the Violence of the Court of *Rome*. This Reſolution ſo alarm'd Cardinal *Bichi*, who diſcharg'd the Office of Mediator, that he declar'd to the Great Duke, and to the Duke of *Modena*, That this Ratification would never be approv'd of at *Rome*, and deſir'd them to prevail with the Senate to alter thoſe Terms. He had a Conference with the Deputies of the Republick on the ſame Account; but all he could obtain from them was, *That either the Pope ſhould ratify purely and ſimply*, by leaving out thoſe Words which could not be agreeable, or if he needs muſt make mention of the War, only theſe Words ſhould be inſerted; *That to put an End to the preſent War the Parties had agreed to the Treaty*, &c. which he ratify'd. And this was what the Pope was contented with. In effect the ſhorteſt Ratifications and the moſt general are the beſt, provided they are drawn up in Form. It is ſufficient that they allow and approve of what is contain'd in the Treaty, and that in expreſs and efficacious Terms.

I ſay in good Form; becauſe it is neceſſary that the Ratification ſhould be diſpatch'd under the Great Seal, and in the ſame manner as the Treaty it ſelf The States of the United Provinces, before they enter'd into a formal Negotiation with the Miniſters of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, in the Year 1607, conſented to a Suſpenſion of Arms, which the King of *Spain* was to approve of and ratify, as well as the Point that related to the Liberty and Sovereignty of their State. The Council of *Spain*, tho' it paſſionately deſir'd a Peace, or at leaſt a Ceſſation of Arms in the *Low Countries*, where all its Revenues were ſinking as in an Abyſs, had ſome Difficulty to ratify what the Arch-Duke had promis'd and granted, to obtain the Suſpenſion of Arms; but not being willing to go from the Prince's Word, and the Monarchy of *Spain* not being in a Condition to continue a War which was burthenſome to it, the King of *Spain* caus'd at laſt an Act of Ratification to be diſpatch'd. The Auditor *Verreyken* brought it to the *Hague*, where it was found ſo defective, that they had much to do to ſuffer him to remain there a few Days, during which he promis'd to get it mended. The States found Fault that the Ratification was only wrote on Paper, and that it was ſign'd *Yo el Rey:* whereas it ought to have been on Parchment, and ſign'd with the King's Name, who acts thus with all Foreigners, who are independent of him. They were alſo of Opinion, that it was not leſs defective in Subſtance than in Form. Provided the Ratification be expreſs'd in Terms that are ſimple and general, and that the whole Treaty be inſerted therein, one cannot be deceiv'd in it.

It was a kind of Treaty, the Abſolution of *Henry* IV, which *du Perron* and *Doſſat* had negotiated at *Rome*, and it was neceſſary that the King ſhould ratify what they had done there. The Court of *Rome*, who is not contented to make Kings lay themſelves at the Pope's Feet, but will have him alſo trample on their Bellies, inſiſted, That in the Letters Patents of Ratification the whole Act of Abſolution ſhould be inſerted, to the end the King might have the Mortification to make an expreſs Acknowledgment thereof. But *Doſſat* wrote, That the King had nothing elſe to do but to take into his Hand the Letters Patents of Ratification and to tell the Legate, *That he has ratify'd and approv'd, and does ratify and approve* all that has been done at *Rome*, by his Procurators, in reference to his Abſolution; and that he has caus'd his Letters of Ratification to be diſpatch'd *in forma probante* and authentick, which he conſign'd and deliver'd to him, deſiring him to ſend them to our holy Father the Pope. He adds thereto, *That it is the ſhorteſt and moſt ſimple Form, and is ſufficient.*

The Treaty of *Breda* having been ſign'd on the laſt of *July* 1667, between the Kings of *France* and of *Denmark*, and the Eſtates of the United Provinces on the one part, and the King of *Great Britain* on the other, all the Embaſſadors, except thoſe of the Countrey, who took a turn home, remain'd at the Place, expecting the Ratifications of their Maſters. That of *England* being arriv'd *Auguſt* 12, the 24th was pitch'd upon to make the Exchange thereof, which was done in the following manner. The Horſe and Foot of the Garriſon being drawn up in Order of Battel before the Caſtle,

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the two Embaſſadors of *France* repair'd thither about eleven of the Clock in the Forenoon, and went into the Room, where during the Negotiation they were us'd to reſt themſelves, before they enter'd into Conference. The Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces follow'd them ſoon after, and went into the Room which was appropriated to them, as did alſo thoſe of *Denmark*, and afterwards the Embaſſadors of *Sweden*, who were Mediators, each into their reſpective Apartment. The *Engliſh* Embaſſadors came the laſt. As ſoon as theſe were come, the Mediators went into the Conference Chamber, where the Miniſters of the three Allies being alſo come, theſe put the *Treaties with the Ratifications* into the Hands of the Mediators, who went afterwards with the Miniſters of *France*, *Denmark* and the United Provinces, into the Room of the Embaſſadors of *France*, from whence thoſe of *Sweden* went out immediately to go into that of the Embaſſadors of *England*, who deliver'd to them the *Treaties with the Ratification* of the King of *Great Britain*. After that their Secretary had collated them, and that the Embaſſadors of *England* had ſign'd and ſeal'd them, the Mediators carry'd them to the Miniſters of the three Allies, who read them, and collated them again. This being done, theſe repair'd to the Conference Chamber, whither the Mediators alſo conducted the Embaſſadors of *England*, who were receiv'd with great Civilities by the others, and after ſome Complements they ſeparated. The Publication of the Peace was perform'd the ſame Day at *Breda*, as in a Town whoſe Neutrality had been expreſſly ſtipulated for the whole Negotiation, and for all its Conſequences; and this by virtue of a Power which the Embaſſadors of all the Parties concern'd had for that effect. Thoſe of *England* and of the United Provinces caus'd it to be done with Solemnity at the Sound of the Trumpet; but thoſe of *France* and of *Denmark* were contented to do it by Placaerts, which they caus'd to be poſted on the Gates of their Houſes. There was no delaying the Publication; becauſe there were remote Places, where Hoſtilities were not to ceaſe but in a certain time after the Publication.

The Treaty of *Oſnaburg* being juſt on the point of Signing, *Servien* had agreed with the Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden*, that theſe ſhould take care to have the Ratification ſent them before-hand, that the Exchange thereof might be made immediately after the Signing; becauſe the Miniſters of *France*, who were for getting clear of the War in *Germany*, in order to proſecute it with ſo much the greater Vigor againſt *Spain*, were in continual Diſtruſts of the Intentions of the Court of *Stockholm*, as well as of thoſe of the Court of *Vienna*. They gave Orders to *Chanut* to ſpeak about it; but the Chancellor *Oxenſtiern* told him, that the Queen and the Senate judg'd it would be a thing of no Utility to ſend into *Sweden* a Treaty which the Miniſters of the Princes concern'd therein had not yet ſign'd, *and that it was mere Madneſs to believe that the Queen would give her Ratification upon the bare Copy of an Act, which had not as yet receiv'd its Forms:* That her Majeſty was too prudent of her ſelf, and aſſiſted with a Council too well experienc'd in Affairs to act after that manner: That there was no Haſte: That there would be time enough to obſerve Order: That this Peace could not be executed in a Fortnight's Time, *&c.* The States of the Empire made inſtance, about that time, that *Sweden* ſhould disband her Forces immediately after the ſigning of the Treaty; but the *Swedes* ſaid, *That the Treaty was not perfect till after the Ratification.* When in the Year 1647, *Servien* made a Treaty of Guaranty at the *Hague*; amongſt other Difficulties, this was propos'd, to wit, Whether after the ſigning of the Treaty, which was negotiating at *Munſter*, there ſhould be a Ceſſation of Hoſtilities or not? The States ſaid, *That the bare ſigning did not ſuperſede Hoſtilities*; but that after the Signature, it might be debated whether it were proper to make them ceaſe, before the Ratification and Publication were executed.

This is not to ſay but ſometimes Treaties do ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding they are not ratify'd, becauſe, as I ſaid before, the Ratification is not an eſſential part thereof. The Truce which was concluded in the Year 1609, between *Spain* and the Arch-Dukes on the one part, and the United Provinces on the other, was never ratify'd according to Form And it was not much heeded, becauſe the States had good Guarantees. It was three Years before the Court of *Madrid* ratify'd the Treaty of *Vervins*; but King *Henry* IV. did not trouble himſelf much thereat; becauſe that did not hinder the Arch-Duke from executing it, nor from drawing the *Spaniſh* Garriſons out of thoſe Places which were to be reſtor'd, and were ſo in effect by virtue of the Treaty. The Death of *Philip* II. was in part the Cauſe of this Delay; his Succeſſor, who was young, thinking he ought to ſhew that he did not approve what his Father had done towards his latter Days, was very ſhy and nice in the matter.

It is true that the Prince who refuſes to ratify, hinders the Execution of the Treaty; of which I have juſt given ſome Examples. In the Year 1624, the Commander *Sillery*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Rome*, having approv'd of ſome Articles which the Pope had caus'd to be put in Writing concerning the Affair of the *Valteline*, with the Conſent of the Duke of *Paſtrana*, Embaſſador of *Spain*; he ſent them by an Expreſs to Court, to have them ratify'd. The Courier, at his Arrival at *Paris*, found that the Chancellor, and Monſieur *de Puiſieux*, the Secretary of State, Brother and Nephew of the Commander, were diſgrac'd; and that the Court was not at all diſpos'd to ratify the Articles which had been concerted at *Rome*. The Nuncios *Corſini* and *Spada* were told, *That the King diſavow'd the Commander, and would not ratify what his Embaſſador had done without Orders and without Powers.* To which was added, That there was nothing as yet ſign'd, ſo that the Affair was ſtill entire; and withal, that the Embaſſador had approv'd the Articles, but ſince he had been inform'd of the Diſgrace and Baniſhment of his Brother. Orders were alſo ſent to Cardinal *la Valette*, and to the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, who were at *Rome*, to ſpeak to the Pope about it in the ſame Terms; and to make preſſing Inſtances for the Execution of the Treaty that *Baſſompierre* had made at *Madrid* in the Year 1621; where we muſt however

however obſerve, that it was not properly a Ratification, which the Commander *de Sillery* demanded, but only an Approbation of what he had done, ſince there was no Treaty; and that till ſuch Time as ſomething was ſign'd, there could be no Talk of a Ratification. The Pope, and the Duke of *Paſtrana*, who had treated with a Miniſter who had no Power, had no Reaſon to complain of the Refuſal of *France*.

The Procedure of Cardinal *de Richelieu* was not ſo ſincere, in reference to the Treaty of *Ratisbonne*. This firſt Miniſter apprehending leſt the Intrigues of the Cabinet ſhould ruine him, ſince the Queen-Mother, who had declared her ſelf, had made a powerful Party againſt him, while the Affairs of *Germany* and *Italy* engroſs'd his Thoughts, and afforded a great Advantage to his Enemies; gave a private Order to *Charles de Leon Brulard*, and to Father *Joſeph* a Capucin, who knew the laſt Intentions of the firſt Miniſter, to conclude the Treaty of *Ratisbonne* at any rate. They concluded it in Effect; but the Cardinal no ſooner perceiv'd himſelf Maſter of Affairs within the Kingdom, than he diſavow'd what had been done in *Germany*. The King refus'd to ratify it, and ſaid, That his Miniſters had exceeded their Power: That they had blended the Affairs of the Empire, and of *Lorrain*, with thoſe of *Italy:* That the Republick of *Venice* was compris'd therein, but in weak and ambiguous Terms; and, in fine, That the Intereſt of the *Griſons* was not thereby ſecur'd. But it ſeems as if theſe Reproaches might be made to the Miniſters the King had employ'd, and not to the Emperor, who had treated *bona fide* with them, in Conſideration of their full Power, which they had communicated to him. For which Reaſon he ought not to ſuffer thereby; and the Malice, or Imprudence of others, could not be imputed to him.

Before I finiſh this Chapter, I ſhall here relate an Example, which I look upon to be ſingular in its kind. The Abbot *Bentivoglio*, who was the Confident of Cardinal *Mazarin*, having, in the Year 1646, concluded a Treaty of Neutrality with the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*; the Great Duke requir'd, That Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who commanded the Arms of *France* in *Italy*, ſhould ratify it. That Prince ratify'd it in Effect, by an Act of *May* 20, of the ſame Year, and the King approv'd of it after that. This was a thing altogether extraordinary. For ſince it was neceſſary that the King ſhould ratify the Negotiation and the Treaty of his Miniſter, who was wary enough not to ſign any thing contrary to his Orders, the Ratification of Prince *Thomas* was of no Utility, and could not ſecure the Great Duke.

What Cardinal *Doſſat* ſays, concerning the Ratification of the Abſolution of King *Henry* IV, in the Letter he wrote to *M. de Villeroy*, on *September* 18, 1596, which is all on that Subject, deſerves very well to be ſeen and conſider'd by thoſe, who may perhaps think that I do not ſay enough about it in the preſent Chapter. To which may be joyn'd a remarkable Paſſage enough of his Letter of *Auguſt* 4, 1598; where he ſpeaks of the Offer that *Ferdinand*, Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, made to ſurrender the Ratification, which the ſame King *Henry* IV. had made of the Treaty, which had been tranſacted for the Reſtitution of the Caſtle and Iſle of *If*, and of the Forts and Iſland of *Pomegues*, by the Mediation of the Sieur *Doſſat*, Biſhop of *Rennes*, on *May* 1, of the ſame Year 1598.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Report the Embaſſador makes of his Negotiation.

THere is a great deal of Difference between the Report which the Embaſſador makes of his Negotiation and Embaſſy; and the Relation he gives of the Conſtitution of the State, and of the Court where he has negotiated. All Embaſſadors make a Report; but there are ſo few that make a pertinent Relation of the State where they have reſided, that it ſeems to be particular to thoſe of *Venice*, who have made very fine ones; eſpecially of the Court of *Rome*, and of ſome other Courts of *Italy*.

Philip de Commines ſays, "That the Prince "ought not to ſuffer his Embaſſador to make "his Report in publick, but ought to cauſe it "to be made to himſelf alone, or in the Preſence of very few Perſons; for fear that the "ill News, which they may bring, ſhould intimidate the Council, or terrify the People. He farther ſays, "That the Prince ought to "acquaint his Miniſter with what he is willing ſhould be made publick thereof, and "what he is to anſwer to thoſe, who may diſcourſe him about the Succeſs of his Negotiation." *Commines* wrote in a time when all Embaſſies were Extraordinary, and when, for the moſt part, one ſingle Affair made the Subject of the Embaſſy. The Journies, and Reſidence of Embaſſadors, were moſt commonly very ſhort: So that at their Return they did not fatigue the Prince much in giving him an Account of the Affair, of which they had had the Management and Conduct. But this Precaution is not very neceſſary at this Day, becauſe there is no Sovereign but will have his Embaſſador make a Report of his Negotiation to himſelf only, notwithſtanding all his Diſpatches have been communicated to him, and that he cannot be ignorant of what paſs'd therein: So that altho' it rarely happens that he learns from the Mouth of his Embaſſador, any thing elſe but what he has ſeen in his Letters, yet nevertheleſs he requires that Reſpect to be paid him; *ut ratio uni reddatur*. Beſides, it is juſt and neceſſary that the Miniſter ſhould reſign his Character into the Hands of the Sovereign from whom he receiv'd it.

In those Kingdoms and States where the Sovereign shares in some Measure the Management and Disposition of Affairs, either with the first Minister, or with his Council, or else with the Senate, the Embassador makes also his Report to those who have a part in the first Authority. Republicks have their Councils, or their Assemblies, where the Embassadors make their Report. At *Venice* they generally make it to the College, or to the Council of *Pregadi*; and sometimes, if the Affair be of Importance, to the Council of Ten. In *Holland* the Embassador makes a general and succinct Report in the Assembly of the States General, where, if he has any thing particular to say, the Secret whereof ought to be prudently manag'd, he has Commissioners appointed him. And as the Embassadors are only taken out of the Body of the States General, the Embassador makes sometimes his Report in the Province which deputed him to the General Assembly. When the Embassador makes his Report, he is still a Minister, and as such he does not sit down with the other Deputies at the Council-Board, but he has a Seat given him at some Distance from the Table, behind the Deputies, who are seated right against the President; but as soon as he has finish'd his Report, and that he has been thank'd, he resumes his Place among the other Deputies of his Province. At *Venice* the Embassadors make an Extract of all that has pass'd during their Embassy, and add thereto an exact Relation of the Constitution of the State where they have been employ'd: But in *Holland* the Embassadors make a kind of verbal Process, where they say nothing but what they have said in their Dispatches, which are found there inserted Word for Word; and by this means nothing is to be met with but what was known before, and what would be found with the same Facility in the Letters themselves, if they were bound up in a Volume. However, the Embassadors cause themselves to be paid for the Pains they take to compose these verbal Processes, and get them copy'd, which frequently enough take up not Quires only, but whole Reams of Paper, which only serve to fill the Archives with monstrous and useless Registers.

There is no hindering the best intention'd Embassadors from discovering, in their Report, their own Sentiments, while they make others speak; nor from justifying and rectifying whatever pass'd in the Embassy: That is to say, there is an Obligation to suffer them to make a Report after their own way. But there are very few Examples of Embassadors that have made a false Report, and directly contrary to the Success of their Negotiation. Nevertheless there is one, which, being singular enough, deserves I should say a Word or two of it. The *Florentines*, hoping they should preserve their Republick, and their Liberty, sent in the Year 1530, four Embassadors to the Emperor *Charles* V, who was then come to *Genoa*. These Embassadors having ask'd Pardon for the Fault they had committed, in declaring for *France*, and recommended to the Emperor the Preservation of their Liberty, obtain'd no other Answer from him, than, That they should be pardon'd what was pass'd, provided they gave Satisfaction to the Pope, and restor'd the House of *Medicis* to the State they were in before the last Insurrection of the People. The four Persons of whom this Embassy was compos'd, considering that the Emperor's Answer would not be very agreeable to the People, had no great Mind to go back to *Florence* to make their Report. *Matthew Strozzi*, who was the first, instead of returning thither went to *Venice*: *Thomas Soderini*, pretending to be sick, stay'd at one of his Countrey Houses; and *Nicholas Caponi* dy'd in the Commission; so that there was none but *Raphael Jerome*, who went alone to give an Account of their common Negotiation. Being come to *Florence*, he did not give himself the Leisure to change his Clothes, but suffer'd himself to be conducted streight to the Town-House, where he told the People who had follow'd him from the Gate of the City, That Affairs were not in so bad a Condition as was thought: That the Emperor had brought but a small Army with him: That the Invasion with which the *Turk* threaten'd *Hungary*, and the evil Disposition of Minds in *Germany*, would oblige him to succour *Ferdinand* his Brother, and would hinder him from undertaking any thing against the Republick of *Florence*, except it were with a very indifferent Army, and no way proportionable to so great an Enterprize. So that the Republick might resolve upon a War, and be assur'd to come off with Advantage. This false Report made the *Florentines* resolve upon a War, and cast them into those Misfortunes which ended but with their Liberty; which they lost however but to enjoy a more happy State, under a lawful Sovereignty. I have spoken in the XII[th] Chapter of the First Book, of an Embassador of the *Grisons*, and of the Report he made at his Return from the Canton of *Zurich*. What he related was as false, as all that he had done by virtue of his Commission was unfaithful.

On the contrary, a faithful, judicious, and disinterested Report, denotes a Probity and Greatness of Soul, which very much recommends the Embassador. The Lord *Montgomery* was a mortal Enemy to *Matthew Stuart*, Earl of *Lenox*, whom King *Francis* I. had sent into *Scotland*, in Order to promote the Divisions with which the Kingdom was harrass'd by troublesome Factions, which were forming there, under the Queen and the Cardinal of St. *Andrew*, on the one side, and *James Hamilton* on the other. The Earl of *Lenox* was not very acceptable to the Queen, for which reason she did him very ill Offices at the Court of *France*; and the King being prejudic'd by her Advice, was incens'd against the Earl, caus'd *d'Aubigny* his Brother to be put into the Bastile; and made use of *Montgomery*, as being the Earl's declar'd Enemy, to inform against him in *Scotland*. *Montgomery* went thither, but having learn'd that this *Scotch* Nobleman was a Criminal, only because the Queen had a Mind to rid her self of him; he made very sharp Reproaches to the Cardinal of St. *Andrew* about it; and being return'd to *France*, he there made so favourable a Report of the Earl of *Lenox*, that the King being entirely satisfy'd therewith, caus'd *d'Aubigny* to be set at Liberty.

Altho' the *Venetian* Embassadors make, at the end of their Embassy, a Relation of the Genius,

Genius, the Inclinations, the Virtues and the Vices of Princes; as alſo of the Humour and Intereſts of the Miniſters of the Court, as well as of the Diſpoſition of the People of the Place where they have negotiated; I eſteem nevertheleſs, that that ought to make a part of their Employment, rather than of their Report. It ſeems to be the Miniſter's Buſineſs to inform himſelf of all thoſe things, in the Courſe of his Negotiation, and that he is oblig'd to communicate the ſame to his Maſter; becauſe they may give a great Inſight, and may ſerve to regulate the Meaſures the Prince is to take. During the Time that *Chanut* negotiated at *Stockholm*, for the Court of *France*, the Queen order'd him to ſend her the Picture of Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*. He mention'd it to this, who was very well pleas'd thereat, and ſet one about it; but before it was finiſh'd, *Chanut* drew her Portraiture, or Character, in a Letter; wherein he ſo well repreſented what was agreeable in her Face, and what was great and charming in the Mind of that Princeſs, that the skilful Pencil of *Bourdon*, did not ſo well ſatisfy the Curioſity of the Court of *France*, and of the Queen Regent, as did the admirable Pen of that able Miniſter. There has appear'd within ſome Years in *Holland* a Relation of the Reſident, whom the United Provinces entertain at *Conſtantinople*. This Miniſter, who knew nothing but a little of the cavilling Part of the Law, coming into this new Employment, bethought himſelf of making the Plan of a Court, where he was but newly arriv'd; and ſent to the States his Maſters ſo impertinent and groſs a Relation thereof, and even ſo injurious and offenſive, that I am amaz'd they ſhould ſuffer it to be printed; ſince the Work might be capable of drawing the Indignation of the Grand Seigneur, not only on the Head of the Miniſter, but likewiſe on the whole Nation.

The Embaſſador, in making his Report, ought to be ſo faithful and punctual, as not to omit any thing that it behoves his Maſter to know; nor conceal, nor diſguiſe any thing, of all that has been told him. King *Francis* I, being return'd into *France*, after having been a Priſoner in *Spain*, ſent Word to the Emperor *Charles* V, by the Preſident of *Bourdeaux*, That ſeveral Reaſons hinder'd him from executing ſome Articles of the Treaty of *Madrid*. The Emperor told the Preſident, that the King his Maſter did not act *bona fide*, and that he did not proceed like a Man of Honour; which he was ready to maintain to him after what manner he pleas'd. The Preſident, in making his Report, did not ſay one Word of all this Diſcourſe, notwithſtanding it was the real Anſwer of the Emperor. Inſomuch that when *Francis* I, and *Henry* VIII, ſent ſometime after to bid Defiance to *Charles*, this told the Herald, That, without doubt, the King his Maſter had not been inform'd of the Anſwer he had made to the Preſident of *Bourdeaux*: That he had told him, That he deſir'd the King to remember the laſt Diſcourſe he had held to him at their parting, *viz.* That if the King fail'd in the Promiſe he had made him, he, the Emperor, would maintain to him, That he did not act like a Man of Honour, and that he had acquitted himſelf of his Word better than the King. This Anſwer, which the Emperor made to the Herald, in the Preſence a great many Perſons of Quality, was ſhameful to the King; who had avoided it, if the Preſident had made him a faithful Report of his Embaſſy.

Embaſſadors do not always ſtay till the Expiration of their Embaſſies to make their Report. There are ſometimes extraordinary Occaſions, where it concerns them to inform their Maſters by Word of Mouth, in a more particular manner than they can do it by their Diſpatches. It is impoſſible to find any more ample, and more judicious, than thoſe which Preſident *Jeannin* wrote, while he negotiated in *Holland*. King *Henry* IV, and *M. de Villeroy*, are never tir'd with ſpeaking of them with Satisfaction, and with all the Encomiums they juſtly deſerve; yet nevertheleſs, the ſaid King, judging that that Miniſter from whom he had learn'd ſo many fine things would ſtill tell him ſomething more, would needs have him come to him; and preſs'd him thereto now and then with ſo much Earneſtneſs, that he did not ſcruple to ſay, That he expected him with Impatience. The Preſident went at laſt, and, upon his Report were form'd the laſt Inſtructions, which he carry'd away from Court.

M. de Puiſieux, Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, writing to *M. de Baſſompierre*, Embaſſador Extraordinary in *Spain*, in the Year 1621, told him, That the King would take his Meaſures, on the Report he ſhall make of his Negotiation. Which makes it plain that the Report is ſometimes by ſo much the more neceſſary, as let the Diſpatches be ever ſo ample, the Embaſſador is able to tell his Maſter or his Council more at one Audience, concerning the true Conſtitution of Affairs, than he can write in a hundred Letters. During the Negotiation for a Peace, at *Munſter*, the Plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces took ſeveral Journies to the *Hague*, as did thoſe of *Spain* now and then to *Bruſſels*. In the Year 1646, in the Height of the Negotiation, which was carry'd on between the Miniſters of *Spain* and the United Provinces; the Court of *France* was ſo very uneaſy thereat, that the better to inform it ſelf of the Intention of the States, ſhe order'd *la Tuillerie* to come and ſatisfy it by Word of Mouth. This Miniſter being on the Point of ſetting out, preſented a Memorial on *Auguſt* 7, wherein he ſet forth, That being oblig'd, at his Arrival at Court, to make a Report of the State, in which he had left the Affairs of thoſe Provinces, it concern'd him to know what Anſwer he might make to the King and the Queen Regent, when they ſhould ask him (as to be ſure they would not fail to do) what were the true Intentions of the States after the Rumours that were ſpread, of the Accommodation they were making with the *Spaniards*, contrary to the Faith of the Treaties they had concluded with *France*. They made him an Anſwer, which was more ſatisfactory in Appearance than it was in Effect; and *la Tuillerie* (who knew his Buſineſs better than any Man living) made as if he acquieſc'd thereto, and was very well ſatisfy'd, ſince he could aſſure the King of the Sincerity of the Intentions of the States; tho' he was ſo little perſuaded thereof, that his Journey ſerv'd chiefly to make an end to undeceive the Court of *France* of the good Opinion it might ſtill entertain of them.

In the Year 1671, *Peter de Groot*, Embaſſador of the United Provinces in *France*, had in a very little time got ſuch good Intelligence in that Court, that he was very punctually inform'd of the Reſolutions which were taken there, againſt the State of his Maſters. He acquainted them from time to time therewith; but not daring, nor being able to write all; and perceiving however, that his Letters did not make the Impreſſion they ought, he deſir'd leave to take a Turn into *Holland*, that he might there make a pertinent Report of the true State of Affairs, and of the Intentions of *France*. It was granted him, and I know that he made a Report, which might have ſecur'd the United Provinces from the Inſults, which were offer'd them the Year following, in the very Heart of their State, if the Diviſions on the Account of the Prince of *Orange*'s Employment, and the prejudicate Opinions of ſome, who could not perſuade themſelves that *England* was capable of breaking with thoſe Provinces, had not corrupted the Effect of that Miniſter's good and ſalutary Informations. But on theſe Occaſions the Embaſſador neither ought nor can abandon his Poſt without Orders; or at leaſt without the leave of his Maſter.

The Relation *Lazarus Mocenigo* has made of the Court of the Duke of *Urbin*, and that which *Jerome Lippomano* has made of the Court of the Duke of *Savoy*, are very fine and very particular; as well as that which the Chevalier *Cornaro* has given of the Court of *Rome*, ſuch as it was in the time of *Alexander* VII. It were to be wiſh'd that all Embaſſadors would follow the Example of thoſe of *Venice*; becauſe it would be one of the beſt Services they could do to their Succeſſors, as well as to their Princes. The Remarks which Sir *William Temple* has made of the State of the United Provinces, will be inimitable when he ſhall have put the laſt Hand to them; of which they have by ſo much the more need, as during the time of his Employment ſince at the *Hague*, he has without doubt learnt things, of which he could not have a perfect Knowledge when he publiſh'd his Book.

CHAP. XVII.

Of ſome illuſtrious Embaſſadors of our Time.

MY Intention was to look back as far as into the laſt Century, and to pay to ſome of the great Men of that Time, the Honour that is due to their Memory. But conſidering that Hiſtory does them Juſtice, and finding my ſelf deſtitute of what would be moſt neceſſary to me, for the Execution of ſo vaſt a Deſign, my Books and Memoirs having been ſcatter'd and diſſipated; I have confin'd my ſelf to the Embaſſadors of our Time, who have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Negotiations, and who certainly deſerve that Poſterity ſhould have for them, the Veneration that ought to be inſeparable from thoſe Actions, which the Sword and the Gown render equally Illuſtrious. There would be no leſs Pleaſure to ſpeak of *Philip de Commines*, of *Lanſac de St. Gelais*, of the Marquiſs of *Piſani*, of *Paul de Foix*, Archbiſhop of *Thoulouſe*, of *Laurence Suarez de Figueroa*, of *Garcilaſſo de la Vega* his Brother, of *Francis Walſingham*, and of ſeveral other Perſonages who have negotiated heretofore with Succeſs in the firſt Courts of *Europe*; than there would be to remark thoſe Paſſages of their Life, that have acquir'd them the Reputation they have left behind them. I ſhall perhaps find an Opportunity to give elſewhere ſome Incenſe to their *Manes*, and in the mean time I ſhall ſay ſomething of ſome of thoſe who have diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, or do ſtill render themſelves conſpicuous in the moſt important Negotiations of our Age. Now as there is nothing ſo difficult as to regulate the Rank amongſt Embaſſadors, I ſhall therein obſerve no other Order, than that which has been given to the Alphabet.

Abel Servien, Embaſſador Plenipotentiary of *France* at *Munſter*, with the Duke of *Longueville*, and *Claudius de Meſmes*, Count *d'Avaux*, was a very great Miniſter, and one of the ableſt of the Profeſſion: But to give a juſt Character of him, and at the ſame time that of *M. d'Avaux* his Collegue; I ſhall make uſe of the Parallel that *Victorio Siri* makes of thoſe two Perſonages, that therein may be ſeen the Portraicture and Qualities of both the one and the other. He ſays, That *d'Avaux* had as much Merit as any other Miniſter of the Kingdom, and that in his continual Employments, he had acquir'd an Experience, and a Prudence which render'd him capable of the Management of the moſt important Affairs: That he had given Proofs thereof, while he was Embaſſador at *Venice*, where he concluded an Alliance for the Intereſts of the Duke of *Mantua*; in the Truce he caus'd to be concluded between *Poland* and *Sweden*; and in the long and tedious Negotiation of the Preliminary Treaty, which he caus'd to be concluded at *Hamburg*; but particularly in the Sequel of the Negotiation of *Munſter*, of which that which he perform'd at the *Hague* in the Year 1644, made a part. Inſomuch that he was thought to be a Match for all manner of Affairs, how difficult and knotty ſoever they might be: But that he was heavy and rude, rather than brisk and polite; tho' he repair'd that Defect by an indefatigable Application; employing ſometimes whole Weeks in reviſing and giving the finiſhing Strokes to his Works; altho' they ſometimes conſiſted but of a few Lines: That he had a very good Opinion of himſelf; and that he could not ſuffer any body to be put in Compariſon, or on the Level with him: That *Servien* on the contrary, had the Reputation of being one of the ableſt Men of the Kingdom: That he had diſ-

diſcharg'd the Office of Secretary of State, under the difficult Miniſtry of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, with a very great Sufficiency, as well as that of Embaſſador Extraordinary at the Treaties of *Queraſque*, which he had brought to a Concluſion with admirable Addreſs: That his Mind was lively, preſent, and all Fire, proper for the Humour and Genius of the Nation: That that was the Cauſe that made him have ſome Uneaſineſs to give place to *d'Avaux*, who was his Senior in the Employment, and alſo more conſiderable on the account of his Relations, who poſſeſs'd the firſt Offices of the Gown. So that it might be ſaid of them, what was formerly ſaid of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, That if the one could not endure an Equal, the other would not acknowledge a Superior. The one had too ardent a Zeal for the *Roman Catholick* Religion; and the other was too diſtruſtful, haſty, and violent: but they were both haughty and proud to exceſs. Thoſe who may think I don't give a natural Air enough to their Portraictures, need only to read the Letters they have written to each other, and which they did not ſcruple to publiſh, notwithſtanding they don't do themſelves any great Honour therein, nor to the King their Maſter. It muſt be own'd, that if there was any thing troubleſome in *d'Avaux*, there was ſomething inſupportable in *Servien*. This laſt had not the Probity nor the Diſintereſtedneſs of the other; and if *Servien* has left a Great Reputation behind him, *d'Avaux* has left a much Better. The Count *d'Avaux* his Nephew, will add a new Luſtre to the Memory of him I juſt ſpoke of, and will augment the Number of the Great-Men the Houſe of the *Meſmes* has produc'd. He muſt have a very extraordinary Merit, to be employ'd at the Congreſs of *Nimegnen*, where the Intereſts of almoſt all the Sovereigns of *Chriſtendom* were diſcuſs'd and regulated; and to have been able to oblige the King his Maſter, to put him into an Employment at leaſt as difficult as the other, in honouring him with the Embaſſy Extraordinary of *Holland*. This is not an illuſtrious Theatre enough for his eminent Qualities; but as in the important Employments, in which the King his Maſter has made uſe of him, he has given Proofs of a great Capacity; ſo does he give Tokens of his Addreſs in this, which is not indeed ſo glorious as the former were; but at leaſt as conſiderable for its Conſequences.

I have ſpoken in Chapter VIII. of the firſt Book, of *Achilles de Harlay*, Baron *de Sancy*, Embaſſador of *France* at *Conſtantinople*; and as he there faithfully copy'd the Portraicture that *Peter della Valle* draws of him in his Letters, I ſhall ſay no more of him here, but that he ought neceſſarily to be put in the Number of the moſt illuſtrious Embaſſadors, ſince he had all the Qualities requiſite for that Purpoſe. I ſay as much of *M. de Harlay*, Count *de Celi*, Predeceſſor to *Achilles*, who during the two and twenty Years of his Embaſſy, made his Conduct be ſo admir'd, that having gain'd the Eſteem of the Divan, and the Friendſhip of moſt of the Vizirs and Baſhaws, there was not any Affair, tho' ever ſo difficult, but he brought it to a good Iſſue through his Prudence; as well for the Service of the King his Maſter, as for the Satisfaction of moſt of the other *Chriſtian* Princes; whoſe Subjects that had any Buſineſs at the Port, found a powerful Protector in the Perſon of this Miniſter. They who know the Particulars of his Procedure agree, that upon his Manner of acting and negotiating the Idea of a perfect Embaſſador might be better form'd, than it is found in the Books of thoſe who have made a great Collection of common Places, to repreſent quite another thing than what they promiſe.

Adrian Paau, *Sieur de Heemſtede*, &c. has had ſeveral Employments, as well in *Holland* his native Countrey, as elſewhere in very conſiderable Embaſſies. The Town of *Amſterdam*, where his Father was a Burgomaſter, made him its Penſionary; and in this Quality he accompany'd the Deputies of the ſaid Town to the Aſſemblies of the States of *Holland*. He has diſcharg'd ſeveral Embaſſies in *France*, *England*, and elſewhere; where he has diſcover'd through a Groſſneſs and Sordidneſs, which were peculiar to him, and which were accompany'd with other Qualities little becoming an Embaſſador; that with thoſe Imperfections a Man may ſometimes have a great Senſe and a ſolid Judgment. One may ſay, that the Treaty that caus'd a Rupture between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* in the Year 1635, was chiefly his Work; but it was in the Negotiation of *Munſter* that his Talent ſhew'd it ſelf moſt. It cannot be deny'd but it was he particularly, who following the Orders of the States of his Province, concluded there the ſeparate Peace with *Spain*; carrying himſelf therein with ſo much Firmneſs, mix'd with a little Artifice, that the Miniſters of *France*, who had no great reaſon to love him, and who did not eſteem him to be a very good Man, could not forbear ſpeaking of his Capacity. The King at that time forbad his Plenipotentiaries having any Converſation with him. It was after the Concluſion of the Peace of *Munſter*, and after the Death of the late King of *Great Britain*, that he was employ'd to the Parliament of *London*, and that he was made for the ſecond time firſt Miniſter of the States of *Holland*, under the Quality of Counſellor Penſionary. He had quitted this Office, to enter into the Chamber of Accounts for the Demeſne of the ſame Province; but as after the Death of *Jacob Catz*, who in his Employment of Penſionary had been very ſoft and negligent, ſhe had occaſion for a ſtronger Head, and a more underſtanding Man, ſhe oblig'd *Paau* to put himſelf again at the Head of Affairs. He dy'd in that Office in the beginning of the Year 1653, and was by ſo much the leſs regretted as he made room for a Succeſſor, whoſe extraordinary Merit has eclips'd all the Glory and Reputation his Predeceſſors had acquir'd in that Poſt.

Alexander Cardinal *Bichi* ſeem'd to be born for Negotiation; ſo that if together with his Ability, he had been a little more knaviſh than he was, he might perhaps have had with Cardinal *Richelieu*, the Poſt which *Julius Mazarin* had ſince. While he was Nuncio in *France*, his Conduct was ſo much approv'd, that it was not leſs at the King's Inſtance, than by the Inclination of the Pope who was his Relation, that he found himſelf honour'd with the Purple towards the End of his Nunciature. The King conſider'd him as a Prelate very well affected

to him; and the *Barberins* look'd upon him, as on one that would ſome Day be capable of doing very ſignal Services to their Houſe, and to the See of *Rome*. *France* made uſe of his Advice and Counſels in ſeveral weighty Affairs; but particularly in the Accommodation of the Difference the *Barberins* had with the Duke of *Parma*, and on his Account with the Republick of *Venice*, and ſome other Princes of *Italy*. He was oblig'd to the *Barberins*, as I juſt ſaid, but having in this Conjuncture accepted the Embaſſy Extraordinary of *France*, he labour'd to bring about the King's Intention, without any Regard to what he ow'd to the Pope and the *Barberins*. He was grave without Affectation; prudent without Cunning; diligent without Hurry, and a Friend without Intereſt: The civileſt and the beſt of Men. During his Reſidence at his Biſhoprick of *Carpentras*, under the Pontificate of *Innocent* X, he ſo vigorouſly protected the Count *de Dona*, Governor of *Orange*, and after ſo engaging a Manner, that I find my ſelf oblig'd to ſay, (as having been an ocular Witneſs thereof) That it is to his good Offices, and to his Authority, that the Principality is indebted, for the Repoſe it has enjoy'd during the Minority of the Prince, and the Heat of the Contention between the two Princeſſes.

Alexander Abbot of *Scaglia*, Brother to the Count of *Caluſe*, Miniſter of *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, had not the Qualities of Cardinal *Bichi*; but the common Proverb of *Like Maſter, like Man*, may be very well apply'd to him. The Duke, who was the moſt ambitious and the moſt reſtleſs of all Princes, had made him his Confident, and employ'd him in his niceſt Negotiations. He ſolicited the Affairs of *Savoy* with Pope *Paul* V, in the Quality of Embaſſador, when *Philip* III, King of *Spain*, ſent to the Court of *Rome* to take Cognizance of the Difference the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Savoy* had with the Houſe of *Auſtria*: and he had the Addreſs to ſtart ſo many Difficulties, that the Pope would not meddle therein: in doing whereof he executed the Orders and Intention of his Maſter. In the Year 1626, he was Embaſſador in *France*, where he had a great Hand in the Intrigues, which caus'd the Count *de Chalais* to be executed at *Nants*, and threaten'd the King and Kingdom with a horrible Revolution, if the Prudence and good Fortune of Cardinal *de Richelieu* had not prevented the ſame. The Abbot not being able after that, to remain in a Court where he would have ruin'd the firſt Miniſter, went into *Holland*, and from thence into *England*, with a Deſign to ſtir up new Enemies to *France*, and create freſh Troubles to the Cardinal, by endeavouring to procure Succours to be ſent to the *Rochellers*, and to the other Religionaries of the Kingdom. After that, the Duke of *Savoy* ſent him to *Madrid*, where he did very ill Offices to the Marquiſs of *Spinola*, who did not act in the Affair of *Mantua* according to the Humour of that Prince. The Abbot had Wit, but he was a mere Perturbator as well as his Maſter, and fitter to create Troubles, than to unravel and put an End to them: ſo that tho' he cannot be rank'd amongſt the wiſeſt Embaſſadors, he ought however to have a Place amongſt the moſt Ingenious.

Alphonſa de la Cueva, Marquiſs of *Bedmar*, Embaſſador of *Spain* at *Venice*, was no ordinary Man; but he was the greateſt, and the moſt dangerous Enemy the Republick had. Thoſe that make him the Author of the Book call'd, *The Scrutiny, or, The Examination of the Liberty of* Venice, bring but a weak Proof enough thereof; tho' there appears in it a very great Knowledge, and ſtill a greater Animoſity againſt the State: But I cannot tell how *Capriata* can juſtify him in that execrable Treaſon, which had deſtroy'd the Town and the Republick, if two *French* Gentlemen had not diſcover'd the Particulars thereof to the Senate. It is certain, that after what the Procurator *Nani* has publiſh'd on that Matter, from what he found in the Archives of the Republick, there there is no longer any room to doubt that *Don Alphonſo* was the principal Contriver of the ſame. So that one may ſay, That as able a Man as he was, he was no great Embaſſador, ſince by ſo foul an Action he render'd himſelf unworthy of the Protection of the *Law of Nations*, and expos'd himſelf to the Mercy of a People juſtly incens'd, by ſo abominable an Attempt. The King of *Spain*, who recall'd him at the Requeſt of the Senate, nevertheleſs acknowledg'd his Merit, and the Service he would have done him in that Conjuncture; firſt by ſending him Embaſſador into *Flanders* to the Arch-Dukes, and afterwards by procuring him a Cardinal's Hat, and the Superintendency of the Affairs of the Low Countries under the *Infanta*.

Aloyſio, or *Lewis Contarini*, was ſo form'd for Negotiation, that his whole Life was almoſt but one continual Embaſſy. In the Year 1627, he was ſent Embaſſador on the part of the Republick to *London*, where he labour'd ſucceſsfully enough, at the Reconciliation of the Differences, which had caus'd *France* to come to a Rupture with *England*. In the Year 1629, he was Embaſſador in Ordinary at *Paris*, and in 1632, at *Rome*. In the Year 1638, he was Bailo, or Embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*. At that time the *Venetians* attack'd and deſtroy'd in the Harbour of *Valone* ſeveral Gallies, which the Pyrates of *Algiers* had brought thither. Theſe Pyrates made great Complaints thereof at the Port; and the *Turks* would without doubt have reſented it, if the *Grand Seignior*, *Amurath* IV, had not been engag'd in the *Perſian* War. In his Abſence however the Caimacan put the Bailo under Arreſt, and confin'd him in a little ſorry Houſe in *Galata*. He alſo put a Garriſon into the Palace of the Embaſſador; but he ſuffer'd him to receive the Viſits of his Friends. The Matter was made up the Year following, and he was ſent back to his Palace. In the Year 1643, he was nominated to the Embaſſy of *Munſter*, to diſcharge there the Office of Mediator on the part of the Republick, in Conjunction with the Pope's Nuncio. He was very ſedulous therein, and it muſt be own'd that he acquitted himſelf worthily of his Employment, notwithſtanding he did not ſatisfy the Miniſters of *France*; it being certain that during that Congreſs, he aſſiſted at above eight hundred Conferences, which were all of no Utility in reference to the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*: and altho' he contributed very much to the Peace of *Germany*, yet it was

not

not thought fit to mention him in the Treaty, no more than the Nuncio; becauſe the Pope not being able to conſent to the Advantages which were thereby granted to the Proteſtants, would not ſuffer his Nuncio to be nam'd therein.

Angel Contarini poſſeſs'd all the neceſſary Qualities for an Embaſſador, altho' the Republick of *Venice* employ'd him rather in Embaſſies of Solemnity, than in great Negotiations. He was firſt ſent into *England* with *Anthony Cornaro*, to complement King *Charles* I. on his Acceſſion to the Throne. In the Year 1629, he was ſent to Pope *Urban* VIII, who had a particular Eſteem for him, and in the Year 1637, he went Embaſſador Extraordinary to the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. The Behaviour of his Succeſſor in the Year 1643, towards General *Spar*, who had offended him, ſhews that he was a true Embaſſador, and knew very well what belong'd to the Dignity of his Character.

Angel Cornaro, Embaſſador on the part of the Republick at *Paris*, was ſo able a Subject, that Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was the greateſt Miniſter *France* has had ſince the Foundation of that Monarchy, conſulted him, and made uſe of his Advice in the moſt perplexing Conjunctures. He even ſuffer'd this foreign Miniſter to intercede for the Reconciliation of the Count *de Soiſſons*, and of the Duke of *Guiſe*, (which was a very nice Affair) for whom the Pope was not allow'd to make Interceſſion: and he certainly had effected an Accommodation for the laſt, but for the violent Tranſports of that Prince, which were the Cauſe of his Ruine, and had like to have been that of his whole Houſe. *Cornaro* had render'd himſelf ſo agreeable, and even neceſſary to this firſt Miniſter, that the time of his Embaſſy, which is regulated at *Venice*, being expir'd, the King wrote with his own Hand to the Senate, to deſire it to excuſe the Embaſſador from the Rigour of the Laws of the State, and to continue him in his Employment for ſome Years longer; to which the Senate acquieſced. He muſt have been endow'd with very extraordinary Qualities, to be able in that Poſt to acquire not only the Eſteem, but alſo the Confidence of a Miniſter (who was not prodigal of either) even to communicate to him the moſt ſecret Affairs, and to employ him in foreign Courts for the King's Service.

Anthony le Brun, Solicitor General to the Parliament of *Dol*, was the laſt, but the ableſt of the Plenipotentiaries the King of *Spain* had at *Munſter*. He had more Knowledge of the Affairs of the Low Countries than any of his Collegues: and as his Humour was alſo more complaiſant, and his Converſation more agreeable, he was likewiſe fitter for Negotiation. So that one may ſay, that it was chiefly to him that the King of *Spain* was oblig'd for the Peace the *Dutch* made there excluſively of *France*. This Service was acknowledg'd by his being ſent Embaſſador to the States of the United Provinces, and afterwards by a conſiderable Office in the Exchequer at *Bruſſels*. He expreſs'd himſelf well either by word of Mouth or in Writing: And as he was born in the County of *Burgundy*, that is to ſay, in the Low Countries themſelves, he had no Difficulty to accommodate himſelf to the Humour of the People, which had ſome Reſemblance with his Genius and his manner of Living. The Inhabitants of all the Low Countries are tractable enough, provided they are govern'd with a gentle Rein and conformable to Reaſon; then they follow without Reſiſtance thoſe that lead them, but they oppoſe thoſe who are for dragging them along by Force. He was belov'd at the *Hague*, and would have been a uſeful Servant to the King his Maſter, if his Employment had not ended with his Life, when he began to be well known, and his Merit to be eſteem'd.

I have nothing to ſay of *Arnauld Doſſat* Cardinal, becauſe one cannot ſpeak of him without doing him Wrong; ſince *Anthony Muretus*; the moſt eloquent Man of his Time, ſtops ſhort when he would make his Encomium in his Funeral Oration. I ſhall only ſay of him, that never did any Miniſter exert in his Employment ſo much Affection, ſo much Zeal, ſo much Application, nor ſo much Fidelity for the Service of the King his Maſter, as did that Prelate. As for his Ability, we may judge of it by what we have of his Negotiations. For which as well as for many other Treatiſes, the Publick is oblig'd to the late Meſſieurs *du Puy*, the Honour and Ornament of our Age. We have Proofs of his Ability in the Negotiation he concluded with the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*, for the Reſtitution of the Iſle of *Iſ*: In that he perform'd with *Clement* VIII, for the Reconciliation of King *Henry* IV. to the Church of *Rome*: For the Declaration of the Nullity of the Marriage of the ſame King; which had laſted almoſt thirty Years with Queen *Margaret* of *Valois*: For the Diſpenſation of the Marriage of *Catherine de Bourbon*, Siſter to *Henry* IV, with the Duke *de Bar*, and for ſeveral other Affairs of very great Importance, and very intricate. His Diſpatches are not leſs neceſſary to an Embaſſador that pretends to ſucceed in his Employment, than the Bible and a Courſe of the Law are to Divines and Civilians, who will ſucceed in their Profeſſion.

All I can ſay of *M. S. Arnauld*, Lord of *Pompone*, is that the King his Maſter would not of his own Motion have advanc'd him to one of the firſt and moſt conſiderable Places in the Kingdom, by making him Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, if this Miniſter had not made known his extraordinary Capacity in the Embaſſies wherein he was employ'd for ſeveral Years. He had been Embaſſador in *Sweden* and in *Holland*, and had been ſent for the ſecond time into *Sweden*, when the moſt Chriſtian King call'd him home, to come and diſcharge an Office which cannot be poſſeſs'd without enjoying alſo the Confidence of the Maſter: Which this great Monarch, who knows ſo well how to chuſe his Miniſters, would never have done, if he had not been very well ſatisfy'd with the Conduct of this; and if he had not judg'd that *M. Arnauld* underſtood ſo well Affairs of this Nature, that he might ſafely entruſt him with the Direction of thoſe which make the principal Occupation of the Council above. In his firſt Embaſſy to *Sweden* he had only ordinary Affairs to negotiate: He made ſo ſhort a Stay in *Holland*, that it was impoſſible for him to re-unite thoſe Minds which

which the triple Alliance had render'd irreconcileable: but his laſt Embaſſy in *Sweden* ſecur'd that Crown to *France*, whom it concern'd ſo much that the *Swedes* ſhould not eſpouſe the Intereſt of the United Provinces, that without that Aſſurance the King would have been unwilling to reſolve upon the War that begun in the Year 1671. *M. Arnauld* is of a Family which has produc'd a great many illuſtrious Perſonages in all Profeſſions: and as for his own particular, it muſt be acknowledg'd that he has, together with that Merit which is as it were hereditary to him, a rich Stock of Probity, on which thoſe who negotiate with him may ſafely rely. I wiſh I could ſay as much of his Predeceſſor.

All that can be ſaid to the Advantage of all the Embaſſadors in general, may be apply'd to *M. de Barillon* alone. I don't ſpeak of his Virtue, nor of his Honeſty, which are familliar and hereditary to him; but I cannot forbear ſaying, that to repreſent an Idea of a truly Man of Worth, and of a great Embaſſador, it would be ſufficient to draw the Portraicture and Character of this great Miniſter. His Name is illuſtrious, but his perſonal Merit has procur'd him a particular Veneration, and the Eſteem of the greateſt King in Chriſtendom. He ſerv'd with Reputation and Succeſs at the Congreſs of *Cologn*, after which his Majeſty employ'd him in *England*, in a very difficult Conjuncture of Affairs. He ſucceeded after the manner the King his Maſter deſir'd, and there is no doubt but he will reap therefrom, that Glory and Honour which is due to his incomparable Ability.

The Character of *Baptiſta Nani*, Procurator of St. *Mark*, is to be found in the Hiſtory of his Countrey, and of the Affairs that happen'd in his Time in *Italy*. He has written it with ſo much Skill and Judgment, that if he had given no other Proof of his Sufficiency, he will always paſs for a very great Man, with thoſe who have any Taſte. But he has beſides acquir'd ſo high a Reputation in all his Embaſſies, and particularly in that of *France*, that it would be a piece of Injuſtice to him, not to place him among the greateſt Embaſſadors, and amongſt the ableſt Miniſters; ſince it is impoſſible but he muſt know perfectly well the Affairs he has ſo judiciouſly written. The late Emperor, who had been a Witneſs of his Negotiations at *Vienna*, held him in great Eſteem: and the Republick her ſelf has thought fit to expreſs to what Degree ſhe valu'd him, in honouring his Merit with the firſt Dignity after the Ducal.

The Count *de Bethune* was full as illuſtrious by his fine Qualities as by his Family, which is without doubt one of the firſt and moſt ancient of the Low Countries. The Duke of *Sully*, his Brother, who was one of thoſe Miniſters in whom King *Henry* IV. put the greateſt Confidence, brought him into Buſineſs; but at his firſt Entrance therein, he made it plain that he was very capable thereof. He did Honour to the King his Maſter, in his Embaſſy at *Rome*, where he acquitted himſelf ſo well of what was expected from him, that he was hardly ever without Employment from that Time. The Duke his Brother was out of all, when after the Death of *Henry* the Count was ſent to *Milan* and *Turin*, to labour at an Accommodation of the Differences the Duke of *Savoy* and the Governor of *Milan* had about the *Montferrat*. In the Year 1620, he was ſent with the Duke *d'Engouleſme* and the *S. Depreaux* into *Germany*, on the account of the Commotions in *Bohemia*. He was the Soul, as one may ſay, of that Embaſſy, and he would have done great Services to *France*, if the Duke *de Luines*, who had the entire Management of Affairs, had let them rowl on the ancient Maxims of that Crown. He had not ſo good an Appearance, but he had full as much Wit and Capacity as the Duke his Brother, and he may be rank'd amongſt the greateſt Men, and the ableſt Negotiators of his Time. The Count his Son had as much Merit as any Lord of the Kingdom, but he had too much Honour to ſtoop to a Dependence on the Miniſters, who were not for having Friends, or Servants, but Slaves. He never had any Employment, tho' he was very capable thereof.

Cardinal *de Bonzy* left off being an Embaſſador, at an Age when others begin to take that Employment upon them; and ſhew'd that he was capable of that eminent Employment before he enter'd upon it. *Venice*, which is commonly the School of new Embaſſadors, ſerv'd him as a Theatre, where he diſplay'd his incomparable Qualities. The Court of *Madrid*, which is very ſhy of ſhewing its Eſteem for Foreigners, could not refuſe it him, and has admir'd his Eloquence, his Judgment, his Wit and his Conduct: but all theſe great Qualities ſhew'd themſelves with much more Luſtre in his Embaſſy to *Poland*, where he had inſurmountable Difficulties to ſtruggle with and overcome. Never did any Miniſter negotiate with more Facility, or greater Succeſs, and never did Embaſſador leave his Maſter more ſatisfy'd with his Conduct and manner of Acting; but then he ſerv'd a Prince, who is not only knowing in Men, but likewiſe knows perfectly well how to recompence their Services; and who could not give a more illuſtrious Mark thereof, than in obtaining for him the Purple, which gives him a Place immediately after the Princes of the Blood, before all the other Princes and Lords of the Kingdom; and which for the future will acquire him in the Council, in the Conſiſtory, and in the Conclave, as much Reputation as he has gain'd and left in foreign Courts.

Chaſteauneuf d'Aubepine was the Son of a Maſter, but he made his Apprenticeſhip under one of the greateſt Men that ever was employ'd in Affairs of State. He was yet but Abbot *de Preaux*, when *M. de Villeroy*, his Unkle, put him with Preſident *Jeannin*, who was going to negotiate a Peace, and conclude a Truce in *Holland*. He there ſerv'd as a ſubaltern Miniſter, and ſucceeded well enough in the Journeys the Preſident made him take now and then, as well to the Arch-Duke *Albert* as to the King. In the Year 1620, he was ſent into *Germany* with the Duke *d'Engouleſme* and the Count *de Bethune*, for the Accommodation of the Affairs of *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate*; but was too limited in his Orders to be able to ſucceed in a Negotiation, the Importance whereof was not at that Time ſufficiently weigh'd by the firſt Miniſter. In the Year 1626, he

he was ſent to *Venice*, to juſtify the King's Intention, and to get the Reaſons reliſh'd which had oblig'd *France* to approve of the Treaty of *Monçon*. The Republick receiv'd the bad Excuſes of a thing it could not remedy; but the *Swiſs Cantons*, to whom he went afterwards on the ſame Account, were not at all ſatisfy'd with what had been done in reference to the *Valteline*. In the Year 1629, he was Embaſſador Extraordinary in *England*, to ſee the Peace ſworn to. After that the Cardinal procur'd him the Seals, but he ſoon took them from him, and ſent him Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Engouleſme*, as a Man of an inſufferable Spirit, and unfaithful to his Benefactor. They were reſtor'd to him during the laſt Commotions of *Paris:* but his Humour not being agreeable to the Court, and ſtill leſs to Cardinal *Mazarin*, againſt whom he was continually caballing, he was relegated to the *Red-houſe*, where he dy'd ſome Years after. He was a great Miniſter, who became his Poſt very well, and a very able Negotiator; but then he was ſo haughty and proud, that in all his Actions he behav'd himſelf like a great Vizir, rather than like the Miniſter of the Court of *France*, which is the moſt polite and the civileſt of all *Europe*.

Chriſtopher de Baſſompierre, Mareſchal of *France*, has left us, with the Memoirs of his Life, Relations of the Embaſſies he has perform'd in *Spain*, in *England*, and to the *Swiſs Cantons:* for which reaſon I might forbear ſaying any thing of him, and content my ſelf with adding his Name to thoſe Embaſſadors, of whom I have undertaken to give ſome Account in this Chapter. But as I had the Opportunity of contracting a particular Acquaintance with him, ſo far as to obtain the Communication of his Memoirs, which have been publiſh'd but ſince his Deceaſe; I think my ſelf oblig'd to give a ſhort Account of what I have perceiv'd extraordinary in this Nobleman. What has been printed of his Works, ſufficiently ſhews that Negotiation was not his Talent. He had indeed other Qualities which render'd him highly conſiderable. It was impoſſible to ſee a finer Man than *M. de Baſſompierre*, nor that had a greater Preſence of Mind, or was more agreeable. He was withal ſplendid in his Expence, and rather magnificent than liberal: The moſt civil and the moſt generous Man in the World. So that with theſe Qualities, and the Intereſt he had in the Houſe of *Guiſe*, it was not very difficult for him to get to be conſider'd at Court, under the Regency of *Mary* of *Medicis*. Cardinal *de Richelieu* lov'd him; but coming to know that he was one of the Cabal of Noblemen who conſpir'd at *Lions*, (where the King lay ſick to Extremity) againſt his Fortune and Life, he caus'd him to be put into the *Baſtille*, where he remain'd till after the Death of that Miniſter. He was reſtor'd to his Poſt of Colonel General of the *Swiſs*; but he did not enjoy it long, for one Morning he was found dead in his Bed.

Chriſtopher Kevenhuller, Count of *Frankenberg*, Embaſſador of the Emperor *Matthias*, and of the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand* at *Madrid*, was a very worthy Miniſter. At the ſame time that *Ferdinand* was call'd to the Crown of *Bohemia*, *Kevenhuller* happily adjuſted the Difference the Republick of *Venice* had with the Houſe of *Auſtria* concerning the *Uſcoques*. That Treaty did not take Place, as I have obſerv'd elſewhere, and particularly in Chapter XV. of this Book, till it was finiſh'd at *Paris*, and the King of *France* had oblig'd the *Venetians* to ratify it. *Kevenhuller* has written his Negotiations, and has publiſh'd one part of 'em in the *German* Tongue, but the other has been ſuppreſs'd. Thoſe that have ſeen what is publick are of Opinion, that he was one of the ableſt Negotiators the Court of *Vienna* has afforded and employ'd; and that nothing can be added to the Delicacy which appears in all his Procedure. They ſpeak ſtill of him there with Reſpect, and his Memory and Works are in very great Eſteem.

M. Colbert is very much indebted to his eldeſt Brother, who introduc'd him into Affairs, and into the great World; but he is ſtill more indebted to his own Virtue and Merit; ſince he has maintain'd himſelf there, and ſtill continues to do ſo by his Services, and by his own Sufficiency. The ſeveral Negotiations he has heretofore perform'd in *Germany*, particularly at *Cleves* and at *Aix la Chapelle*, as a Miniſter of the ſecond Order, have procur'd him ſome Reputation, und uſher'd him into Embaſſies. In that to *England* he out-did himſelf, and was the Admiration of that Court, which has not much for Foreigners. They who know what has been negotiated between the two Courts ſince the triple Alliance, and particularly ſince the Rupture in the Year 1672, and the Treaty of *London* in 1674, cannot be ignorant that he has had Affairs of the laſt Importance to negotiate. He behav'd himſelf ſo well therein, that the King his Maſter judg'd he could not make a better Choice than of this Miniſter, to labour in Conjunction with the Mareſchal *d'Eſtrades* and Count *d'Avaux* at the general Peace: And it is probable he will not leave *Nimeguen*, till he has help'd to give the laſt Perfection to a Work which is to give Repoſe to *Chriſtendom*.

If I ought not to ſpeak without Scruple of thoſe Embaſſadors who are ſtill living, and in Employment, I ought to have a great deal when I write the Elogium of *Conrad van Beuningen*, Burgo-Maſter of the City of *Amſterdam*; as well becauſe I am not altogether diſintereſted, as becauſe amongſt all the Embaſſadors, of whom I here make a ſmall Catalogue, there is hardly any one that has been ſo often, and ſo continually employ'd in foreign Negotiations. The Courts of *Copenhagen* and of *Stockholm* have ſeen him, during the ruinous War the United Provinces had with *Oliver Cromwell* till the Year 1654. It was he chiefly, who with *M. Trevor*, Miniſter of *England*, ſettled in the Year 1668, at *St. Germain en Laye*, the Articles on which the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* was afterwards concluded. In the Year 1654, he had been ſent to *Breme*, to adjuſt the Difference which that Town had with the Crown of *Sweden*. He has ſince negotiated with the Count *de Monterey* at *Bruſſells*, and he has been for ſome Years in *England*. He has a great Vivacity of Mind, an inimitable Facility of expreſſing himſelf, and an inexhauſtible Fund of Reaſons, with which his Diſcourſes are conſtantly fill'd: He has a great deal of Study, and a great Inclination to Philoſophy,

ſophy, as well in his Sentiments as in his Morals. From whence I infer, That he may be rank'd, not only in the Number of the Illuſtrious Embaſſadors, but alſo amongſt the Learned Men of our Time.

I ſhould not ſatisfy the Publick, nor my ſelf, if I did not beſtow a few Lines on *M. Honnoré Courtin*, and if I did not ſay a Word or two of the great and conſiderable Employments which the King his Maſter has intruſted him with. I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe he has had at home, where he made his Apprenticeſhip in thoſe Employments, which are given to them who are deſtin'd to the firſt Places of the Gown, *viz.* In the Parliament, and in the Council, as that of Maſter of the Requeſts; and in the Provinces, as thoſe of Intendant of Juſtice, and of the Revenues. *M. Courtin* had paſs'd through them all, when after the Concluſion of the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, he was deputed to regulate the Limits of the new Conqueſts on the ſide of the Low Countries. In the Year 1665, he was ſent with the Duke *de Vernueil* into *England*, to try to prevail with the King to put an end to the Hoſtilities with which the *Engliſh* diſturb'd the Repoſe of the United Provinces. In the Year 1667, he was ſent with *M. d'Eſtrades* to the Congreſs of *Breda*, as Embaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, after having been employ'd in *Germany* for the Accommodation of the Difference the Elector *Palatin* had with the Electors of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, *&c.* and concerning the Right of *Wildſang*. In the Year 1673, he was ſent with the ſame Quality to *Cologne*, with the Duke *de Chaulne* and *M. de Barillon*; and this Aſſembly being diſſipated, on the Account of the carrying off of Prince *William* of *Furſtemberg*, the King his Maſter employ'd him in the Embaſſy Extraordinary to *England*. His Wit and Conduct appear'd in this Embaſſy, as well as in all thoſe that preceded it, with ſo much Luſtre, that it cannot be deny'd but he was one of the able Embaſſadors of our Time; and that his Services cannot be ſufficiently acknowledg'd, unleſs he be rewarded with one of the moſt conſiderable Poſts in the Court, the Council, or the Parliament.

The Houſe of *d'Eſtrée*, which is one of the moſt Illuſtrious Ones of *France*, has produc'd a great many Hero's, of whom *M. le Cardinal de Laon* is without doubt one of the firſt. The Mareſchal *d'Eſtrée*, his Father, had very great Qualities, which made him be conſider'd by Cardinal *Richelieu*, as a Nobleman very capable of ſerving the King; not only at the Head of his Armies, but alſo in the knotty'eſt Affairs, and moſt intricate Negotiations: Out of this Conſideration he caus'd him to be ſent Embaſſador to *Rome*, and to the *Swiſs Cantons*. Thoſe who knew him, and who know with what Air he acted in all his Employments, agree that he was much fitter for the Field than the Cloſet. He had Courage, and was the Man in the World the moſt capable of doing a brave Action; but when he had to do with skilful Heads, he did not diſpute the Ground with the ſame Advantage, as where he was to act with Vigour and Courage. He was born a Captain, and in that Humour he was for commanding, and could not bear in Conferences where he was to negotiate with his Equals or with his Superiors, that they ſhould not treat him with that Reſpect he requir'd ſhould be ſhewn him every where. The Cardinal did not perceive it till it was too late; after the Mareſchal had embroil'd himſelf with the Pope's Nephews, without Hopes of Reconciliation. They caus'd the Head of the Gentleman of the Horſe to the Embaſſador of *France*, to be put amongſt thoſe of ſeveral others of the Banditti, and Rogues, ſo that there was but too much handle to quarrel with the Court of *Rome*. After ſeveral violent Tranſports he refus'd to go, and give an Account of his Actions at Court. Thoſe Noblemen who are of this Temper, and who undertake to protect their Domeſticks, let their Crimes be ever ſo outrageous, are not at all fit for the Miniſtry; becauſe an Embaſſador ought always to avoid the Occaſions that create Troubles to his Maſter. It is not neceſſary to alledge any other Examples, after thoſe which are to be found in this Treatiſe. The Cardinal, his Son, would not behave himſelf after this manner. He is a great Man, a wiſe Prelate, and a very able Miniſter and Negotiator.

They who have written an Account of all that paſs'd in the Difference, that arm'd the Republick of *Venice*, and ſome other Potentates of *Italy*, againſt the *Barberins*, about forty Years ago, cannot ſufficiently admire the Ingenuity and Prudence of Count *Ferdinand Scotti*, who negotiated the Intereſt of the Duke of *Parma* with the Senate. I don't find that he has meddl'd with any other publick Affairs, but it muſt be acknowledg'd that he did in this (which was very intricate, and wherein he had to ſtruggle with the natural, and almoſt invincible Obſtinacy of a Republick, which would not ſo much as ſuffer a Rupture with the Pope to be mention'd to it) beyond whatever could be expected from the moſt conſummate Prudence of the moſt skilful Miniſter. Thoſe that will take the Pains to read with Application all that paſs'd in this Negotiation, and particularly at *Venice*, will agree, that I do not ſufficiently praiſe a Man who ſucceeded ſo well, in a Profeſſion he had never before been concern'd in. This is however what is not very extraordinary in *Italy*.

The Marquiſs *de Fontenay Mareuil* had ſo well ſatisfy'd the King, and the firſt Miniſter, in his firſt Embaſſy at *Rome*, that Cardinal *Mazarin*, who made his Advantage of the Affairs the King caus'd to be negotiated with the Pope, during the laſt Commotions of the Kingdom of *Naples*, employ'd him again in this Conjuncture, as being a Miniſter very capable of governing the Mind of Pope *Innocent X.* The Marquiſs apply'd himſelf therein with Zeal and Affection; but there was a domeſtick and irreconcileable Hatred between the Pope and the Cardinal: Beſides which, *Innocent* was very ſtrongly inclin'd to the *Spaniards*. So that the Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe Conduct was irregular enough, croſſing his Undertaking, it was impoſſible for *M. de Fontenay* to do any thing to the Advantage of *France*. The Embaſſador had Orders to oppoſe the Duke's Deſigns, which were not approv'd of at Court; and this was what he had no Difficulty to ſucceed in, becauſe it was impoſſible for the Duke, who had neither Troops, Money, nor Ammunition, to drive

drive the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*, while the People perſecuted with Fury the Nobility and Barons, who were they that could contribute moſt thereto. *M. de Fontenay*, who was a very able Miniſter, did not however ſatisfy Cardinal *Mazarin* in this laſt Embaſſy, notwithſtanding it was the Pope's Inflexibility which fruſtrated the Embaſſador's Induſtry and Application. Nevertheleſs, tho' he did not loſe in this Employment the Reputation which the firſt had procur'd him, and which he had acquir'd in *England*, where he had alſo been Embaſſador: Yet he loſt the Fruits of his Labour, and with them the Friendſhip of the firſt Miniſter, who did not employ him any more after that Time.

Francois d'Aarſens, Lord of *Somelſdick*, of *Spyck*, &c. was one of the greateſt Miniſters the United Provinces have had for Negotiation. His Father, who was alſo a Man of great Parts, was in a Poſt where it was an eaſy matter for him to procure his Son Employment. *John d'Oldenbarnvelt*, of whom I ſhall ſpeak by and by, who had then the chief Management of the Affairs of *Holland*, and of all the United Provinces, got him to be ſent into *France*, in the Quality of Agent. It was there that he learnt to negotiate with thoſe Great Maſters, *Henry* IV, *Villeroy*, *Roſny*, *Sillery*, *Jeannin*, &c. and he ſucceeded ſo well therein as to have his Conduct approv'd by them. He had afterwards the Character of Embaſſador, and was the firſt that was conſider'd in that Quality at that Court; and in whoſe Time King *Henry* IV. declar'd, That the Embaſſador of the United Provinces ſhould take Place immediately after that of *Venice*. He was afterwards employ'd to that Republick, and to ſeveral Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, on the Account of the Commotions of *Bohemia*: He has moreover been ſeveral Times Embaſſador Extraordinary in *France* and in *England*, of which he has made a very exact and judicious Collection. I have ſeen them, and have obſerv'd therein, that all the Inſtructions the State gave him, and all the Credentials he carry'd with him in his laſt Embaſſies, are all of his own Faſhion. So that we muſt believe that he was the Perſon, of all the Countrey, who knew beſt, not only how to negotiate, but alſo how to inſtruct an Embaſſador in what he had to negotiate. And indeed he has done Honour to the State in all his Embaſſies, as well as to the Character with which his Sovereigns have inveſted him; tho' neither he nor his Poſterity have any Reaſon to repine at the the Time he employ'd in the Service of his Countrey.

I know not whether the Count *de Fuenſaldagne* has ſerv'd in any other Embaſſies than in that of *France*; but from the manner he behav'd himſelf in this, we muſt believe that one Embaſſy is ſufficient to procure a high Reputation to an Embaſſador. He had given Proofs of his Ability, while he had the chief Management of the Affairs of the Low Countries under the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, and afterwards in the Government of *Milan*. As he knew the ill State of thoſe Provinces, he was the firſt that undeceiv'd *Don Lewis de Haro*, in the vain Hopes the Council of *Spain* had conceiv'd, of being able to ſave them from the Arms of *France*; and it was he that adviſ'd him to make a Peace at any Rate. It was with this Intention that he began, while he was ſtill at *Bruſſels*, to entertain a Correſpondence with Cardinal *Mazarin*; and that he oppos'd all the Prince of *Condé*'s Contrivances to exaſperate *France* ſtill more. Being Governor of *Milan*, he contin'd this Correſpondence: So that as he was the Perſon who had procur'd the firſt Diſpoſition to a Peace, he was look'd upon, after that was concluded at the *Pyrenees*, to be the moſt proper Perſon to preſerve the Fruit he had planted and cultivated; for which Reaſon he was ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary to *Paris*. He had ſo worthily diſcharg'd the great Employments he had been entruſted with, that he had no Difficulty to ſucceed in this, wherein his Conduct was ſo wiſe and even, that he was ſoon as well belov'd at the Court of *France*, as he was eſteem'd in that of *Spain*. I could inſtance in very conſiderable Particulars thereof, if I might be allow'd to make the leaſt Digreſſion, in a Chapter wherein I have ſpoken of ſo many great Perſonages. I have given an Account how he left the Court of *France*, and how being arriv'd in the Low Countries he dy'd in the firſt Poſt there, and on the firſt Day of his Government.

I ſhall ſpeak of *Gaſpar de Bracamonte*, Count *de Peguaranda*, but only becauſe he was the Chief of that ſolemn Embaſſy which the King of *Spain* ſent to *Munſter*. He then juſt began to enter upon Buſineſs, and had not the neceſſary Experience to come off with Succeſs, in a Negotiation of that Importance. He had only ſeen the Court of *Spain*; ſo that not having had Leiſure to unlearn the ill Habits which are in a manner natural to thoſe who have never been out of their own Countrey, of what Nation ſoever they may be, he was proud and obſtinate, and ſo prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of his own Sentiments, that it was impoſſible to cure him thereof. He was perſuaded that the Emperor did not dare to treat without *Spain*: That *France* was threaten'd with an inevitable Revolution, and that having concluded a ſeparate Treaty with the United Provinces, there ought to be no Apprehenſion of the Arms of *France* making any farther Progreſs into *Flanders*: And upon theſe wild Notions, he rejected all the Propoſitions that could forward an Accommodation between the two Crowns. He did not acquire at *Munſter* the Reputation of an able Negotiator, becauſe being paſſionate and obſtinate, as I juſt now ſaid, he adviſ'd with no body, nor would hearken to no other Conditions than what were agreeable to the Conceptions he had of the imaginary Grandeur of the King his Maſter, who is oblig'd to him for all the Loſſes he has ſuſtain'd in the Low Countries ſince that Time; that is to ſay, ſince the Rupture of the Negotiation of *Munſter*. He has been ſince employ'd in the Council of *Spain*, where he acquitted himſelf worthily of his Poſt, and made it appear that he only wanted a little Experience, to make him capable of Affairs.

Gaſpar Coignet de la Thuillerie had both natural and acquir'd Parts, which made him be conſider'd as one of the ableſt Men of *France*. He had a Mien that ſet off his Character; and he was withal civil, inſinuating, reaſonable, moderate, good Company, ſtrong in his Arguments,

guments, eloquent beyond what is uſual, firm, and ſolid. Being Embaſſador at *Venice*, he there work'd happily at the Accommodation of the Differences the Republick had with the Pope, concerning their common Frontiers, on the ſide of the *Ferrareſe*, towards the Mouth of the *Pô*. He was Embaſſador in *Holland* in the Year 1645, when the King his Maſter diſpatch'd him to act the part of Mediator between the two *Northern* Powers. He ſucceeded ſo well therein, that both ſides remain'd very well ſatisfy'd with his good Offices. The Queen of *Sweden* was ſo, becauſe the Peace that was concluded at *Bremſebro*, gave the *Swedes* the Means to purſue their Deſigns in *Germany*, and to ſecond there thoſe of *France*: And altho' the King of *Denmark* did not find his Account in it, he was however glad to be able to preſerve a good part of his Dominions, when he ran the riſque of loſing them all. He went afterwards to *Stockholm*, where he ſerv'd the King his Maſter perfectly well; as he alſo did at his Return to *Holland*. He remain'd there till the United Provinces having concluded a ſeparate Treaty with *Spain*, and made a kind of Divorce with *France*, he retir'd in 1648, to *Paris*, where he was deſign'd for greater Employments, but for the Troubles of the Kingdom, during which he dy'd.

I wiſh I had not ſo much reaſon to ſpeak of *Godefroy* Count *d'Eſtrades*, Mareſchal of *France*, and Knight of the King's Orders, *&c.* I ſhall not here conſider him as an Officer of the Crown, who rais'd himſelf to this Dignity by his own Merit and Services, without the leaſt Favour, which ſeems inſeparable from the Fortune of the Court. The moſt Chriſtian King, who is very juſt in all his Actions, did an extraordinary Piece of Juſtice, when he honour'd *M. d'Eſtrades* with this eminent Dignity, in ſo advanc'd an Age, that he could no longer delay giving him ſo illuſtrious a Mark of his Eſteem. But this does not belong to my Subject. I here ſpeak of him as of an able Miniſter, and not as of the General of an Army. He had no ſooner taken upon him this Profeſſion, than he was put upon Negotiation by the greateſt Man that ever had the Management of the Affairs of a great State; and he anſwer'd ſo well what Cardinal *de Richelieu* had promis'd himſelf from his Ability, that it may be ſaid, that from that time he ſhar'd with the Embaſſadors the Confidence of thoſe Affairs, which have been negotiated in *Holland*. Cardinal *Mazarin*, and the Miniſters who have ſucceeded him, could not do without this Negotiator of the Camp, in the moſt intricate Conjunctures. It is impoſſible to imagin more perplexing ones, than thoſe which conſtantly employ'd him, during the Negotiations of *Munſter* and of *Oſnaburg*; and eſpecially in the Precipitation with which the *Hollanders* ran to a Peace, during the Sickneſs and Infirmities of the Prince of *Orange*. The Hiſtory of thoſe Times relates the Particulars of the Intrigues of the whole Negotiation, and takes notice of the part *M. d'Eſtrades* had therein; for which reaſon I ſhall ſay nothing of it, no more than of what paſs'd, and was negotiated by his Means in *Italy*, while he there commanded the *French* Army. But is it poſſible, without Admiration, to refreſh one's Memory with the Addreſs he ſhew'd, in acquiring to *France* the Town of *Dunkirk*? Not that little ſorry Place which was taken and retaken ſeveral times before the *Pyrenean* Peace; but that Place which *Cromwell* had caus'd to be fortify'd at a prodigious Expence, and which was to ſerve as a Door for the *Engliſh* to enter *France* at whenever they pleas'd. I ſhould never have done, if I enter'd upon a Detail of all that was tranſacted in *Holland*, during the ſix Years of his Embaſſy Extraordinary there. It is ſufficient to ſay, That his King was ſo well ſatisfy'd therewith, that he has not only acknowledg'd his Services on all Occaſions; but alſo put him at the Head of that illuſtrious Embaſſy, which was to reſtore Peace to the United Provinces. And as in that his Majeſty conſider'd *M. d'Eſtrades*, as the moſt capable Perſon of his Kingdom to bring about his Intentions, for the Glory of his Reign, and for the Repoſe of *Chriſtendom*: ſo there is no room to doubt, but this Miniſter will crown ſo many fine Actions of his illuſtrious Life with the moſt glorious of all, by not leaving *Nimeguen*, till he has concluded a general Peace.

The Marquiſs of *Grana* and of *Final*, Father to him who during theſe laſt Wars, was one of thoſe who acquir'd the greateſt Reputation, either for Arms or Negotiation, did not make himſelf leſs conſider'd in the Council of *Vienna*, than in the Armies where he had the chiefeſt Employments next to the firſt. But in the Embaſſy he perform'd at *Madrid* in the Year 1641, which is (if I miſtake not) the only one he ever was employ'd in, he plaid a Stroke of the ableſt Man that ever undertook to negotiate. *Philip* IV, King of *Spain*, had left the whole Conduct of his Affairs to the Count Duke *d'Olivares*; but whether his Capacity or his Genius was inferior to that of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, he ſucceeded in nothing: on the contrary ſeveral Provinces revolted, and whole Kingdoms withdrew themſelves from the Crown of *Caſtille*. The *Low Countries* were on the Point of being loſt; and the Evil communicating it ſelf to *Germany*, the Marquiſs of *Grana*, conſidering the common Intereſt of the Houſe, undertook to repreſent to the King of *Spain* the deplorable State of his Affairs; and took for that purpoſe ſuch Meaſures with the Queen, who underſtood things very well, that they remov'd the Count. This was a bold and artful Stroke of a Miniſter, who was capable of a great deal more, and who thereby did a very ſignal Service to the Emperor, and to all the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

The Republick of *Venice* would alone furniſh wherewithal to make a great Volume of illuſtrious Embaſſadors. So that tho' I inſtance but in a few *Venetians*, it is not my Intention to wrong thoſe that do not occur to my Memory; but I ſhould injure thoſe who make ſo conſiderable a part of modern Hiſtory, if I did not inſert them in this Catalogue. Of this Number is *William Soranzo*, who in the Year 1612, concluded the Treaty of *Vienna*, concerning the Affair of the *Uſcoques*. In the Year 1618, he made another Treaty at *Rome* with Cardinal *Borgia*, about the Reſtitution of ſome Ships, which had been taken by thoſe

thoſe belonging to the Duke of *Oſſuna*, Viceroy of *Naples*. In the Year 1621, he was ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary to *Madrid*, to compliment *Philip* IV. on his Acceſſion to the Crown. In the Year 1623, he went in the ſame Quality to *Rome*, on the occaſion of the Exaltation of *Urban* VIII. In the Year 1629, he was ſent Embaſſador Extraordinary into *France*, on the account of the War of *Savoy*; becauſe the Duke oppos'd the Paſſage of the *French* Army. In the Year 1630, Cardinal *de Richelieu* deſir'd him to take a Journey to *Turin*, and afterwards to *Caſal*, for the Regulation of the Garriſon of that Place with the *Spaniards*, wherein he ſucceeded to the Satisfaction of both Crowns; and in the Year 1653, he was employ'd with *Nani* to ſettle the Limits between the State of the Church and the Republick.

Hercules, Baron of *Charnace*, was alſo of the Choice of Cardinal *de Richelieu*; which of it ſelf ought to give a very favourable Opinion of an Embaſſador. But he I am ſpeaking of did not ſtand in need of this Prepoſſeſſion. His Negotiations with *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, which produc'd the Treaty of *Berwalde* on *January* 23, 1631, and which caus'd ſo great an effect in *Germany*, are very convincing Proofs thereof, if there were no other. It was he that brought the Arms of *Sweden* into the Empire, and laid the firſt Foundations of that Alliance, which has been ſo uſeful and ſo glorious to the two Crowns, and is ſo ſtill to that of *Sweden*. He continu'd to negotiate with the ſame King, and with Chancellor *Oxenſtiern*, till after the Battel of *Lutzen*, which made him retire into *France*. He had alſo negotiated with the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munich*, but with little Succeſs, by reaſon of the ill Humour of *St. Stephen*, a Relation of Father *Joſeph*'s, who being jealous to ſee in that Court an abler Man than himſelf, thwarted all his Negotiations, to the great Prejudice of the Affairs of the King his Maſter. It was *Charnace* who ſign'd on the fifteenth Day of *April*, 1634, the Treaty of the *Hague*, after which it was judg'd proper to make that of the eighth of *January* of the following Year, where he was concern'd as one of the King's Commiſſioners. By the Treaty of 1634, the King promis'd to raiſe and to entertain in the Service of the States a Regiment of Foot, and a Troop of Horſe, the Command whereof was given to *Charnace*, who mingling the Profeſſion of Colonel with the Function of Embaſſador, would needs be preſent at the laſt Siege of *Breda*, where he was kill'd in the Trenches.

Jerome Beverning is without doubt one of the firſt Men of the United Provinces for Negotiation. The Town of *Gouda*, which does not want great Subjects, has more than once deputed him to the Aſſemblies of the States of the Province of *Holland*, and to the Colleges of the Generality: And he has always perfectly well anſwer'd whatever could be expected from his Ability. It was he who in the Year 1654, concluded with *Oliver Cromwell* the Treaty which gave Peace to the United Provinces; but which had like to have brought them into a Civil War, on the Score of the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt, which according to the Opinion of ſome, had not been ſufficiently conſider'd therein. *Holland* in its own particular was ſo well ſatisfy'd with the Service he had done it on this occaſion, that it procur'd him the Office of Treaſurer General; that is to ſay, of firſt Miniſter of the United Provinces. There is not that Affair of ever ſo perplex'd an Intricacy, but he diſintangles it, if he will apply himſelf. If Proofs thereof are requiſite, it is but looking into the Treaty he caus'd to be concluded at *Cleves* with the Biſhop of *Munſter* in the Year 1666, and he did not negotiate with leſs Succeſs at *Madrid*, concerning the important Intereſt of the Provinces of *Flanders*. If he did not ſucceed at *Cologn*, the Fault muſt be laid on the evil Diſpoſition of the Parties, and on the bad Conjuncture of Affairs, rather than on his Manner of Acting, which was always uniform and equally vigorous. On which account he was entruſted with the whole Negotiation that was carry'd on at *Nimeguen*, and he was the Perſon the States pitch'd upon to go and finiſh it with the moſt Chriſtian King near *Ghent*. He finds himſelf cloy'd with Employments; inſomuch that whereas others ſeek them, he declines them; chuſing rather to enjoy himſelf in a rural Solitude, than to cheriſh the Uneaſineſs that accompanies Buſineſs, and which often is not leſs vexatious to himſelf than to thoſe who have to negotiate with him. To give the Character of *Beverning* would require another gueſs Pen than mine; becauſe if we examine well all the Parts thereof, it will appear, that ſetting aſide ſome ſmall Unevenneſs in his Humour, there is nothing therein but what is conſummate.

John Baron of *Ghent*, Lord of *Oſterwede*, Deputy on the part of the Province of *Guelder* to the Aſſembly of the States General for theſe forty Years or upwards, was employ'd in the Year 1651, in the Accommodation of the Differences which had embroil'd the Elector of *Brandenburg* with the Duke of *Newburg*. In the Year 1660, he was ſent with *Conrade van Beuningen*, of whom I have before made mention; and with *Juſtus de Hubert*, now Secretary to the States of *Zeland*, to go and complement the moſt Chriſtian King on the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, and on his Marriage. Theſe Embaſſadors had Orders to renew the Alliance between that Crown and the United Provinces, which was very much alter'd ſince the Peace of *Munſter*. It was concluded but in the Year 1662; ſo that *M. de Ghent* had Time enough to make make his Talent known. He is a Gentleman very handſome in his Perſon, and who is a perfect Maſter of the *French* Tongue: And as it belong'd to him, as chief of the Embaſſy, to make all the Harangues, and all the Complements, he acquitted himſelf ſo well thereof, that that Court, which is the moſt polite, but at the ſame Time the moſt difficult of all Courts, could never be weary of admiring the Politeneſs of this Foreigner. In the Year 1672, he was deputed with ſome other Gentlemen of the Aſſembly of the States General, to ſee on what Conditions the King would grant a Peace to the United Provinces. Of the four Miniſters this Deputation was compos'd of, there was one that counter-

counterfeited being ſick: Another was diſavow'd by the States of his Province; ſo that being come back with the firſt Reſolution, the Miniſters of *France* had given them, he return'd thither no more. *M. de Groot*, who was concern'd on the part of the States of *Holland*, took indeed a ſecond Journey to the *French* Army; but perceiving that it would be requiſite to make a third, he excus'd himſelf. *M. de Ghent*, who in the mean Time remain'd at the Court of *France*, expecting the Return of his Collegues, was oblig'd to follow it to *Paris*. He was narrowly obſerv'd, but alſo very well treated in the Journey: And as ſoon as he was come to *Paris* he had Liberty to ſee and receive all ſorts of Perſons, and he there alſo receiv'd ſeveral Marks of the Eſteem was had for his Perſon. The *Dauphin*, the Duke of *Orleans*, and all the Noblemen of the Court entertain'd him very kindly. Since his Return he has reſum'd his Poſt in the Aſſembly of the States General, and he is at preſent in ſuch an Age, and has acquir'd ſo much Glory, that he ought not to have any farther Ambition for foreign Employments.

John Knuit, deputed on the part of the Province of *Zeland* to the Aſſembly of the States General, as repreſenting the Prince of *Orange*, the firſt and only Nobleman of that Province, was employ'd in very important Negotiations; amongſt the reſt, in that which occaſion'd the Rupture in the Year 1635, and in that which procur'd the ſeparate Peace at *Munſter* in the Year 1648. He and *Pau* were the chief Architects of both thoſe Works. He had a daring and enterprizing Spirit, and was withal ſubtil and indefatigable. The Prince of *Orange*, *Frederick Henry*, employ'd him in very nice Conjunctures with Succeſs, particularly in the Affair of the Principality of *Orange*, the Governor whereof had treated with a foreign Power. He diſguis'd himſelf like a Merchant, let Soldiers into the Town, cut off the Governor's Retreat, who was gone out of the Caſtle, and attack'd him in a private Houſe, whither he had retir'd: and by that means ſav'd a State to a Houſe, which without it would not produce any Princes. It was in Recompence of this Service, that the Prince gave him the chief Direction of the Affairs of *Zeland*, and put him in a Poſt, which procur'd him every Day new Commiſſions, either within the State or out of the Countrey, the greateſt part whereof he diſcharg'd very happily. In the Year 1647, he made the Treaty for the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Orange* with the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*. As his Extraction was mean enough, he could not break himſelf of certain Habits, which are contracted in a bad Education. He had nothing in him that was Great, all was Cunning and Artifice; and he was ſo extremely ſordid, and what the *Florentines* call *Miſero*, that Rules might have been laid down for the moſt wretched Stingineſs, from thoſe of his Oeconomy.

The Life of *John Oldenbarnevelt* has been illuſtrious enough to deſerve a pretty large Volume. I ſhall not examin his private Actions, neither ſhall I give my ſelf the Trouble to juſtify his Memory; becauſe I conſider him here but as an Embaſſador; who, in that Quality, has done ſuch great Services to his Countrey, that it might very well have forborn putting him to Death by the Hands of the Hangman, upon the Sentence of a great Number of incompetent and illegal Judges. In the Year 1585, while he was yet but Penſionary of the Town of *Roterdam*, he was ſent with other Deputies into *England*, to offer to Queen *Elizabeth* the Sovereignty of the United Provinces, and he obtain'd of her a conſiderable Supply of Men and Money; on the Security of ſome Towns in *Holland* and *Zeland*, which were mortgag'd for the ſame. In the Year 1597, he was ſent with *Juſtin de Naſſaw* to King *Henry* IV, to endeavour to make him lay aſide the Thoughts of treating with the King of *Spain*. But the Reſolution was already taken; the King had given his Reaſons for ſo doing to the Queen of *England*, and the Peace was effectually concluded the Year following at *Vervins*. In this Embaſſy the King thought fit to confer with this Miniſter privately, and to ſatisfy him of the Reaſons which oblig'd him to put an End to a War that ruin'd his Kingdom; and he aſſur'd him of the Conſtancy of his Affection to the State of the United Provinces, of which he promis'd to give Marks by conſiderable Subſidies. *Juſtin de Naſſaw*, and the Sieur *Oldenbarnevelt*, at their Departure from the Court of *France*, paſs'd into *England*, where they made a Report to the Queen of the Diſpoſition in which they had left *Henry* IV, and they got from her a very favourable Declaration; notwithſtanding the Lord *Burleigh*, who was an Enemy to War, approv'd the Reſolution which had been taken in *France* to make a Peace with *Spain*. He had been made firſt Miniſter of *Holland*, under the Quality of Advocate of the Province, in the Year 1586, and in that ſame Quality he had the Secret of all the Embaſſies in which he was employ'd ſince that Time; as in that which the States General ſent into *England* in the Year 1598, to regulate with the Queen the Sums to which the Money ſhe had aſſiſted them with amounted. This was the third Embaſſy he had perform'd to the Queen: and notwithſtanding he had ſeveral Collegues, yet ſhe deſir'd to have a private Conference with *Oldenbarnevelt*. In the Year 1603, he was ſent, with Prince *Frederick Henry* of *Naſſaw*, with the Lord *Brederode*, and with ſome other Perſons of Quality, to complement King *James* on his Acceſſion to the Crown of *Great Britain*. In this Embaſſy the Sieur *d'Oldenbarnevelt* had again a private Conference with the King, and therein he ſo well juſtify'd the Intention of his Maſters, and the Reaſons they had to continue the War with *Spain*, that the King remain'd ſatisfy'd therewith. He had acquir'd Credit enough in his Province to prevail with it to conſent to the Truce of twelve Years, againſt the Opinion of Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*, who from thence conceiv'd ſo great a Hatred for this Miniſter, that he did not reſt, till he had procur'd his Death after the manner I before mention'd.

After the Parallel *Vitorio Siri* makes of Meſſieurs *d'Avaux* and *Servien*, I think I ought not to make any Difficulty to make one of two others, who liv'd at *Oſnaburg* almoſt after the ſame manner as thoſe I juſt ſpoke of, liv'd at *Munſter*;

Munſter; tho' with a great deal leſs Scandal, ſince they were very careful not to print their Quarrels. It is *John Oxenſtiern* and *John Adeler Salvius*, Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries of *Sweden* at the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*, I mean to ſpeak of. The firſt, whoſe Father was Chancellor, and great Director of the Affairs of that Kingdom, had, together with that great Name, the Advantage of an illuſtrious Birth, and that of the Advice and continual Counſels of a Father, who had not his Fellow for Negotiation, and who had a thorough Knowledge of the Affairs of *Germany*. The other was not ſo well born; but he was full as ſubtil and artificial as *Oxenſtiern*; and as being the Queen's Creature, he had the Confidence of that Princeſs, who did not love the Chancellor, and who for his ſake had a Prejudice to all his Houſe: So that theſe two Miniſters receiving ſometimes different and even contrary Inſtructions, it muſt not be wonder'd at, if in the Courſe of the Negotiation they were ſo often ſeen in different and oppoſite Sentiments. The *Oxenſtierns*, as well the Father as the Son, did not love *France* nor the *French*: The Queen, on the contrary, at that Time could not endure the other Nations. For which Reaſons the Embaſſador *Oxenſtiern* always preſs'd for an Accommodation with the Emperor, and that *Sweden* ſhould ſeek its Satisfaction, even to the Prejudice of *France*. *Salvius*, who follow'd the Inclination and Orders of the Queen, would not conſent to what would have prejudic'd a Crown ſo ſtrictly ally'd, to which ſhe was oblig'd for all the Advantages that *Sweden* poſſeſs'd in *Germany*. *Oxenſtiern* was rough, and ſometimes obſtinate. *Salvius* was gentle and complaiſant, but ſo timorous, that *Servien* ſaid, it would not be ſo hard a Task for him to overcome the Obſtinacy of the one, as to fix the Irreſolution of the other. Moreover *Salvius* was very ſelfiſh, and not altogether incorruptible: whereof *Oxenſtiern* could not be ſuſpected, he being actually in Poſſeſſion of a great deal of Wealth, and in Expectation of a great deal more; tho' *Salvius* on his part was not without, having rais'd himſelf to a very good Fortune for a Man of his Condition. The Queen continu'd her Favour to him after the Concluſion of the Peace of *Weſtphalia*. She employ'd him for the Execution of the Treaty, and ſince again at the Aſſembly of *Lubeck*: From whence being return'd, and juſt ready to take another Voyage, he dy'd at *Stockholm*. *Oxenſtiern* had no other Employment; and to ſpeak the Truth, the Queen was not at all ſatisfy'd with that he had had in *Germany*.

John Richardot, Preſident of the Council of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, had the Confidence of his Prince, who made uſe of his Advice in all his Affairs, and employ'd his Perſon in thoſe of the greateſt Moment. He was Chief of the Embaſſy which the ſaid Arch-Duke ſent in the Name of the King of *Spain* to *Vervins*, where a Peace was concluded between the two Crowns in the Year 1598. Some Years after King *Philip* III. ſent the Conſtable of *Caſtile* into *England*, to complement King *James* on his Acceſſion to the Crown, and to make a Treaty of Alliance with him. The Conſtable, who was no extraordinary Negotiator, ſubſtituted *Richardot*, and ſome others of the Arch-Duke's Miniſters whom he ſent into *England*, where they prepar'd the whole Treaty; ſo that there wanted nothing but the ſigning when the Conſtable arriv'd at *London*; tho' it was but a ſimple Treaty of Friendſhip and Commerce. *Richardot* gave very great Proofs of his Ability, in the Negotiation which was perform'd at the *Hague* in the beginning of this Century, about the Truce for twelve Years. For altho' he was not the Chief of the Embaſſy, while the Marquiſs *Spinola* was there, yet that did not hinder him from having the Confidence of the Arch-Duke, and knowing his true Deſign, having Leave from him to have private Conferences with Preſident *Jeannin*. So that one may ſay, that the main part of the Negotiation, for what related to the Intereſt of the King of *Spain*, and of the Arch-Duke, was tranſacted by theſe two Miniſters. He was a Man of Honour; and if ſometimes there was a Mixture of Artifice in ſome of his Actions, it was not without doing Violence to his own Nature.

The whole Life of Cardinal *Joyeuſe* carries with it ſo many Marks of an extraordinary Merit, that it cannot be deny'd but he was more oblig'd to himſelf than to his Brother's Favour, who procur'd him the Purple, at the Requeſt of *Henry* III, during this King's Life; and particularly after the Death of the Duke and Cardinal *de Guiſe*, he was employ'd to the Pope, with the Biſhop of *Mans* and the Marquiſs of *Piſani*, to endeavour to procure an Abſolution for the Violence which had been done to the Cardinal; but he had not the Quality of Publick Miniſter and Embaſſador, till he was employ'd as Mediator on the part of *Henry* IV, for the Accommodation of the Difference between Pope *Paul* V, and the Republick of *Venice*. Some of the Particulars of his Negotiation are to be ſeen in *M. de Freſne Canaye's* Letters, which diſcover that he was a very skilful and able Embaſſador; eſpecially in this, that he manag'd the matter ſo, that the *Spaniſh* Miniſters had no Hand at all in the Treaty, and that he preſerv'd the whole Glory thereof to *France*. The Republick was very well ſatisfy'd with his manner of acting, and expreſs'd its Acknowledgment by the exceſſive Honours the Senate did him at his coming to *Venice*, to put the laſt Hand to his Work. On this occaſion I ſhall ſay a word or two, *en paſſant*, concerning *de Freſne Canaye*. They who after his Death publiſh'd the Diſpatches he had made during his Embaſſy at *Venice*, have not done any great Honour to his Memory. He muſt needs have been a Man of Merit, ſince King *Henry* IV. had employ'd him in *Germany* and *England*, where he had negotiated before his Embaſſy to *Venice*: but as he came afterwards to a Place where there was nothing to negotiate, we ought not to wonder at the little matter that is found in his Letters. But as I juſt ſaid, the Compiler might have ſpar'd himſelf the Trouble of giving them to the Publick, and of making three large Volumes of what might have been compris'd in ten or twelve Sheets.

Iſaac Volmar, Baron of *Rieden*, one of the Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries at the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*, was one of the ableſt Miniſters of the Aſſembly. He underſtood perfectly well the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and knew how to manage it: ſo that it may be ſaid, that he was one of thoſe who did the greateſt Service

there

there, to that Party. Moſt of the Civilians of *Germany* have their own particular Principles, which not being always very conformable to common Senſe, form alſo of that Set of Men a ſort of Politicians that are eſteem'd no where, but in thoſe Courts where no others are known, and where they teach the ſame Principles. *Volmar* had ſtudy'd after the manner of *Germany*, but he had unlearn'd the pedantick part, and the School Maxims betimes; at leaſt as much as it is poſſible to be cured of a Gangrene, that penetrates to the very Bone, and even infects the Marrow. He was civil and moderate, and had form'd himſelf at the Court of *Vienna*, where are conſtantly ſeen a great Number of *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Noblemen and Miniſters. He would certainly have done more uſeful Services to his Maſter the Emperor, and to his Countrey, than he did, if he could have acted according to his own Genius, and have freed himſelf of the Dependence, the Emperor's Miniſters have of thoſe of *Spain*. He was ſince deputed on the part of the Emperor *Leopold*, to the Aſſembly of *Franckfort* in the Year 1657, and following; and at laſt to *Ratisbone*, where he dy'd on *October* 13, 1612, being 76 Years of Age.

Peter Chanut was a Relation of *M. de la Tuillerie*, (whom I have before ſpoken of) and train'd up by him. It was *la Tuillerie*, who carry'd him to *Sweden*, left him there, and procur'd him the Quality of publick Miniſter of the ſecond Order. This it ſelf would be ſufficient to recommend any other Embaſſador than *Chanut*. But he was ſomewhat more oblig'd to himſelf, than to his Relation and Patron. He was one of the learneſt Men of his Time, and amongſt the firſt Diſciples of *Des Cartes*. He expreſs'd himſelf perfectly well in moſt of thoſe Languages that are moſt in uſe, as well the Living as the Dead. He had travell'd very much; and having improv'd himſelf thereby, he had acquir'd that Knowledge, which procur'd him at firſt, not only the Eſteem, but alſo the Confidence of Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden*. He had withal a great deal of Honour, and much Zeal for the *Roman Catholick* Religion, tho' not very conformable to the *Carteſian* Philoſophy. All theſe Qualities, and amongſt the reſt, the Art he had to govern the Queen's Mind, procur'd him the Quality of Repreſentative in the firſt Rank. He took no Vanity therefrom: and if this new Quality made ſome Alteration in his Train and Retinue, it caus'd none in his Perſon, nor in his Conduct. While he was ſtill but Reſident he had negotiated with the Ability of an Embaſſador, and when he was Embaſſador, he carry'd himſelf with the Modeſty of a Reſident; not but that on ſeveral Occaſions (ſome whereof I have inſtanc'd in) he knew very well how to vindicate what was due to the Dignity of his Character. *Sweden* and the United Provinces are ſenſible of, and will for a long time remember the Merit of this great Perſonage. He aſſiſted as Mediator on the part of *France*, at the two Aſſemblies of *Lubeck* in the Year 1651, and 1652, and one may ſay, That of all the Miniſters of that Congreſs, none but *Chanut* made a Figure there; all the reſt being like ſo many mute Perſonages on the Theatre. He may be ſaid to have been an Embaſſador of the firſt Claſs, and that there are but very few that can take place of him. His Friends could have wiſh'd, that having diſcharg'd ſo many illuſtrious Employments, which he had had in *Sweden*, in *Germany*, and in *Holland*, he had not addicted himſelf to a Miniſter, who amongſt his other inſupportable Vanities, had a mind to have that of being follow'd, by a Miniſter who had a Place in the Council as well as himſelf. His Negotiations, maim'd and diſfigur'd as they are, do however carry the Marks of what he was in effect; altho' he that has publiſh'd them in that lame Condition has done him irreparable Damage. They who thus aſſume the Authority of retrenching from the Works of ſuch great Men, what they think ought not to be communicated, would do much better to give nothing to the Publick, than to print their imperfect Extracts, devoid of Judgment, and wherein neither the Air nor Genius of the Miniſter is to be diſcover'd.

Peter de Groot, Son to the great *Hugh*, was not ſo learned as his Father; but I think I may ſay, That he was every whit at leaſt as able a Miniſter. After he had ſucceſsfully ſerv'd the Elector *Palatin*, and ſome other Princes of *Germany* at the *Hague*, he devoted himſelf entirely to the Service of his Countrey. As Penſionary of the City of *Amſterdam* he had Admittance into the Aſſembly of the States of *Holland*, and after ſome Years, he was ſent with the Quality of Embaſſador in Ordinary, to the Court of *Stockholm*, where the States were us'd to entertain only a Miniſter of the ſecond Order; but it was thought neceſſary to do ſomething extraordinary for ſo extraordinary a Perſonage. He was ſo happy in his Negotiation, that there was room to hope, that he would have render'd the Intereſt of the Crown of *Sweden*, inſeparable from that of the United Provinces, if he had not been recall'd, in order to be ſent to *France*. It was at a time when the King being very much incens'd at the triple Alliance, the States had caus'd to be made for the Defence of the Provinces of *Flanders*, which are under the Obedience of the King of *Spain*, had reſolv'd to reſent it, and to make War againſt the United Provinces. It may be ſaid of *M. de Groot*, That never did ſo ill made a Body, lodge ſo beautiful and great a Soul. He had an admirable Preſence of Mind, a charming Converſation, a clear and ſolid Judgment, Sentiments that were juſt and equitable, a great Knowledge of all ſorts of Affairs, as well domeſtick as foreign: and above all, what the *French* call the Art of pleaſing. His Name was known at the Court of *France*, where he was immediately conſider'd as the only Miniſter capable of reconciling the diſagreeing Minds, if they had not been altogether irreconcileable. I have ſpoken elſewhere of the Civilities the King caus'd to be done him, to the very Day before the Declaration. After the Rupture in the Year 1672, he was ſent to the King, with *M. de Ghent*, and ſome other Deputies, whom Hiſtory will make known, to endeavour to bring Affairs to an Accommodation; but the Revolution which happen'd in the Countrey, broke off the Series of that Negotiation, and forc'd him to ſeek elſewhere an *Aſylum* for his Innocence, which

was

was not ſafe at home. His Enemies and mine, did not ceaſe perſecuting him, even after that the Court of Juſtice of *Holland*, (which did not dare to commit two Violences, on the Heels one of the other) had juſtify'd him in form. I dare ſay no more of him, tho' there is no ſaying too much of a Man, who was above all Encomiums. I am writing this at the very time I am inform'd of his Deceaſe. I cannot but pity *Holland* for having loſt a Man, who would have help'd to repair the Breaches, which Diſorders have caus'd in the State within ſome Years.

There are ſome Men that one can reap no Honour from, in ſpeaking of them, becauſe one can ſay nothing of them but what is infinitely below their Merit. *Peter Jeannin* is of the Number of theſe Great Men. He had been Counſellor to the Duke of *Mayenne*, while this was Head of the League; and he had juſtify'd the Procedure of his Maſter, at the Court of *Madrid*, at a Time when the Blame of all the Diſgraces that happen'd to the Party were laid upon that Prince. After the Duke's Reconciliation, King *Henry* IV. receiv'd him into his Service, and made him one of his truſtieſt Miniſters. The King lov'd him, becauſe he knew that it was by *Jeannin*'s Counſels chiefly, that the Deſigns of thoſe, who were for calling in a Stranger to the Crown, were overthrown. The Encomium that is put at the Head of the Negotiation he had tranſacted in *Holland*, contains nothing comparable to what is to be found in the Negotiation it ſelf, where it appears that King *Henry* IV. and *M. de Villeroy*, what a King, and what a Miniſter! take more Pleaſure to follow his Counſels, than they have Difficulty to inſtruct him in their Intentions, and to regulate his Conduct. If Preſident *Jeannin* had done nothing elſe in his whole Life, than to bring to a Concluſion the twelve Years Truce, notwithſtanding the Difficulties and Oppoſitions he met with on all Sides, and to have founded that powerful State of the United Provinces; it cannot be deny'd but it was a kind of Miracle, and that he deſerves to be put in the Rank of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious Embaſſadors that ever were. I could willingly make a Parallel between Cardinal *Doſſat* and Preſident *Jeannin*, but as I find in both of them Qualities equally great, a profound Learning, a Mind extremely inlighten'd, a clear and ſolid Judgment, a prudent and diſintereſted Zeal, an incomparable Fidelity, and an Addreſs and Application not to be found any where elſe; I muſt own, that I could not ſay any thing of the one, which would not alſo in Juſtice be due to the other: The Force of their Reaſoning, the Sweetneſs of their Humour, and of their Moderation, ſhew themſelves with ſo much Luſtre in all their Diſpatches, that it ſeems as if, being employ'd under the ſame Monarch, they had alſo brought the ſame Talents to his Service, in Order to deſerve from him the ſame Eſteem, and the ſame Recompences, each in his Profeſſion: Altho' *Henry* IV. had not the Reputation to have beſtow'd very great ones upon them.

The Father and Grandfather of *Pompone de Bellievre*, having been employ'd in ſeveral Embaſſies, it may be ſaid of him that he was the Son of a Maſter. As he was the Grandſon, by his Father and Mother, of two Chancellors of *France*, and the Son of a Preſident *au Mortier*, the Gown did not afford a more illuſtrious Perſonage than himſelf. In the Year 1635, ſoon after the Rupture between the two Crowns, he was ſent in the Quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary into *Italy*, to inform the Republick of *Venice*, and the other Potentates of thoſe Parts, of the Juſtice of the King's Arms, and to try to prevail with ſome of them to engage in the Party. He was already Preſident of the Parliament, when in the Year 1645. he was ſent into *England* with the ſame Quality, on the Account of the Commotions of that Kingdom; but he found the Parties ſo exaſperated, that there was no likelihood of reconciling them. In the Year 1651, after the Deceaſe of the late Prince of *Orange* (the Father of him that now lives) he was ſent into *Holland*; as well to complement the States on that Conjuncture, as to ſee what would be deliberated in the great Aſſembly which had been ſummon'd at the *Hague*; becauſe moſt of the Provinces were without a Governor, and the State had no Captain General. He found there at the very firſt, and indeed ſtarted himſelf ſo many Difficulties, on the Score of the Ceremonies and Civilities, which the Deputies of the States inſiſted upon, ſince the Congreſs of *Weſtphalia*; that ſeeing withal, that the foreign Miniſters would have no Share in the Deliberations of the Great Aſſembly, and that he had every Day bad Accidents to encounter with on the Score of the Ceremonial, he took his Leave, and return'd to *France*. Two or three Years after, he had the Place of firſt Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris* given him, which is the firſt belonging to the Gown, after that of Chancellor. It has always been fill'd with great Men; but there had not yet been any in it, that had done it ſo much Honour as he did, nor that had diſcharg'd it with ſo much Gravity, and ſo much Sufficiency. He did not enjoy it long enough to exert his whole Talent; Death envying the Parliament a Head that was all its Glory, and that knew very well how to preſerve its Dignity and Prerogatives

The Queen of *Sweden* being ſenſible of the good Qualities of *Sbering Roſenhan*, gave him at firſt a very honourable Employment, and of great Truſt. She ſent him to *Munſter* with the Quality of Reſident, to aſſiſt on the part of the Crown of *Sweden*, at the Conferences which the Plenipotentiaries of *France* were to have with the Emperor's Miniſters; that is to ſay, to obſerve their Actions and Proceedings. Nay, he had himſelf there ſome Intrigues with the Miniſters of *Spain*, which procur'd him Reproaches from *d'Avaux* and *Servien*, who were jealous thereof. They were not yet quite cur'd of their Jealouſy, when being Embaſſador in *France*, during the laſt Commotions of *Paris*, he preſs'd Cardinal *Mazarin* to make an Accommodation with the Parliament; even tho' he ſomewhat impair'd the Royal Authority. The Cardinal, who knew that ſuch Accommodation could not be made, but at the Expence of his Fortune, complain'd thereof in *Sweden*, and made him be recall'd. Queen *Chriſtina* was willing to ſhew that Complaiſance to the Queen Regent of *France*; but as ſhe was

ſenſible that *Roſenhan*'s Intentions were good, (for he was apprehenſive leſt the Diſturbances in *France*, ſhould hinder the Execution of the Peace of *Germany*, or ſhould rekindle a new War) ſhe did not condemn his Procedure; and having an Eſteem for the Prince of *Condé*, ſhe did not approve of the Cardinal's. Since that Time ſhe continu'd to employ *Roſenhan* at *Lubeck*, and elſwhere: And after her Abdication, the King, her Succeſſor, had an Eſteem for the Merit of this Miniſter, and made uſe of him in the Affairs of *Breme*, and on other Occaſions. He was a very underſtanding Miniſter, had a great Fund of Study, and a great Knowledge of Affairs; and who, notwithſtanding he was born in one of the coldeſt Climates of *Europe*, had nevertheleſs Qualities which are not very common, even in the hotteſt. There was neither Affectation nor Artifice in his Actions, and yet there was ſomething in them ſo ſubtil and refin'd, that it was a hard Matter to be ſufficiently guarded againſt him: He had beſides, a natural Freedom which denoted a Greatneſs of Soul, worthy of a true Embaſſador.

The Count *de Trautmanſdorf* had the chief Confidence of his Maſter, when he procur'd himſelf to be ſent Embaſſador to *Munſter*. He knew that there is nothing impairs Favour ſo eaſily as Abſence; and he could not be ignorant that the *Spaniſh* Miniſters would do him all the ill Offices imaginable, during his remote Employ, in Order to deprive him of the Credit he had at the Court of *Vienna*; yet nevertheleſs he voluntarily quitted that Poſt, to endeavour to procure a Peace to *Germany*. The Emperor had upon him the two Powers of *France* and *Sweden*; but he was not leſs incommoded by the Friendſhip of his neareſt Relations and Allies, the King of *Spain* and the Elector of *Bavaria*. *Trautmanſdorf*, to free his Maſter of all theſe Inquietudes, reſolv'd to diſintangle his Sovereign's Intereſt from thoſe of his Relations, and to make a Peace with one of the two Crowns. He was open enough; but, with his Sincerity, he had alſo Ability and Addreſs enough to manage the moſt important Affairs, and to guard himſelf againſt the Artifices of thoſe Miniſters he negotiated with. He was of Opinion that the King of *Spain*'s Intereſt ought not to make a part of the Emperor's or Empires; and with this Notion he apply'd himſelf ſo heartily to this Negotiation, that it cannot be deny'd but *Germany* is oblig'd to him for the Peace which was concluded with the Crowns of *France* and *Sweden* in the Year 1648. And it is to him alſo that *France* is oblig'd, for the Advantages ſhe gain'd by that Treaty; becauſe he loſt the Opportunity of concluding with *Sweden* without *France*, as I have ſaid elſewhere.

Sir *William Temple* was a Creature of the Lord *Arlington*'s: who being Secretary of State, and entruſted with the Confidence of the King his Maſter, procur'd his Friend to be ſent Reſident to *Bruſſels*. It was by this Employment that he enter'd into Affairs, of which he gained ſome Knowledge under the Protection of that great Stateſman. From *Bruſſels* he went into *Holland*, at a Time when the *French* having invaded the Low Countries, ſeem'd to render the Intereſt of *England* and the United Provinces inſeparable. When *M. Temple* came to the *Hague* he found the firſt Miniſter diſpos'd to hearken to all the Overtures that could contribute to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Arms of *France*, and to receive with Gladneſs the Propoſitions he there made for a new Alliance. It was propos'd, negotiated, and concluded in four or five Days: The Deputies of the Aſſembly of the States General, judging that in that Conjuncture, where the Matter in Hand was to gain the King of *England* to their Intereſt, they might very well paſs over ſome Formalities, and act a little cavalierly. *M. Temple*, after that, labour'd at a Triple Alliance, into which *Sweden* was brought: And after that again, at a particular defenſive Alliance between the King his Maſter and thoſe Provinces. But all theſe Treaties were hardly concluded, when the King of *Great Britain* entering into freſh Engagements with that of *France*; this caus'd *Temple* to be recall'd, who from that Time remain'd without Employment; till a Peace being concluded between *England* and the United Provinces, in the Year 1674, the Lord *Arlington*, who continu'd to him his Protection, got him to be ſent to the *Hague* as Embaſſador Extraordinary, and afterwards to *Nimeguen*, with the Quality of Embaſſador Plenipotentiary for a General Peace. He was there about a Year, at the end of which he had either Orders or Leave to retire into *England*; where he is ſtill at this Time. The Remarks he has made on the States of the United Provinces, and ſome other Works which he has communicated only to his Friends, ſufficiently diſcover that he is a Miniſter of very great Parts, and that he is capable of ſerving his Maſter in Employments of this Nature. He publiſh'd his Remarks after his firſt Embaſſy, which makes it be believ'd that we ſhall ſee them augmented, and rectify'd in ſome Places, after the ſecond.

My Intention was to ſay ſomething more, concerning him, and indeed to ſpeak of ſeveral other Embaſſadors; as alſo of ſome Miniſters of the Second Order, and particularly of all thoſe that are at preſent at *Nimeguen*, amongſt whom there are ſome very Illuſtrious Ones. But having already given but too much Extent to my Work, and my Mind not having the Liberty requiſite to give it a greater Perfection, while my Body is confin'd in a very rigorous Priſon, I am forc'd to put an End to it. Perhaps ſomebody or other, that has a greater Capacity, and better Means than I have, may give another Turn to what I have begun, and make a complete Treatiſe of *The Embaſſador and his Functions.*

AN

AN
Hiſtorical Diſcourſe
OF THE
ELECTION
OF THE
EMPEROR,
And of the
Electors of the Empire.

AN
Hiſtorical Diſcourſe
OF THE
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And of the
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TO

My Lord *SEGUIER*,

DUKE, and PEER, and CHANCELLOR OF

FRANCE.

MY LORD,

THE Employment with which one of the firſt and greateſt Princes of the Empire has thought fit to honour me, having induc'd me to get a particular Knowledge of the Affairs of *Germany*; I was compoſing a general Hiſtory thereof, on the Memoirs, which I have with great Care collected, of the ſame; and I was finiſhing that Work, when the Curioſity of ſome Perſons of Quality oblig'd me to diſcontinue it, and to make a Diſcourſe concerning the Election of the Emperor, on occaſion of the approaching Electoral Diet. *France* had had ſo ſmall a Share in thoſe which have been been held within theſe hundred and twenty Years, that it had quite neglected the Study of a Matter, the Knowledge whereof ſeem'd to be of no Uſe, and which it had no Occaſion to learn. But of late, the Revolutions with which *Germany* has been threaten'd, after an *Interregnum* which afforded the Intereſted time to carry on ſeveral Negotiations, ſtirr'd up in the Curious, a Deſire to inform themſelves of the State of Affairs in thoſe Parts, and of the Particulars of one of the moſt celebrated Actions that is perform'd in *Europe*. So that they who had prevail'd with me to undertake this Work, have alſo been able to perſuade me, that I could give nothing ſo bad on this Occaſion, but it would be lik'd, and receiv'd with Satisfaction by the Publick. I am ſenſible, My Lord, that this Diſcourſe does not deſerve the Honour of Your Approbation, and that in preſenting it to You, I expoſe it to the Cen-

ſure of ſo clear-ſighted a Judgment, that You will diſcover all the Faults thereof at the firſt View. And in reality, there are but very few Things ſufficiently finiſh'd, not to appear imperfect in ſome reſpect or other, to the conſummate Knowledge of that great Genius, which King *Lewis* the Juſt, judg'd alone capable of ſupporting worthily the two eminent Qualities of Chief Juſtice, and of Miniſter of State. Neither had I, My Lord, taken the Liberty to offer You this ſmall Treatiſe, amongſt the excellent Works that Three of the ableſt Men of our Age produce every Day under the Honour of Your Patronage, if You had not done me the Favour to give me to underſtand, that it would not be unacceptable to You; and that You would have for it the ſame Bounty, with which You have ſuffer'd me to approach You for ſo many Years. It is therefore, My Lord, that I am ſo far from believing I can improve this Conjuncture to the acquitting my ſelf of the great Obligations I have to You, that I am forc'd to acknowledge I thereby contract new ones, by begging You will be pleas'd to honour it with the ſame Protection You have vouchſaf'd to beſtow on its Author. It muſt be own'd, My Lord, that *France* beholds in all Your Conduct a perfect Idea of a great Magiſtrate, and that ſhe is infinitely delighted in the Juſtice You ſo equally diſpenſe to all ſorts of Perſons: But as to my own particular, I have felt ſuch favourable Effects thereof, that I ſhall be for ever oblig'd to You for the Care You were pleas'd to take, to ſecure me my Right in an Affair of very great Importance. Your Lordſhip, out of Your exceſſive Goodneſs, would needs add thereto the Favour of putting me in the Number of thoſe You receive into Your Houſe, as into the Sanctuary of the Learned, and even of Learning it ſelf; and to conſider me rather as a Perſon that honours and admires You, than as a publick Perſon. I have not Vanity enough to perſuade my ſelf, that I poſſeſs any Quality that merits the Honour of Your Favour: But I ought to believe that if You have found in me any thing that could prevail with You to grant it me, it muſt without doubt be the Reſpect and Veneration, which I have in a greater Degree for Your ſelf, than for Your Dignity. Inſomuch, that I dare be bold to ſay, that it will be an Effect of Your Juſtice, as well as of Your Bounty, when You ſhall be entirely perſuaded, that I am very truly,

MY LORD,

Your very Humble, and
very Obedient Servant,

D. W. R. D. B.

TO THE READER.

IT fares with Politicks as with Phyſick. Every body tampers therewith, and very few ſucceed therein. Both the one and the other have Bodies to preſerve, and Maladies to cure. Both ſtand in need of Study and Experience, and both have Doctors, who teach and practiſe according to the Rules of Art: But then both have alſo their Quacks, who are for curing the Diſtemper before they know the Cauſes thereof, and the Conſtitution of the Body. Of this Number are thoſe who have written concerning the approaching Diet, as well in Italy as in France and Germany, like Politicians rather than Hiſtorians; and who have rather endeavour'd to regulate the Choice the Princes Electors ought to make, than to treat of the Inſtitution of the Electoral College, of the State it is at preſent in, of the Princes that compoſe the ſame, and of the eſſential Circumſtances which the Law requires ſhould be obſerv'd in the Election.

The Author of the preſent Diſcourſe has acted quite otherwiſe: He has confin'd himſelf within the Bounds of the Truth of Hiſtory, on which he grounds all his Arguments, without Paſſion, and without Intereſt. While he keeps within theſe Limits he will not be liable to ſay with one of thoſe Authors, That the Eagle took its Flight even into the Eaſt, ſo long as the Monarchy of the Empire was moderated by the Electors: Since in the Time of Conrade III, of Frederick I, and Frederick II, who made War againſt the Infidels of the Eaſt, the Quality of Elector was not yet known. He will not give that of Collegue to the King of the Romans, who is choſen in the Emperor's Life-time; ſince the Capitulation expreſſly forbids him meddling with the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Empire, and that that Author ſays himſelf, That the Auſtrian Cæſars have only left an empty Name without Power to the King of the Romans. He will not put William of Naſſaw in the Catalogue of the Emperors, and he will be aſham'd to ſay that Ferdinand II, was Unkle to the Emperor Matthias, his Predeceſſor. He will be cautious of advancing that Hungary has been lopp'd off from the Empire. That William of Holland, Alfonſus of Caſtile, and Richard of Cornwal have ſhar'd the Empire amongſt them: That the Pope beſtows the Empire: That the Emperor owes Homage to the See of Rome: That formerly the Kings of the Romans were only created in caſe of the Emperor's Abſence or Indiſpoſition, and that they had an ordinary Power: That the Electors depriv'd the Houſes of Saxony, of Franconia, and of Suabia, of the Imperial Dignity; thereby to ſtifle all the Pretenſions of thoſe Families to

an Hereditary Succeſſion: That Auſtria *was uſurp'd from* Ottocarius, *King of* Bohemia: *That* Wenceſlas *was as ſoon diſpoſſeſs'd as choſen, and that* Maximilian *I*, Rodolphus *II*, *and* Matthias *caus'd their Succeſſors to be elected. He will avoid diſcovering ſuch groſs Ignorance, which is inexcuſable in a Man who boaſts to have compos'd a large Treatiſe on the moſt important Affairs of the Empire, and who might have ſaid on that Subject an Infinity of other things of greater Moment and Truth towards the maintaining the good Cauſe. But he will take Care to ſupport all that he ſhall ſay with publick Proofs, and thoſe ſo ſtrong and forcible, that he believes all thoſe who are well vers'd in the Knowledge of the Hiſtory and Affairs of* Germany, *will agree therein.*

At firſt he had only made ſome Memoirs on this Subject, which he communicated to three or four of his Friends; but they were without Form, and ſuch as the Work of a few Days might be ſuppos'd to be. But having been ſince deſir'd to publiſh them, he undertook to make a kind of Treatiſe thereof, and to obſerve ſome Method therein; at leaſt as much as the Nature of the Matter would permit.

To ſpeak orderly in the ſame, it was requiſite to ſhew that the Empire has not always been Elective: That the Electoral College, which is compos'd of a certain Number of Princes, Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, was not inſtituted at the ſame Time that the Election began to take Place in Germany; *but that the firſt Elections were made by all the States of the Empire aſſembl'd in a Body; and that by little and little the Electors were reduc'd to the Number limited by the* Golden Bull: *That it was* Charles *IV. who fix'd the Number, and made a fundamental Law, of what was before but a Cuſtom; who confirm'd the Rights of the Electors, and regulated the Ceremonies of the Election. It was neceſſary to ſpeak of the Electors in general, and of the Family and Perſon of each Elector in Particular: to be able thereby to judge of their Intereſts, and of the Conſideration will be had for them in the approaching Diet; before we ſpeak of the Election; which is here conſider'd, either in its Preliminaries, which are the eſſential Circumſtances which precede it; or in it ſelf; or elſe in its effect, which is the Creation of an Emperor.*

He choſe not to make this Diſcourſe ſo large as the Copiouſneſs of the Matter would have allow'd him; becauſe his Intention was to write only for the Interregnum, and to adapt it only to the Election. But this is not what has hinder'd the Author from giving that Turn and Perfection to his Style, which is what is moſt admir'd at this Day in any Book. For beſides that it is very difficult to put the German *Inſtruments into good* French, *(which however he was oblig'd to inſert in this Treatiſe) as for inſtance, the* Golden Bull *and the* Capitulation, *&c. he that writes this is a Foreigner, who neither would nor could diſguiſe himſelf, and who makes no Difficulty to own, that all he has been able to do was to make himſelf intelligible. However he thinks he may ſafely promiſe, that in a little time he will publiſh ſomething more perfect, if he may have Leave to hope, that the Imperfections of his Expreſſion may be made Amends for, by the Inſight he gives into the Affairs he handles.*

OF



OF THE

ELECTION

OF THE

EMPEROR,

And of the

Electors of the Empire.

CHAP. I.

That the Empire was hereditary in Charlemagne's *Time.*

WE might presuppose, as a thing very certain, that the Empire, whether it be taken for the Imperial Dignity, or for the Body of the Empire it self, that is to say, the States and Provinces of which the Empire is compos'd, was hereditary in the House of *Charlemagne:* But forasmuch as there are Persons of very eminent Learning, who do not scruple to call this Truth into doubt, we shall shew by the Authority of contemporary Historians, and by the Series of History, that a free Election was not absolutely establish'd in the Empire, till after the Death of the Emperor *Frederick* II. It is evident that recourse has been had to Election, when Heirs have fail'd in the Family of the Prince reigning; but an hereditary State, does not for that become elective. There is no Monarchy wherein the Royal Family has not fail'd, and where it may not fail again; but that Default of Princes in the Royal Family, has not render'd the State that was hereditary, elective, notwithstanding recourse has been there had to Election several times; as appears by the History of the first Monarchy of *Europe*, where the Crown has pass'd from the Family of the *Merovingians*, into that of the *Carlovingians*; and from this, to the Posterity of *Hugues Capet*, and yet it cannot be said for that to become elective. For as the Succession of

ſeveral Princes of the ſame Family does not make a State hereditary, when they ſucceed by virtue of an Election; ſo ſeveral Elections do not render a State elective, provided a preſumptive Heir can interrupt the Election by right of hereditary Succeſſion.

Charlemagne poſſeſs'd *France* by the ſame Title as the Kings his Predeceſſors had poſſeſs'd it. One part of *Germany* was annex'd thereto, and the other was conquer'd by him, as well as *Lombardy*, and the other Provinces of *Italy*. Now there needs but a ſlender Knowledge of Hiſtory, to know that the State of *France* has ever been hereditary, even under the Kings of the firſt Race. *Childeric* dying in the Year 484, *Clovis* his Son, ſucceeded by virtue of hereditary Right. * *Clovis* left his Sons Heirs to the Kingdom. † *Clotharius*, the Son of *Clovis*, dying in the Year 565, *left the Kingdom to his Sons*, as *Aimon* ſays, and afterwards: ‡ *Now the Sons, Heirs to the Kingdom*, were call'd, *&c.* And this Form of Succeſſion continu'd, till there were no Princes left of the Poſterity of *Meroveus* in *France*.

This is ſo great a Truth, that it cannot even be ſaid, That *Pepin*, who procur'd himſelf to be ſubſtituted to *Childeric*, the laſt King of the firſt Race, was elected. He was already King in effect, and was abſolute Maſter of the State, becauſe he had ſucceeded in that Power to his Father and Grand-father, when he made uſe of the Authority of Pope *Zachary* to obtain a Title, for which it was not neceſſary to proceed to an Election. But as for *Charlemagne* and his Succeſſors, it is certain that the Right of hereditary Succeſſion was ſo well ſecur'd in them, as well in the Empire, as in the Kingdoms of *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*, that even Baſtards have ſucceeded to their Fathers, and their neareſt Relations. For notwithſtanding the Conſent of the States of the Empire was ſometimes concern'd therein, as when in the Year 889, * the Emperor *Arnulfus* not having as yet any lawful Iſſue, oblig'd the *Eaſtern Francs* to take an Oath of Fidelity to *Swentibold* and *Ratold*, his natural Sons; yet that has nothing in common with an Election: which is nothing but the Choice, which the univerſal Conſent, or that of the major Part of the Princes, makes of another Prince, who without that could not pretend to the Empire.

There is not any body ſo ignorant as not to know, that the Imperial Dignity has always paſs'd from Father to Son, or to the neareſt Relation, as long as it remain'd in the Houſe of *Charlemagne*: *Lewis the Debonnaire*, who had ſucceeded in the Empire to his Father, left it to *Lotharius* his eldeſt Son; and this left it to his Son *Lewis* II, who had for Succeſſor *Charles the Bald* his Unkle. To *Charles* II, ſucceeded *Charles* III, call'd the *Groſs*, his Nephew, who had for Succeſſor *Arnulphus*, natural Son to his Brother *Carloman*, King of *Bavaria*, to whom ſucceeded *Lewis* III, his Son, who was the laſt Prince of the Houſe of *Charlemagne*, of the *German* Branch.

But to make the Right of hereditary Succeſſion to the Empire in this Family more evident; it muſt be known after what Manner thoſe Princes ſucceeded one to the other. Hiſtory ſays, that *Charlemagne* aſſociated *Lewis* his Son to the Empire, and caus'd him to be crown'd in the Year 813, † with the Imperial Crown. The Ceremonies of his Coronation were very remarkable in this, that he would have every body to acknowledge, that *Lewis* held the Empire of God only, and by right of hereditary Succeſſion, and not by the Choice of the Princes, ſince their Dignities were not as yet hereditary at that time. To this Purpoſe he caus'd the Imperial Crown to be ſet upon the Altar; and order'd *Lewis* to go and take it, and crown himſelf therewith. *Lewis the Debonnaire* did the like by *Lotharius* his eldeſt Son, cauſing him to be crown'd, and aſſociating him to the Empire in the Year 817. ‡ So that altho' *Lotharius* was in *Italy* when his Father dy'd, and that his two Brothers might have taken an Advantage from his Abſence, yet the Imperial Dignity was ſecur'd to him; becauſe his Father had declar'd him Emperor, and had ſent to him, as he lay dying, the Honours or Ornaments of the Empire, that is to ſay, the Scepter and Crown. *Charles the Bald* having made himſelf Maſter of the Town of *Metz*, which is the Capital of *Lorrain*, after the Death of *Lotharius* his Nephew, * he took the Quality of Emperor and of Auguſt, as being King of two Kingdoms: and after the Death of *Lewis* II, Brother to this *Lotharius*, he was effectually crown'd Emperor at *Rome*, † without any Election on the part of the Princes of *Germany*, any more than in the Succeſſion of *Charles the Groſs*, of *Arnulphus*, and of *Lewis* III, his Succeſſors. So that it may be ſaid, that the Empire was merely hereditary, as long there were Princes of the Poſterity of *Charlemagne* in *Germany*. And it is what almoſt all Authors agree in. But the Succeſſion being laid open by the Death of *Lewis* III, who dy'd without Iſſue, on *January* 21, 912, the States of *Germany* found themſelves oblig'd to proceed to the Nomination of a Succeſſor by the way of Election: which being an undoubted Truth, there remains that we examin whether this Election render'd the Empire elective; which ſhall be the Subject of the following Chapter.

* *Annal.* Lib. 1. c. 12. † Id. lib. 1. c. ult. ‡ Lib. 1. c. ult. * Annal. Fuld. † Annal. Franco. ‡ Ibid.
* *In* 869. † *In* 877.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

When the Empire began to be Elective.

EVery body knows that the modern Empire is elective, and that the Emperors ſucceed thereto by virtue of the Election and Choice which the Princes Electors make of him they think capable thereof. For altho' we ſee the Imperial Dignity continu'd in the Houſe of *Auſtria* for above theſe two hundred Years; to wit, ſince *Albert* II. to *Ferdinand* III, who was the tenth Emperor of this Houſe, without Interruption; yet theſe Princes dare not ſay they have any Pretenſions thereto, by virtue of hereditary Right. On the contrary, the Emperor Elect, is oblig'd to proteſt ſolemnly immediately after he is choſen, that he has no Pretenſions at all thereto; and to ſwear that he will never do any thing that may render the Empire hereditary to himſelf or his Family; but will take care that himſelf, and his Children, and Succeſſors ſhall, according to the ancient Cuſtom, the Conſtitution of the *Golden Bull*, and the Laws of the Empire *maintain the Princes Electors in their Right of Election*, and Vicarſhip during the *Interregnum*; freely conſenting that whatever he or his Succeſſors ſhall at any time do or undertake to the Prejudice of this Oath, ſhall be null and of no effect. And it is for this reaſon that the Archbiſhop, who officiates at the Coronation, does not fail to ſay to the Emperor, when he puts the Crown upon his Head, *Hold and receive the Empire, not by hereditary Right, but by the Conſent of the eight Electors.*

But foraſmuch as the Number of Electors was not regulated till ſeveral Centuries after the Election took place, it will not be improper to ſhew at what Time the Empire began to be elective, before we ſpeak of the Creation of the Electors, and of the Inſtitution of the Electoral College. We here make uſe of the word Election in its proper and natural Signification, and according to the Definition we have given of it in the foregoing Chapter; and not for a ſimple Approbation and Conſent, as *Gregory of Tours* and *Aymons* take it, when they ſpeak of the Succeſſion of the Kings of *France* of the firſt Race. And it is ſo that we ought to underſtand what *Sigebert*, and the Abbot of *Urſperg* ſay, *That* Pepin *was elected after the manner of the* French; ſince it is certain that the *French* did not elect their Kings, but were contented to lift upon a Buckler, and carry about the Aſſembly, the Prince who ſucceeded to the Crown by virtue only of the fundamental Law of the Kingdom.

To find therefore the beginning of this Election, it muſt of neceſſity be ſought where hereditary Succeſſion ended. Some ſay, * that *Charlemagne* inſtituted the College of Electors, and ſo that the Election began by *Lewis the Debonnair*, quoting even the Year of this pretended Inſtitution, which they ſay was publiſh'd in the Year 769. But this Opinion is impertinent and ridiculous. For beſides that we have ſhewn, that *Lewis* ſucceeded by virtue of hereditary Right, it is certain that *Charlemagne* was not yet Emperor at that Time: and there is not any Likelihood at all, that *Charles* would inſtitute the Electoral Dignity, or change his Hereditary States into elective, to the Prejudice of thoſe Children he might ſtill have, and really had ſince to a good Number, ſo as not to be oblig'd to ſeek for a Succeſſor out of his own Houſe. And we accordingly ſee hereditary Succeſſion continu'd in his Family from Father to Son, and Relation to Relation, without any Interruption, as well in *Germany* as in *France*, till ſuch time as his Poſterity failing in one of the Branches, and degenerating ſo in the other, that the Princes thereof were no longer known, but by the Sirnames they contracted from their Weakneſs, it was found abſolutely requiſite to make them be ſucceeded by Strangers.

To fix then the beginning of a free Election in the Empire, we muſt by the way of Preliminary prove two things: The Firſt, That the Poſterity of *Charlemagne*, in the *German* Branch, fail'd in the Perſon of *Lewis* III. And the other, That even after the Death of *Lewis* III, the Empire did not become ſo elective, but great regard was had to the Nomination of the deceas'd Emperor, and even to Conſanguinity it ſelf: which was ſo very much conſider'd in moſt of his Succeſſors, that we made no Difficulty to ſay at the beginning of this Treatiſe, that the Empire did not become abſolutely elective till after the Death of the Emperor *Frederick* II.

Altho' it be indubitable that the Emperor *Lewis* III. dy'd without Children, and left no Heirs, yet there are ſome who ſay, that *Arnulphus*, his Father, had two Sons, our *Lewis*, and *Conrade*, Father to *Conrade* who ſucceeded to the Empire in the Year 911, after the Death of *Lewis* his pretended Unkle. Others give to *Lewis* two Daughters, and marry one of them to *Conrade*, and the other to *Henry* I, his Succeſſor: maintaining that both the one and the other came to the Empire in Conſideration of this Alliance, and by virtue of hereditary Right. But we ſhall endeavour to ſhew the Impoſſibility of this Relation, as of a thing that is directly contrary to the Order of Nature; without trifling away our Time to bring the Teſtimony of the contemporary Authors, who all ſay, that *Lewis* III. died without Iſſue, and that the Poſterity of *Charlemagne*, in the *German* Branch, fail'd in his Perſon. And that the Reader's Mind may intirely acquieſce to the Demonſtration we ſhall give thereof, at leaſt as much as the Force of Arguments drawn from the Truth of Hiſtory can afford; we ſhall employ, againſt the Opinion of thoſe who are for making the Empire purely hereditary to

* Lindenbr. in vita Car. Magni. Jordan & Spangenberg in Chronicis.

the Death of *Henry* II, (they ought to ſay *Henry* V, ſince *Conrade* II, *Henry* III, *Henry* IV, and *Henry* V, were of the *Saxon* Houſe, as well as *Henry* II, as we ſhall ſee hereafter) but only ſuch Reaſons, the Solidity whereof we ſhall leave to the Judgment of thoſe who ſhall take the Pains to examin them.

The Hiſtory of thoſe Times ſays expreſſly, that in the Year 889, the Emperor *Arnulphus* had not yet any lawful Iſſue, when he was for obliging the States of the Empire, aſſembl'd at *Forgheim*, to take the Oath of Allegiance to *Suendebold* and *Ratold*, who were his natural Sons. Thoſe of *Bavaria* did it, but thoſe of *Franconia* oppos'd it, and conſented at laſt, but on Condition, that the Oath they ſhould ſo take ſhould not bind them, unleſs the Emperor dy'd without lawful Iſſue. From whence we muſt conclude, that at that time *Arnulphus* had none. And in Fact the *Annales Francorum*, publiſh'd by *Pithou*, and ſince by *Freherus*, and afterwards by *du Cheſne*, under the Title of *The Annals of* Fuld, of St. *Bertin*, and of *Metz*, ſay, that *Lewis* was not born till the Year 893, and that he was baptiz'd by *Hatton*, Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, who had ſucceeded to that Dignity but in the Year 891; that is to ſay, in the ſame Year that *Sunderold*, his Predeceſſor, was kill'd by the *Normans:* So that *Lewis* could at moſt be but ſeven Years old, when he ſucceeded his Father on *November* 29, 899, and nineteen when he dy'd, on *January* 21, 912. And this is what cannot be doubted of, without overthrowing all the Principles of Hiſtory, which require that Credit ſhould be given to what Authors write concerning the Affairs of their Times, and of which they may have been as it were ocular Witneſſes: unleſs they relate things incredible in themſelves, or that the Truth thereof be conteſted by others better inform'd than they. Now the Hiſtories of the ſame Time, and of the firſt following Centuries, all ſay, that *Lewis* III. was very young when he came to the Empire. Nay there are ſome who take notice of the Age of ſeven Years, and farther add, that by reaſon of his Infancy the Adminiſtration of Affairs was given to *Hatton*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and to *Otho*, Duke of *Saxony*; there not being one ſingle Author that ſays the contrary. His Epitaph expreſſes how old he was when he dy'd in the following Lines.

Quatuor vix luſtra videbam,
Injecit rapidas cum mihi Parca manus.

This being preſuppos'd, we ſay that *Lewis* was the eldeſt Son of *Arnulphus*, ſince he ſucceeded his Father in the Empire, to the Prejudice of his pretended Brother, the Father of *Conrade* I, and that there is no Likelihood that a Child of ſeven Years of Age would have been ſuffer'd to ſucceed, while there was one who by reaſon of his more advanc'd Age was more capable of governing. Now if *Conrade*, the Father of *Conrade* I, was the younger Brother of *Lewis* III, it is certain, that when *Arnulphus* died he could not be above ſix Years old, and when his Son ſucceded in the Empire to *Lewis* III, eighteen at moſt; an Age at which it was impoſſible for him to have had a Son capable of ſucceeding in the Empire. Moreover the Hiſtory of thoſe Times ſays in expreſs Terms, That *Conrade* was choſen at the Refuſal of *Otho*, Duke of *Saxony*, on the account of his Courage, and the Experience he had in War, in order to oppoſe the Incurſions of the *Normans* and *Hungarians*, who had over-run all *Germany*, during the Reign of *Lewis* III; and that the Emperor *Conrade* I, was Son to *Conrade*, Duke of *Franconia*, who was kill'd *February* 25, 905, by *Albert* Count of *Bamberg*; who, if he had been the younger Brother of *Lewis*, could not at that time be above eleven Years old, nor be the Head of a Party, and ſtill leſs have a Son able to govern the State ſeven Years after. We could confirm this Truth by ſeveral other Reaſons, and a Multitude of Paſſages, did we not fear to ſwell our Diſcourſe too much; which Conſideration obliges us to paſs to the Alliance which ſome will have between *Lewis*, *Conrade* I, and *Henry* the Fowler, when we ſhall have firſt repeated here, what we juſt now ſaid, that *Lewis* III. dy'd at nineteen Years of Age, at which it was impoſſible he ſhould have any Daughter marry'd to *Conrade* his Succeſſor, who therefore could not be his Son-in-Law.

The ſame Impoſſibility occurs in *Henry* I; he ſucceeded in the Empire to *Conrade* I, in the Year 919, that is to ſay, above ſeven Years after the Death of *Lewis* III, who at that Time could not be above ſix or ſeven and twenty Years of Age at moſt; and nevertheleſs he muſt then have been a Grandfather; ſince it is certain that *Henry* I, his pretended Son-in-Law, had actually Children when he ſucceeded to *Conrade* I. For it is certain that *Otho* his Son was marry'd in the Year 930; *or according to others in 932, in which he was of neceſſity fourteen Years old at leaſt; and conſequently that he could not be born ſince the Year 918; that is to ſay, ſince his Father's Acceſſion to the Crown; and the rather becauſe *William*, *Otho*'s natural Son, who was nominated to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mayence* in the Year 954, was born in 928; † at which Time *Otho* ought of neceſſity to be fourteen Years old, to be capable of getting Children, and to be born in the Year 914; in which *Lewis* III, his pretended Grandfather, could not be above one or two and twenty Years of Age at moſt. To which we may ſubjoin the Teſtimonies of all the Claſſicks, ‡ who all ſay, that *Henry the Fowler* marry'd for his firſt Wife *Hateburge*, of of whom was born *Tanquard*; and for ſecond *Mahault*, the Daughter of *Thierry* Count of *Aldembourg*, of whom he had *Otho*, *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, *Brunon* Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and the Daughters, whom we make known elſewhere.

There are others, who conſidering the Impoſſibility of this Alliance, and yet being willing to eſtabliſh a Continuation of hereditary Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Charlemagne*, to that of *Saxony*, ſay, * That *Otho*, Duke of *Saxony*, Father of *Henry* I, marry'd *Lutgarde*, the Daughter of *Arnulphus*, and Siſter to *Lewis* III,

* *The Continuer of* Reginon *and* Luitpr. lib. 4. cap. 5. *Biſhop of* Mersbourg, *and* De Witikind *of* Corbie.

† *Contin. of* Reginon.

‡ *Amongſt others* De Ditmar.

* Aventin. Annal. Bojor. lib. 4.

Emperors. To know whether this is poſſible, we muſt learn from Hiſtory, that *Henry* I. dy'd on *July* 2, 936, being ſixty Years of Age; from whence it follows, that he muſt neceſſarily be born in the Year 876, ſince the Birth of *O. S.* in which *Arnulphus*, who dy'd on *November* 29, 899, in the fiftieth Year of his Age, could not be above ſeven and twenty Years old. It is true, he might poſſibly be a Grandfather at that Age, provided he had marry'd his Daughter as ſoon as ſhe was marriageable, and that he himſelf had alſo marry'd as ſoon as he was capable of getting Children. But this is what we are not oblig'd to believe, unleſs forc'd thereto by the other Circumſtances of Hiſtory. But they are ſo far from making mention thereof, that on the contrary there appears ſo great an Inequality of Age between *Lewis* and *Lutgarde*, his pretended Siſter, that ſhe might be rather taken for his Mother, it being certain that *Lutgarde* ought to be at leaſt fifty Years old, when *Lewis* dy'd at the Age of twenty, conſidering the Age of *Henry* I, who at that Time was at leaſt ſix and thirty Years old.

But let us pre-ſuppoſe that this pretended Alliance be true, yet that will not hinder the hereditary Succeſſion from having been interrupted in the Perſon of *Conrade* I, after whoſe Death it was requiſite to proceed to an Election, not to have any Regard to *Everard* Duke of *Franconia*, his Brother; and therefore we ſay, that there would be no Alliance near enough between *Lewis*, *Conrade* and *Henry*, to found thereon Pretenſions to the Imperial Crown by Right of Hereditary Succeſſion; and that the Election began to take place in the Perſon of *Conrade* I.

CHAP. III.

Of what Nature was the firſt Election of the Emperors of Germany.

IT will not be very difficult to ſhew, that the Election of thoſe Princes, who ſucceeded immediately to the Emperors of the Houſe of *Charlemagne*, had nothing in common with that which is now in Uſe; neither is there indeed any Author hardly, except thoſe we have hinted at above, but who refers the Inſtitution of the Electors to the tenth Century: but it is almoſt impoſſible to ſay of what Nature was the Election of *Conrade* I, after the Death of *Lewis* III. The Authors of that Time ſay nothing at all of it. There were none but the Clergy and Religious concern'd in writing the Hiſtory; and thoſe good Fathers, being more ſolicitous for the Intereſt of their Convent, than to fill their Books with Things that might have oblig'd Poſterity; inſtead of making mention of what was moſt important, are contented to ſpeak of the Fertility of the Seaſons; and to write Fables and Legends rather than what properly belongs to Hiſtory. All that one can gather from them is, that after the Death of the Emperor, all the Princes of the Empire, as well Seculars as Eccleſiaſticks, aſſiſted at the Election of the Succeſſor; which however had not ſo great an Influence, but there was ſtill a great deal of Deference ſhewn to the Will of the deceaſed, and to the Nomination he had made. This was the Cauſe that there ſtill appear'd a kind of lawful hereditary Succeſſion, at leaſt a teſtamentary one; ſo that it may be doubted in ſome meaſure, whether the Succeſſion depended more on the Election of the Princes, or on the laſt Will of the Predeceſſor. We have not any Particulars at all of the Election of *Conrade* I. They who ſpeak the moſt pertinently of it ſay, that the Royal Line being extinct in the Perſon of *Lewis* III, *Conrade*, the Son of *Conrade* of *Franconia*, who was kill'd by *Albert* Count of *Bamberg*, ſucceeded to the Empire. *Luitprand*, * an Author almoſt contemporary, ſays, he was choſen by the whole People, that is to ſay, by all the States of *Germany:* at the ſame time one cannot determin whether it was on the mere Conſideration of his Merits, or whether regard was had therein to the Recommendation of the deceas'd Emperor.

The Election of *Henry* I. is attended with more Particulars in Hiſtory. It ſays, That *Conrade*, being on his Death-bed, and conſidering that the Authority *Henry*, Duke of *Saxony*, had in the Empire, hinder'd him entirely from continuing the Imperial Dignity in his Houſe, ſent for *Eberhard*, his Brother, Duke of *Franconia:* And having repreſented to him, in the Preſence of ſeveral Princes and Noblemen, how hard it would be for him to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Empire, he adviſ'd him to yield it to *Henry*, Duke of *Saxony*, to be before-hand with him in his Submiſſions, and to ſecure himſelf of his Favour, by carrying to him himſelf, the Honours or Imperial Ornaments: Intreating at the ſame time the Princes and Noblemen there preſent to approve the Choice he had made, and to confer the Imperial Dignity on *Henry*, Duke of *Saxony*, as to him in whoſe Perſon were to be found all the Qualities neceſſary for ſo high an Adminiſtration. *Conrade* dying after this Declaration, the Princes of *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Saxony* and *Bavaria* elected *Henry*, and confirm'd by ſuch their Choice, the Nomination the deceaſed had made of his Perſon.

We learn from the Circumſtances of this Election, firſt, That it was in effect only a Con-

* Lib. 2. cap. 7.

firmation of the laſt Will of *Conrade* I; ſecondly, That at this Election were preſent the Dukes of *Suabia* and of *Franconia*: Provinces which at preſent have no Princes that can aſſiſt at the Elections; ſince it is near four hundred Years ſince *Suabia* has had any particular Prince; and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who has that Title, is in Poſſeſſion but of a ſmall Portion thereof, as the Biſhop of *Wurtzbourg* is only titular Prince of *Franconia*: Thirdly, That no mention is made therein of the King of *Bohemia*, no more than of the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, nor of the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, who was not known at that Time: And fourthly, That not only the Heads of Families were preſent at this Election, as is cuſtomary with the modern Electors, but all the Princes in general. Which is evident, not only from the Teſtimony of *Wittikind* and *Luitprand*, who ſay ſo in expreſs Terms, but alſo from the Circumſtances of the Hiſtory of that Time; by which we are inform'd that *Arnoul* Duke of *Bavaria* was in *Hungary*; that *Henry* was in *Saxony*; and that *Burghard*, Duke of *Suabia*, oppos'd his Election, and took Arms againſt him, while the other Princes authoriz'd him by their Preſence. From whence we muſt conclude, that there were other Princes of *Bavaria*, of *Saxony* and *Suabia*, who aſſiſted at this Election, which was by that Means very different from that which has been introduc'd ſince.

We ſee the ſame Manner of electing in *Otho* I, and in the two other *Otho*'s his Succeſſors. *Wittikind*, who was a Religious in the Convent of *Corbie* in *Saxony*, and who liv'd in their Time, and has dedicated his Hiſtory to *Matilda*, or *Mahault*, Abbeſs of *Quedlinbourg*, Daughter of the Emperor *Otho* I, and of *Adelaide* of *Burgundy*, his ſecond Wife, ſays * that the Emperor *Henry* I. being ſick, conven'd the People, *and appointed his Son King; and dying ſome Time after, all the People of* Franconia *and* Saxony *choſe* Otho *his Son, whom the Father had nominated for his Succeſſor.* The Circumſtances which the ſaid *Wittikind* adds, are ſo remarkable, that they are worthy to be inſerted here. He ſays then, † "That after the Death of *Hen-*
" *ry*, the Eaſtern *French* and the *Saxons* having
" agreed that the Election ſhould be made at
" *Aix la Chapelle*, the Dukes and chief Noble-
" men repair'd thither; and being with the o-
" ther Princes, and the reſt of the Nobility,
" aſſembled in a Gallery, which joyns to the
" great Church built by *Charlemagne*, they ſeat-
" ed the young Prince on a Throne prepar'd
" on purpoſe, choſe him King, and took an
" Oath of Fidelity to him, touching him in the
" Hand, and promiſing him to aſſiſt him againſt
" all his Enemies. While the Princes and o-
" ther Lords were employ'd in this Election,
" the chief Prelate (that is to ſay, the Arch-
" biſhop of *Ments*) cloath'd in his *Pontificali-*
" *bus*, and attended by the Clergy, waited for
" him in the Church; and ſeeing him come
" out of the Gallery, went to meet him, took
" him by the left Hand, carrying the Crofier
" in his right; and having conducted him to
" the middle of the Body of the Church, ſtop'd
" there, and turning to the People who had
" flock'd thither, he ſaid, *Behold, I here bring*
" *you* Otho, *whom God has choſen, the late*
" *King has nominated, and the Princes have*
" *made King. If this Election pleaſes you, de-*
" *clare it, by lifting up your Hands.*

And that it may not be thought that *Wittikind*, in ſpeaking of the Princes, meant thoſe who at preſent enjoy the Electoral Dignity; he names ſome of them, and makes them diſcharge their reſpective Offices, at the Feaſt that was made to *Otho*, after the Ceremonies of his Coronation. He inſtances in *Giſelbert* Duke of *Lorrain*, *Eberhard* Duke of *Franconia*, Brother to the Emperor *Conrade* I; *Herman* Duke of *Suabia*, and *Arnoul* Duke of *Bavaria*; and yet it is certain that the Emperor *Charles* IV, in regulating the Number of the Electors in the *Golden Bull*, does not ſo much as name one of theſe Princes, and conſequently that this Election has nothing in common with that which is at preſent in Force. And indeed our main Scope, in alledging this Paſſage, is only to ſhew that great Deference was had to the Nomination of the Predeceſſor, which reſtrain'd the Election of the Princes to the ſingle Perſon of his Son.

The Continuer of *Reginon* ſays, That the Emperor *Otho* I, deſigning to go into *Italy* in the Year 966, conven'd the States of the Empire at *Worms*, where his Son *Otho was choſen by the univerſal Conſent of all the Princes, and of the whole People.* He ſays he was choſen; but the Particulars of the Hiſtory make it plain that this Election was only an Approbation of the Will of the Emperor, who had a mind to ſecure the Empire to his Son, in Order to avoid the Oppoſitions he had himſelf met with, at his Acceſſion to the Crown. This appears plainly by what *Wittikind* and *Ditmar* ſay, That *Otho* II. was again elected after the Death of his Father, by all the People. The Word *Collaudare*, which *Ditmar* makes uſe of, inſtead of that of *Eligere*, is a full Confirmation of what we juſt now ſaid.

Otho III. was elected after the ſame manner during his Father's Life, who having ſummon'd the States of the Empire at *Verona*, in the Year 983, caus'd his Son to be choſen there, who then could not be above eleven Years old: But that did not hinder the ſame *Otho* (being on his Death-Bed) from diſpoſing, by his Will and Teſtament, of the Imperial Dignity in Favour of his Son; which is by ſo much the more remarkable, that ſuch Diſpoſal would have been ridiculous, had the Succeſſion depended abſolutely on the Election of the Princes and the People. It is to this *Otho* that is aſcrib'd the Inſtitution of the Electoral College, ſuch as it was before the Treaty of *Munſter* had augmented the Number of the Electors. But whether this Opinion is agreeable to the Truth of Hiſtory, is what we ſhall ſee in the following Chapter.

* *At the end of* Book I. † Lib. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That the Electoral College was not inſtituted by the Emperor Otho III, *nor in his Time.*

WE have made it appear very plainly, that the Election began to take Place immediately after the Death of the Emperor *Lewis* III, who was the laſt Prince of the Houſe of *Charlemagne* in *Germany*, but that it was very different from that which is in force at preſent; ſo that there remains ſtill to know, When the Modern Election had its Beginning, when the College of Electors was inſtituted, when it was reduc'd to the Number of ſeven, and when the Electoral Dignity was appropriated to the Archiepiſcopal Sees of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to the Palatinate of the *Rhine*, (to *Bavaria*,) to the Dutchy of *Saxony*, and Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, to the Excluſion of all the other Principalities of *Germany*.

The Cardinals *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* aſcribe the Inſtitution of the College of Electors to Pope *Gregory* V; and the major part of Authors, as well ancient as modern, *Italians* and *Germans*, ſay, That the Electors were inſtituted and reduc'd to the Number of ſeven in the ſaid *Gregory*'s Time, and that of the Emperor *Otho* III, but they diſpute amongſt themſelves, whether this Regulation was made by the Pope, or by the Emperor with the Pope's Authority.

It is the Opinion of all the Canoniſts, and even of ſome of the exacteſt Hiſtorians, as of the Centuriators, of *Sleidan*, and of the Preſident *de Thou*. The Acts of the Church of *Aquileia* attribute this Inſtitution to Pope *Silveſter* II; *Theod.* of *Niem*, to *Conrade* II; and there are ſome who aſcribe it to *Otho* IV; which is what *Goldaſt* would make us believe, when he relates the Fragment of the Conſtitution he made for that Purpoſe, in the Diet conven'd at *Franckfort* in the Year 1208.

It is not our Intention to reconcile theſe different Opinions, but only to ſhew, that the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to the Number ſeven, was not made till above two hundred Years after the Death of *Gregory* and *Otho*; and ſo that this Honour is not due to either the one or the other.

It cannot be deny'd, but the College of Electors is the moſt conſiderable, the moſt illuſtrious, and the moſt auguſt Society, not only of *Germany*, but alſo of all *Europe*; as being compos'd of Prelates and Princes, who pretend to, and may, carry it on the Level with crown'd Heads. For which Reaſon there is Ground to wonder, that hitherto there does not appear any authentick Act of its Inſtitution; and that ſince the Death of *Otho* III, to *Martinus Polonus*, who wrote above two hundred and fifty Years after, there is not any Author to be found that makes mention thereof, or that even knows the Quality of Elector. We might take ſome Advantage from this Silence, as being an invincible Proof againſt the pretended Inſtitution of *Otho* III. and *Gregory* V, and content our ſelves with the bare denying a thing, for which no warrantable Teſtimony can be produc'd; and that with ſo much the more Reaſon, as there is no Hiſtory that ſpeaks of the Electors before the Reign of *Frederick* I, or that makes a particular Dignity thereof, before that of *Frederick* II. his Grandſon.

On the contrary, if we do but bring ever ſo little Attention to the Lecture of the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, we ſhall find, that of all the modern ſecular Electors, there was not any one known in the Time of *Otho* III, beſides the Duke of *Saxony*. *Bohemia* was not yet erected into a Kingdom, and its Dukes were ſo little concern'd in the Affairs of the Empire, that *Dubravius* Biſhop of *Olmuts*, who wrote the Hiſtory thereof, and is of the Opinion of thoſe who aſcribe the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to *Otho* III, ſeeing it was impoſſible to bring the King of *Bohemia* into the ſame, ſays that that Emperor made but ſix, and that it was *Rodolphus* I, who liv'd near three hundred Years after this pretended Inſtitution, who augmented the Number thereof, by adding thereto the King of *Bohemia*; as well to do Honour to *Wenceſlas* his Son-in-law, as to prevent the Diſorders which are but too frequent, when the Votes may be equally divided. The Counts *Palatin* of the *Rhine* were not yet known, becauſe the *Palatinate* made a part of *Franconia*; and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* did not yet hold the Rank of Prince, but was only a ſimple Governor of a Frontier, which was ſtill intirely Pagan, and depended wholly on the Duke of *Saxony*. Theſe Reaſons are, in my Apprehenſion, ſtrong enough to confute the Opinion of thoſe who aſcribe the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to *Otho* III, or to *Gregory* V.

But foraſmuch as we cannot eſtabliſh this Truth by more convincing Arguments, than thoſe which the Hiſtory of thoſe Times affords, we ſhall examin the Elections of the following Emperors, who ſucceeded *Otho* III, that we may ſee whether there is any thing to be found therein, that comes near to what is practis'd at this Day: When we ſhall have firſt obſerv'd, thas there is no likelihood at all that the Emperor *Otho* III, who was not above twenty five or twenty ſix Years old, when Pope *Gregory* V. dy'd in the Year 998, ſhould have been for making the Empire merely elective, at a Time when he might ſtill have Children capable of ſucceeding, and when he had Relations near enough, not to be willing to fruſtrate them of what they might in ſome Meaſure hope to have by Right of hereditary Succeſſion: For beſides *Henry* of *Saxony*, Duke of *Bavaria*, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, there were the Sons of *Otho*, who was the Son of *Lutolfe*, Duke of *Suabia*, eldeſt Son to the Emperor *Otho* I, and of *Edgid* or *Judith* of *England*, his firſt Wife; and *Brunon*, Unkle to

Henry, and younger Son of *Henry* I, Duke of *Saxony*, who was the ſecond Son of the Emperor *Henry* I, and Brother of *Otho* I.

And in fact, there is not any thing in the Election of *Henry* II, who ſucceeded immediately to *Otho* III, that refers to what is practis'd at this Day. He was not choſen by a certain Number of Princes, which are call'd Electors: on the contrary, they who are for maintaining his Election are oblig'd to allow, that he was elected by almoſt all the Princes of the Empire; who in effect did nothing more, than confirm his Pretenſions againſt thoſe of the other Princes of the ſame Houſe. He was the Son *Henry* the *Mutineer*, Duke of *Bavaria*, who was Grandſon to *Henry* I, who was alſo Duke of *Bavaria*, and ſo Great-Grandſon of the Emperor *Henry* I, as well as *Otho* III, his Predeceſſor. But there were other Relations as near as he; to wit, *Henry*, Father of the Emperor *Conrade* II, and *Conrade* the Father of *Conrade*, Duke of *Franconia*, Brother to Pope *Gregory* V, and to *William* Biſhop *Strasbourg*, who had not leſs Right thereto than himſelf, as being deſcended from the eldeſt Son of the Emperor *Otho* I; ſo that the Election that the Princes made of the Perſon of *Henry*, Duke of *Bavaria*, was not an Election, but rather a Regulation of the Pretenſions of the Relations in the ſame Degree.

Henry pretended that the Crown was due to him, as to the neareſt Relation of the Deceas'd, becauſe the Deſcendents of *Lutolfe*, the eldeſt Son of *Otho*, had been excluded by *Otho* II, his younger Brother; and it was in this Quality that he was conſider'd, not by ſeven Electors, (altho' the pretended Inſtitution of the Electoral College ought to have been then in its greateſt Force) but by all the States of the Empire. *Ditmar* Biſhop of *Mersbourg*, who liv'd at that time, and dy'd in the Reign of *Henry* II, in the Year 1018, ſays, " * *That* Henry, *Duke of* Bavaria, *having caus'd the Imperial Ornaments to be given him immediately after the Death of* Otho *III, was for ſecuring to himſelf the Suffrage of* Sigfrid, *Archbiſhop of* Cologn, *who proteſted to him that he could promiſe him nothing, but that he would follow the Sentiment of all the People; and that being inform'd that the Princes of* Saxony, *to wit* Giſeler, *Archbiſhop of* Magdebourg, *with the other Biſhops of the Countrey: Duke* Bernard *of* Saxony, *the Marquiſſes* Lotharius, Eggard *and* Geron, *and the other Princes of* Germany, *were aſſembled at* Werle, *where were preſent alſo* Sophia *and* Adelheida, *Abbeſſes of* Gandersheim *and of* Quedlinbourg, *his Couſins, Daughters of the Emperor* Otho II, *and of* Theophania *of* Greece; *he ſent to them a Gentleman, who having made known his Maſter's Intentions to theſe Princeſſes, negotiated ſo happily through their Means, and by the Promiſes he made to thoſe who could be ſerviceable to him on this Occaſion, that all the Aſſembly declar'd with one Voice, that* Henry *ſhould reign by the Grace of God, and by hereditary Right.*

Whatever there was in it, he drew great Advantages from his Birth; but even if he were not oblig'd for the Imperial Dignity, to the Rank he held in the Empire, and to the Honour he had to be a near Relation to the Emperor *Otho*, and that he held it only from the mere Election of the Princes; it is certain that by thoſe Princes cannot be underſtood the ſeven Electors, but all the Princes of the Empire, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars; ſince *Ditmar* names ſome of them, and ſays expreſſly, that *Omnes Regni Optimates*, all the Great Men of the Kingdom were preſent at his Election; and after him *Otho*, Biſhop of *Friſingen*, ſays poſitively, † *That all the Lords of the Kingdom choſe him.* An Election, which in effect did no more than confirm the Right he had already thereto.

Let us look into the Particulars of the Election of ‡ *Conrade* II, Succeſſor to *Henry*. The ſaid Biſhop of *Friſingen* * ſays, That he was choſen *by all the States of the Kingdom*, who were for confirming by their Election, the Eſteem *Henry* had expreſs'd for his Perſon. But we go a great deal farther, and ſay, That his Birth was not therein leſs conſider'd than his Merit, and the Judgment of his Predeceſſor. The Quality of Duke of *Franconia*, which the Hiſtories give him, has given room to the common Error which has ſlip'd into the Minds of all thoſe who have undertook to ſpeak of the Affairs of *Germany*; *that after the Death of* Henry II, *the Imperial Dignity paſs'd from the Houſe of* Saxony *into that of* Franconia: tho' it be very true, that *Conrade* II. was of the ſame Houſe of *Saxony*, deſcended in a direct and Male Line from the Emperors *Henry*, and *Otho* I. We have very ſtrong Conjectures for this in Hiſtory, but the Teſtimony of *Wippo*, a contemporary Author, and Chaplain to the Emperor *Henry* III, Son and Succeſſor of *Conrade* II, is unexceptionable, and a convincing Proof. He ſays then, That *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia*, call'd the Eldeſt, and *Conrade* the Younger, his Competitor for the Empire, were Couſin Germans, Sons of two Brothers, the one of which was call'd *Hetzel* or *Henry*, and the other *Cuno* or *Conrade*, and that theſe two Brothers were Sons of *Otho*, Duke of *Franconia* (and of *Suabia*,) and Brothers to *Brunon*, who was Pope under the Name of *Gregory* V, and to *William* Biſhop of *Strasbourg*. Then it appears, that *Conrade* II. was Great-Grandſon to the Emperor *Otho* I, and ſo a Prince of the Houſe of *Saxony*. Now that it may not be thought that *Otho*, to whom *Wippo* gives the Quality of Duke of *Franconia*, is another than he who ſucceed to *Lutolfe*, his Father, in the Dutchy of *Suabia*, we muſt obſerve what the Biſhop of *Mersbourg* ſays, to wit, That the Emperor *Otho* III, being come to *Rome*, made *Bruno* his Nephew, (he was the Son of his Couſin German) Son of Duke *Otho*, (of *Suabia*) Pope in the place of *John* who was dead.

This being eſtabliſh'd, we might maintain that *Conrade* II. ſucceeded to the Empire by virtue of hereditary Right, and that the States of *Germany* met after the Death of *Henry* II, but only to regulate the Difference between the two Couſin Germans, who were Relations in the ſame Degree to the deceas'd Emperor: But it is ſufficient that we are able to to ſhew, that the Circumſtances of his Election, deſtroy entirely the Opinion of thoſe, who refer the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to the

* Lib. 5. p. 52. † Lib. 6. c. 27. ‡ Conrade II. * Ibid. c. 28.

Time

Time of the Emperor *Otho* III. The Abbot of *Urſperg*, makes preſent at the Election of *Conrade* II, *Eberhard* Biſhop of *Bamberg*, and makes him be ſo very much conſider'd in the Aſſembly, that it is to his Authority chiefly, and that of *Aribo* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, that he aſcribes the Promotion of that Prince. But let us ſee all the Particulars of it in *Wippo*, whom we juſt quoted, who has wrote his Life, and dedicated it to the Emperor *Henry* III, his Son. He ſpeaks thus of it.

" It is proper to name here ſome Princes, " as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, who liv'd " then, *and by the Advice of whom* (the *Eaſtern*) " France *is accuſtom'd to chuſe its Kings*. At " that Time (*ſc.* in the Year 1024) *Aribo* go- " vern'd the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*. *Pele-* " *rin*, a Relation to *Aribo*, govern'd that of " *Cologn*; and *Poppo*, Brother to Duke *Erneſt*, " (*ſc.* of *Suabia*) was Archbiſhop of *Triers*, ha- " ving under his Guardianſhip his Nephew *Er-* " *neſt*, his Brother's Son. *Eberhard* was Biſhop " of *Bamberg*, *Hetmo* of *Conſtance*, *Werner* of " *Strasbourg*, *Mercelin* of *Wurtzbourg*, *Bruno*, " Brother to the Emperor *Henry* II. of *Augſ-* " *bourg*; *Gunther*, Brother to the Counts *Eg-* " *hard* and *Herman*, was Archbiſhop of *Saltz-* " *bourg*; *Burghard* was Biſhop of *Ratisbon*, *Al-* " *bert* of *Friſingen*. *Many other Biſhops and Ab-* " *bots were preſent with theſe at the Election*. I " decline making mention of the Prelates of " *Saxony*, becauſe not having any Knowledge " of their Merits, I would not here ſet down " their Names without Encomiums, *tho' I am* " *ſenſible they have a Right to aſſiſt at thoſe Aſ-* " *ſemblies, to deliberate there, and cooperate with* " *the others*. I ſay nothing of the Prelates of " *Italy*, who could not repair thither by reaſon " of the Shortneſs of Time. The Dukes who " liv'd at that Time were, *Benno* Duke of *Sax-* " *ony*, *Adelbert* of *Iſtria*, (it is *Carinthia*) *Hetz-* " *lo* (*Henry*) of *Bavaria*, *Erneſt* of *Suevia*, *Fri-* " *derick* of *Lorrain*, *Gothelo* of *Moſellane*, *Con-* " *rade* of *Worms*, Duke of *Franconia*, *Ulric* of " *Bohemia*. Theſe Biſhops and Dukes whom " we have juſt nam'd, endeavour'd to effect " that the Republick might not remain long " without a Head, *&c.* Afterwards he goes " on. Between *Worms* and *Mentz*, there is a " Place where all the Great Men, and as one " may ſay, all the Forces, and all the Bowels " of the Kingdom, aſſembl'd and encamp'd a- " long the *Rhine*: on the part of *Germany* came " thither the *Saxons*, the *Slavonians*, the *Eaſtern* " *Francs*, the *Norici*, (*Bavarians*) and the *Sua-* " *bians*: and on the ſide of the *Gaules*, the " *French* who inhabit on the *Rhine*, the *Ripua-* " *rii*, and the *Lorrainers*. After that the Num- " ber of thoſe *who could pretend to the Empire* " (as the Princes of the Houſe of *Saxony*, de- " ſcended in a Right and Male Line from *Bru-* " *no*, younger Son of *Henry*, the firſt Duke of " *Bavaria* of this Family, whoſe Poſterity did " not fail, till it did ſo in *Henry the Groſs*, Son " of *Otho*, Count of *Northeim*, who dy'd in " the Year 1100,) was reduc'd to a few Per- " ſons, and that again to Two; *viz.* Two " *Conrades*, Dukes of *Franconia*, Couſin Ger- " mans: The Eldeſt of the Two addreſſing " himſelf to the other, repreſented to him the " Advantages they might reap from the Eſteem " the whole Aſſembly had for them, to the " Excluſion of all others, and the Injury they " would do themſelves, if they ruin'd this high " Reputation by their irregular Ambition; " praying him to acquieſce to the Choice the " Princes ſhould make of one of them; and " having diſpos'd him to what he had deſir'd " of him, they both reaſſum'd their Places. " Then the People having ask'd the Archbiſhop " of *Mentz*, (*whoſe Right it is to Vote firſt*) " which of the two he made Choice of, he pre- " ſently nam'd *Conrade* the Elder, and his Ad- " vice was follow'd *by all the Archbiſhops, and* " *by all the other Prelates*. There was only " the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and the Duke of " *Lorrain*, who expreſs'd ſome Diſſatisfaction " thereat, but they alſo came into the Senti- " ment of the reſt.

Such was the Election of *Conrade* II; and ſuch was the Cuſtom and the Manner of chuſing the Emperors, for above two hundred Years after the Death of *Conrade*; which is what Cardinal *Baronius* himſelf does not make any Difficulty to own†: And yet nothing like this is to be ſeen in the modern Election. The Relations and Friends make Intereſt, the People have a Share therein, and conſult the Suffrage of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. The *Eaſtern Francs*, the *Suabians*, and *Lorrainers*, whom the *Golden Bull* does not acknowledge, make the beſt part of the Aſſembly; and at this Day the Dukes of *Suabia*, *Franconia* and *Lorrain*, have no Right to be preſent at the Elections. Beſides the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Cologn* and *Triers*, there are other Biſhops who give their Votes, and the Majority of Suffrages in this great Aſſembly gives the Empire.

The ſame *Conrade* II. had for Succeſſor in the Empire *Henry* III, his Son; ſo that the Imperial Dignity began again to be, as it were, hereditary in his Houſe. Hiſtory ſays, That his Father caus'd him to be crown'd in the Year 1028, *with the Approbation of all the Princes, and of all the People*: Words by ſo much the more remarkable, that the Word Approbation expreſſes a great deal leſs than that of Election or Confirmation; and that therein no mention is made of the ſeven Electors, *but of all the Princes, and of all the People*. The Authors of the Time ſpeak almoſt in the ſame Terms, of the Election which *Henry* III, caus'd to be made ‡ of *Henry* IV, his Son, (who was not then above two Years old) by all the States of the Empire aſſembled at *Triers*.

* In the Year 1077, a good Number of Princes, particularly of *Saxony* and *Suabia*, being aſſembled at *Forchaim* in *Franconia*, they proceeded to the Election of an Emperor againſt *Henry* IV, and choſe *Rodolfus* of *Rhinfeld*, Duke of *Suabia*. It is true that this Election was made in a very tumultuary Manner, and contrary to the Forms: but there is not one Author that ſays, That they who were preſent thereat, had not a Right to chooſe. And yet they name *Bertold*, Duke of *Zeringen*, and the Biſhops of *Wurtzbourg* and of *Metz*. But what was there moſt remarkable was, that the ſame Princes made a Decree, which imported, That the Imperial Dignity ſhould no

† Annal. Tom. 10. §. 16. & ſeq. ‡ Henry IV. * Rodolphus of Rhinfeld.

longer descend to Children by hereditary Right, *as had been practis'd in Time past*; but that it should by a free Election, be conferr'd on the most Worthy: Insomuch, that if the People did not think the Emperor's Son had all the Qualities requisite, or that it had otherwise an Aversion to his Person, it should be at liberty to chuse whomsoever it should think fit. Nothing can be said more expressly against the pretended Institution of the Electoral College in the Time of *Otho* III, and to prove that the Empire was not so absolutely elective, but great Consideration was had to the Birth of the Elect.

Bertold, a Priest of the Diocese of *Constance*, who liv'd in the Time of the Emperor *Henry*, and who was himself employ'd by the Pope in the Difference he had with the Emperor, says, That after the Death of *Rodolphus* of *Rhinfeld*, the Princes of *Germany*; to wit, the *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Dukes*, *Marquisses* and *Counts*, being assembl'd, chose † *Herman* of *Luxembourg*. And we read in History, that at the Election of *Henry* V, Son and Successor of *Henry* IV, were present fifty two Princes, who proceeded to the Election, notwithstanding the Absence of the Duke of *Saxony*.

It was in the Person of *Henry* V, who dy'd at *Utrecht*, *May* 22, 1125, that the Male Line of the Princes of *Saxony*, descended from the Emperor *Henry* I, fail'd. So that the Royal Race being wholly extinct, it was necessary to look for a Successor in another Family; which not being to be done, but by the way of Election, we must see whether that of *Lotharius* II, Successor to *Henry* V, was perform'd by the seven Electors, so as to allow us to say, that the Electoral College was already instituted at that Time: and this is what we shall examine in the following Chapter.

CHAP. V.

Whether the Election of the Emperors, Successors to Henry V, *was perform'd by seven Electors; and whether the Electoral College was instituted under the Emperors of the House of* Suabia.

IT is certain that after the Death of *Henry* V, the Imperial Dignity pass'd into a strange Family, by the Election the Princes of *Germany* made of the Person of *Lotharius* II. He was the Son of *Gebhard*, Count of *Supplinbourg*, and had mary'd *Rixe*, Daughter to *Henry* of *Saxony*, firnam'd the *Fat*, Count of *Northeim*, descended in a direct and Male Line from *Henry*, Duke of *Bavaria*, younger Son of the Emperor *Henry* I. So that it may be still said, That the Princes of the Empire in calling him to the Crown, had some Regard to the Alliance, by which he had been as it were grafted into the Family of the Emperors of the House of *Saxony*; however it must be own'd, that whereas in the foregoing Time great Consideration had been had to Birth, (the Princes making no Choice, but out of the Royal House) on this Occasion the Elect is almost entirely oblig'd for his Election, to the sole Will of the Electors. For which Reason * the Bishop of *Frisingen*, speaking of the Emperors *of his Time*, says in very express Terms, that the Imperial Dignity has this peculiar to it self, that it is not to be attain'd by Right of hereditary Succession, but by the sole Election of the Princes.

When we here mention the Election of the Princes, we thereby mean all the Princes of *Germany*. The Continuer of *Sigebert*, who liv'd at that Time, says, That at the Election of *Lotharius* II, were present a great Number of Princes; and that he was chosen *by two Archbishops, two Bishops, and many other Prelates, and Lords of* Germany. Goldast, *in his first Tome of the* Imp. Constitut. *p.* 259, produces Convocatory Letters for the Election of an Emperor, after the Death of *Henry* V, sign'd by *Adelbert* Archbishop of *Mentz*, *Frederick* Archbishop of *Cologn*; by the Bishops of *Constance*, of *Worms* and *Spires*; by the Abbot of *Fuld*; by the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Suabia*; by the Counts *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and the Count of *Sultzbach*. They summon *Otho*, Bishop of *Bamberg*, to be present at *Mentz*, towards St. *Bartholomew*'s Day, in order to proceed with them to the Election. *Albert Crantz*, a grave and exact Author, speaking of this same Election †, makes it appear by its Circumstances, that it was executed in a full Assembly of the States: That the *Eastern Francs* and the *Suabians*, who have no Elector at this Time, proceeded separately to the Election of *Conrade* of *Suabia*, Duke of *Franconia*, and were for having that of *Lotharius* declar'd faulty.

Otho, Bishop of *Frisingen*, says, That ‡ *Conrade* III, Successor to *Lotharius* II, was chosen by several Princes; and yet we are inform'd by the History of those Times, that *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, Son-in-Law to the deceas'd Emperor, who made Interest to be Emperor himself, was not summon'd thereto, and that the See of *Mentz* was vacant. There was no King of *Bohemia* at that Time. *Conrade* was Duke of *Franconia* and Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the Marquisate of *Brandenburg* had not been yet separated from the Dutchy of *Saxony*. So that of all the modern Electors, there were only the Archbishops of *Cologn* and of *Triers* who were present at this

† Herman of Luxembourg. * *In his Chron.* An. 152. † Saxon. lib. 8. c. 1. ‡ Conrade III.

Election. ‡ That of *Frederick* I, Nephew and Succeſſor to *Conrade* III, is more circumſtantiated. The ſame Biſhop of *Friſingen*, who was his near Relation, and who has written part of his Life, ſays, * That all the Princes of *Germany*, and even ſome Noblemen of *Italy* were preſent at his Election, in ſo great a Number, that it ſeem'd almoſt incredible that in ſo ſhort a time ſo great a Multitude ſhould be call'd together; ſince between the Death of *Conrade* III, who dy'd *February* 15, and the Election of *Frederick* I, which was perform'd on *March* 14, there was the Interval but of eighteen Days. The Poet *Gunther*, who liv'd at the ſame time, and has written the Life of that Prince, ſays, that all the Prelates and Princes of the Empire aſſiſted at his Election; and ſpeaks thereof almoſt in the ſame Terms that *Wippo* ſpeaks of that of the Emperor *Conrade* II. The natural Simplicity of his Verſes, which are not impertinent for the Time in which he wrote, deſerves very well that thoſe he has made on the Subject of our Diſcourſe, ſhould be inſerted here. † He ſays then,

" *Orbaque Regni*
" *Teutonici ſedes* Conradi *morte vacabat.*
" *Acturi Sacræ de Succeſſore Coronæ,*
" *Conveniunt proceres, totius viſcera Regni,*
" *Sede ſatis nota, rapido quæ proxima Mago.*
§. §.
" *Hue ſacri celebreſque Viri, quos laude ſerena*
" *Inſula, vel Gladius mundo facit eſſe verendos,*
" *Ex omni Regione fluunt ad commoda Regni*
" *Publica, de ſummis agere ac diſponere rebus*
" *Exacta ratione parant.*
" *Sic poſtquam ſedere Duces, dubioq; volutant*
" *Pectore, cui tanti Regni tribuantur honores.*
" Saxones & *quorum* Ripuana *nomine Tellus,*
" Weſtphaliæque *Urbes*, & Norica *Regna*
" *regentes,*
" Allobrogumque *Duces coeunt*, Cymbrique
" *feroces,*
" Vindelici, Rhætique *ruunt*, *quos* Suevia
" *nutrit,*
" *Quoſque Carentinis collimant* Auſtria *Campis,*
" *Quas* Lycus & *tumidis* Iſter *prælabitur oris.*
§. §.
" *Tandem quid peteret Regni fortuna*, *per*
" *unum*
" *Dignata eſt aperire virum, qui nomine clarus,*
" Dux, Comes, *aut* Præſul;
" *Sic ubi melliflua, quiſquis fuit ille diſertus,*
" *Voce peroravit, concordi protinus omnes*
" *Aſſenſere ſono: læto ſermone cietur*
" *Dux puer in Regem.*

The Particulars of this Election are by ſo much the more remarkable, that there is not ſo much as one that can give any Ground to think it was made by a regulated Number of ſeven Electors, or has any relation with what is practis'd at this Day. Thoſe who would ſay that this Author writes like a Poet, and as ſuch enriches the Subject he handles, ought to conſider that he writes the Hiſtory of the Emperor *Frederick* I, while he was ſtill living, and with ſo much Exactneſs, that there is not one ſingle Circumſtance that partakes of the Fable: Which will be demonſtratively evident, if it be compar'd with what we have before alledg'd from *Otho* Biſhop of *Friſingen*, and with what is related in the Chronicle of *Ulric* and of St. *Afre*; ‡ *That* Frederick *I. was elected by the common Vote and Conſent of all the Princes.* To which we think our ſelves oblig'd to add, That *Conrade* III, and *Frederick* I, were very near Relations of the laſt Emperors of the Houſe of *Saxony*, and that the firſt was very much conſider'd on that account, after the Death of *Henry* V, his Unkle on the Mother's ſide, as being the Son of *Frederick* of *Stanfen*, firſt Duke of *Suabia* of this Family, and of *Agnes* Daughter of the Emperor *Henry* IV. From the ſame Marriage of *Frederick* and *Agnes* was born *Frederick* Duke of *Suabia*, Father of the Emperor *Frederick* I, who by that Mean was great Grandſon to the Emperor *Henry* IV. So that one may ſay, that in the Election of theſe two Princes their Birth was not leſs conſider'd than their Merit. And in Fact we ſhall ſee, that the Empire was again become in ſome meaſure hereditary.

We have no Particulars of the Election of *Henry* VI, but *Otho* of *S. Blaſio*, who has continu'd the Hiſtory of *Otho* of *Friſingen*, ſays, * That the Emperor *Frederick* I, when he allotted the Portions of his Children, appointed *Henry*, his eldeſt Son, King, as if the Royal Dignity had made a part of his future Inheritance. And in effect being on the point of ſetting out, in order to go to the Holy Land, and being willing to put his Sons in Poſſeſſion of the Partition he had made amongſt them many Years before, he gave † the *Regalia*, that is to ſay, the Regal Ornaments to *Henry*.

The ſame Emperor *Henry* VI, reflecting on the Inconveniences and Diſorders that diſturb'd the Repoſe of the Empire during the *Interregnum*, before the Suffrages of ſo great a Number of Princes could agree in the Choice of one ſingle Perſon, ordain'd, that there ſhould be no more Elections; but that the Succeſſion ſhould go by hereditary Right, ſo that the neareſt Relation of the deceaſed ſhould be Emperor. And to begin by his Son *Frederick*, he ordain'd that the Kingdoms of *Sicily*, *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and the Principality of *Capua*, which his Son poſſeſs'd as a particular Demeſne in Right of his Mother, ſhould be united to the Empire. He ordain'd alſo, that in Default of Males, Women ſhould ſucceed; and this Ordinance was ratify'd, not only by the Court of *Rome*, but alſo *by the fifty two Princes who are wont to chuſe the Emperor.* They are the very Words which the Author of the great Belgick Chronicle has taken from *Joannes Monachus*. ‡ And that the Reader may not be ſurpriz'd at this prodigious Number of Electors, we muſt ſee what *Conrade* of *Lichtenau*, Abbot of *Urſperg*, who liv'd under the Emperor *Frederick*, ſays of the Election of *Henry* V, to wit, * That at the Diet of *Mentz* were preſent fifty two Princes, who elected *Henry*; which is conformable to what all the others ſay, concerning

‡ Fredericus. * Lib. 2. cap. 1. de geſtis Frederici. † Inter Authores Hiſt. Germ. à Rubero editos, pag. 280. ‡ *In the Year* 1152. * Chap. 21. † Ibid. l. 32. ‡ Pag. 205.
* *In the Year* 1106.

the

the Nomination of *Frederick* II, to which beſides the Authority of the Father, they bring the concurring Conſent of all the Princes of *Germany*.

But that we may the better eſtabliſh this Truth, that under the ‡ Emperos of the Houſe of *Suabia*, the Election was quite different from what it is at preſent, we ſhall repreſent the Particulars of the Schiſm which had like to have ruin'd the Empire after the Death of *Henry* VI. And to this effect we ſhall relate here what two contemporary Authors ſay thereof, *viz.* *Otho* of *S. Blaſio*, whom we before quoted; and *Godfrey*, a Monk of Saint *Pantaleon*'s at *Cologn*, The firſt ſpeaks thus: * "The Eaſtern "Princes, to wit, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and "*Bernard* of *Saxony*, with the other Lords, "and the Biſhops of *Magdeburg* and *Saltzburg*, "with the other Eaſterlings, prefix'd a Day to "meet at *Arnsberg* in *Thuringia*. *Philip* (Duke "of *Suabia*) being come thither, it was there "reſolv'd, that he ſhould be made Adminiſtrator of the Empire, till ſuch time as *Frederick*, "his Nephew (Son to *Henry* VI.) who had "been elected by the other Princes, ſhould arrive in *Germany*. But the Archbiſhops of *Cologn* and *Triers*, with ſome Biſhops, and "*Henry* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, with "many other Lords of thoſe Parts, being "met together, annull'd this Election, and "ſent for *Bertold*, Duke of *Zeringen*, with a "Deſign to make him King. *Bertold* comply'd "with the Diſpoſition of the Princes, but he "ſoon chang'd his Mind, ſo that the Princes "ſent for *Otho*, the Son of *Henry*, heretofore "Duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and choſe him "*by the Conſent of ſome Towns in thoſe Parts.* "Thoſe Princes who had not been preſent at "theſe Elections (they had therefore a Right "to aſſiſt thereat) engag'd ſome on the one "ſide, and ſome on the other; to wit, *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*, the King of *Bohemia*, "the Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, and *Bertold* of "*Zeringen*, with *Philip*; and the Duke of *Brabant* and ſome others with *Otho*.

The Circumſtances are more remarkable in *Godfrey*, † who ſays, "The Archbiſhops of "*Cologn* and of *Triers*, pretending to be in "Poſſeſſion of a Right to elect, being met at "*Andernach*, with *Bernard* Duke of *Saxony*, "and ſeveral other Biſhops, Counts and Lords, "they fix'd a Day to meet at *Cologn*, where "they ſent for *Bertold* Duke of *Zeringen*, with "a Deſign to make him King. But the Eaſtern "Marquiſſes (of *Miſnia*) and *Bernard* Duke "of *Saxony*, the Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, and "many other Princes of the *Upper Germany*, "inſtead of repairing to *Cologn*, met at *Erfort*. "Which the others being inform'd of, they "ſent *Herman* Biſhop of *Munſter* to thoſe Princes, to deſire them not to proceed to an Election in their Abſence; but to nominate a "place whither they might repair on both ſides, "that they might there with the common Conſent of all proceed to the Election of a proper Perſon. But before they got to *Erfort*, "they were inform'd of the Election there of "*Philip* Duke of *Suabia*, Brother to the late "Emperor deceas'd; at which they were by "ſo much the more offended, as it was with"out Precedent or Example, that the Princes "of *Saxony* had made a King; and proceed"ing on their ſide to an Election, they choſe "*Bertold* of *Zeringen*, and upon his Refuſal, "*Otho*, Count of *Poicton*, Son to *Henry* Duke "of *Saxony* and of *Bavaria*.

Both Parties intending to procure their Election to be confirm'd by the Pope *Innocent* III, wrote Letters to him, which are ſtill to be found intire in the Canon Law and elſewhere; but they are ſo far from ſpeaking of ſeven Electors, that they ſay in expreſs Terms, *We the Princes and Barons of* Germany, as well Secular as Eccleſiaſtical, have elected. And in the Subſcription, I *Adolphus* Archbiſhop of *Cologn* have elected and ſign'd, I *Bernard* Biſhop of *Paderborn* have elected and ſign'd, and ſo of the others, *viz.* I *Thietmar* Biſhop of *Minden*, I *Wittikind* Abbot of *Corbie* on the *Weſer*, I *Girard* Abbot of *Thuits*, I *Heribert* Abbot of *Verdon*, I *Henry* Duke of *Lorrain* and of *Brabant*, Marquiſs of the Holy Empire, have elected and ſign'd; I *Henry* Count of *Cuyck* have elected and ſign'd. In thoſe Letters which the Partiſans of *Philip* ſent to the Pope, are nam'd, the Archbiſhops of *Magdeburg* and of *Beſançon*, the Biſhops of *Ratisbonne*, of *Friſingen*, of *Augsburg*, of *Conſtance*, and of *Hildeſheim*: The Abbots of *Fuld*, of *Heſuald* and of *Tergent*: The King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Moravia*, and the Marquiſs of *Ravensberg*.

This is of that Force, that Cardinal *Baronius*, who maintains that the Electoral College was inſtituted by *Otho* III, (but that his Ordinance was not executed,) is oblig'd to ſay, ‡ that *Leo Oſtienſis* is miſtaken, when he would have it believ'd (in explaining the decretal *Venerabilem*) that in the Time of *Innocent* III, there were but ſeven Electors; it being certain, ſays he, that it appears by thoſe Letters, that at that Time all the Vaſſals of the Empire, as well Eccleſiaſticks, to wit, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops and Abbots, as the Secular Princes, to wit, the Dukes, Marquiſſes, Counts and Barons, were lawful Electors of the Kings of the *Romans*, deſign'd to be Emperors. To which he adds, that this is ſo true, that there is a very evident Proof of the ſame in the Election of *Frederick* II.

* The Emperor *Philip* being kill'd on *June* 2, 1208, *Otho* of *Saxony*, Count of *Poicton*, was again propos'd, whoſe Election was perform'd with the Particulars obſerv'd by *Arnoul*, Preſident of the Cathedral Church of *Hildeſheim*, and ſince Abbot of *Lubeck*, who has continu'd the Chronicles of the *Slavonians* by *Helmold* Prieſt of *Buzou*, who liv'd at that Time. They are alone capable of blotting out of the Mind of the Reader, whatever may ſtill remain there in Favour of the Opinion of thoſe who aſcribe the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to the Emperor *Otho*: For which reaſon we ſhall with Pleaſure inſert 'em here word for word. He expreſſes himſelf in this manner concerning them: † "*Otho* being willing to make uſe "of the Occaſion of the Death of *Philip*, had "Thoughts of taking Arms againſt his Ene-

‡ Philip *and* Otho IV. * Cap. 16. † *Page* 263. Tom. 1. *of* Freherus. ‡ Tom. 10. Ann. 996. § 56.
* Otho IV. † Lib. 7. c. 15.

"mies,

" mies, when the Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg* " and Duke *Bernard* of *Saxony* exhorted him " not to employ Force, but rather to endea- " vour to get together an Aſſemby of Princes, " and to deſire them to proceed to the Election " of his Perſon. He therefore ſummon'd the " Princes to meet at *Halberſtadt*, whither moſt " of the Prelates and Princes of *Saxony* repair'd, " as well as the Biſhop of *Wurtzburg*. *Theſe* " *Princes elected with one unanimous Voice and* " *with one common Conſent*, as if they had been " inſpir'd by God, *Otho* King of the *Romans*, " always Auguſt, in the Name of the Father, " of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt." The Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, to whom it belong'd to vote firſt, as it ſeem'd, began, and all the others follow'd; as the Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, the Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, and all the others who had a Right to elect. No mention is made of the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors, no more than of the King of *Bohemia*, and of the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*; and the Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg* and the Biſhop of *Wurtzburg* are ſaid to be preſent, and two other Electors of *Saxony*, *viz.* the Lantgrave of *Thuringia* and the Marquiſs of *Miſnia*.

* *Frederick* II. was nominated to the Empire while he was ſtill in the Cradle by the Emperor *Henry* IV. his Father. And we have ſeen above, that in Conſideration thereof the Princes were of Opinion, after the Death of *Henry*, that *Philip* ought to be contented with the Adminiſtration or Regency during the Abſence of his Nephew, who by that means was acknowledg'd for Emperor; yet nevertheleſs *Otho* IV. being excommunicated by the Pope, and the Princes of *Germany* being diſguſted at his Government, *Sigfrid* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* was for having them proceed to a new Election. For this purpoſe he deſir'd the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, and divers other Princes to repair to *Bamberg*, where he caus'd to be choſen *Frederick* King of *Sicily*. † He ſummon'd to this Election the Duke of *Bavaria* (who had no Share therein before the laſt Wars of *Germany*) the Duke of *Auſtria*, and the Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, whom the *Golden Bull* does not know; and neglects to call thereto the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* (who was Brother to *Otho*) and the Archbiſhops of *Cologn* and of *Triers*, becauſe they were in the ſame Party; and nevertheleſs that does not hinder them from proceeding to an Election.

But this is dwelling too long on the Refutation of an Ordinance which is not produc'd, and which it is confeſs'd was never executed.

CHAP. VI.

Whether the Electoral College was inſtituted to the Number of ſeven, before the Publication of the Golden Bull.

WE are of Opinion that thoſe who ſhall have taken the Pains to examin what we have ſaid in the two laſt foregoing Chapters, againſt the Sentiment of thoſe who refer the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to *Otho* III, will be oblig'd to acquieſce to the Truth we have there eſtabliſh'd, by indubitable Proofs drawn from the Series of ‡ Hiſtory. Hitherto we have contended with obſtinate and ignorant People, but now we have to do with Perſons of a very great Reputation, and of a very profound Knowledge in Hiſtory. *Onuphrius Panvinius*, the Honour of the Order of St. *Auguſtin*, having found that it is impoſſible to maintain the Opinion of thoſe who aſcribe the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to *Gregory* V, and to *Otho* III, ſays, * That the Number of Electors was regulated as it was forty Years ago, in the thirteenth Century, from the Year 1250, to the Year 1280, that is to ſay, above two hundred and fifty Years after the Death of *Otho* III, and makes a laſt Effort to prove that the Honour of this Inſtitution is due to Pope *Gregory* V. But as his eminent Learning is accompany'd with a rare Sincerity, he acknowledges ingenuouſly that it is only a Conjecture, which he would not maintain againſt the Truth of Hiſtory; in which he was not able to find in what Time, by whom, and in what Council or Diet the College of Electors was inſtituted to the Number of ſeven.

Goldaſt gives us the Extract of an Ordinance publiſh'd at *Franckfort*, in the Year 1609, by the Emperor *Otho* IV, † in the Preſence of *Hugolin* Cardinal of *Oſtia*, and of *Leo* Cardinal of *Sabin*, with the Conſent of the fifty Princes who were preſent at his Election; importing that for the future the Empire ſhould no longer be hereditary, but that the Emperor ſhould be choſen by three Eccleſiaſtical Princes, to wit, by the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*; and by three ſecular Princes, to wit, the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, who, in caſe of an Equality of Votes, ſhould call thereto the King of *Bohemia*. *Trithemius*, Abbot of *Spanheim*, ſays, That at the Election of *William* of *Holland*, Succeſſor of *Frederick* II, the ſeven Electors were preſent, and diſcharg'd the Functions of their reſpective Offices. But as *Trithemius* is a very bad Warrant for what he ſays without Authority, we may ſay in Oppoſition to the Extract of this Ordinance or Conſtitution, which is no where produc'd, that it is only the Invention of his Brain who

* Frederick II. † Urſperg An. 1210. ‡ Gewold *in his Treatiſe* De Septemviratu c. 7.
* *In his Treatiſe* De Comitiis c. 9. † Seth. Calviſ. Chronolog. A. 1209.

utters it, and that there is no likelihood that an Emperor, who might have Children, would deprive them of the Hopes of ſucceeding him; and that fifty Princes, who had a Right to aſſiſt at the Elections, would diſpoſſeſs themſelves thereof, in Favour of a very ſmall Number of them, to the Excluſion of the reſt.

It is alſo certain, that in the ſubſequent Elections there is no Appearance of any Regulation. It is true, ſome Mention is begun to be made of Electors in the thirteenth Century, but that Quality was not as yet annex'd to the Principalities, and the Number was not yet fix'd. To repreſent this in a clear Light, we muſt put the Reader in Mind of what we ſaid before, ‡ to wit, That the Duke of *Auſtria* was preſent at the ſecond Election of the Emperor *Fredrick* II, which was perform'd in the Year 1210, and in the Quality of Elector. Now that no Doubt may be made hereof, it is requiſite to know, that *Primiſlas* II, firnam'd *Ottocarus*, King of *Bohemia*, having made himſelf Maſter of *Auſtria* (which he pretended belong'd to him in Right of his Wife, who was Daughter to *Leopold* VII, Duke of *Auſtria*, altho' he had poiſon'd her, and had no Children by her) maintain'd ſtill, in the Time of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, that is to ſay, above ſixty Years after the Election of *Frederick* II, that he ought to have two Votes at the Election, one as King of *Bohemia*, and the other as Duke of *Auſtria*; and diſputed it obſtinately with *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, who maintain'd that the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to his Dutchy. It is true that the Emperor *Rodolphus* pronounc'd in favour of the Duke, by commanding the King of *Bohemia* to be contented with one Suffrage; but that does not hinder the Electoral Right from being ſtill litigious at that Time: And the Emperor, in pronouncing in favour of *Bavaria*, confirms what we juſt now ſaid, to wit, That the Number of Electors was not yet regulated, and that in allowing *Bavaria*, there muſt be at leaſt eight; beſides that the *Golden Bull* retrenches him abſolutely.

* After the Death of *William*, the Princes of the Empire had ſeveral Aſſemblies about the Election; but not being able to agree, they at laſt fix'd a Day, and reſolv'd to meet at *Franckfort* immediately after the *Epiphany*. The Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and of *Cologn*, *Lewis* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and his Brother *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, came thither and elected *Richard* Duke of *Cornwall*, Brother to *John* and *Henry* Kings of *England*. But the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, and ſome other Princes, not approving of this Election, met about the middle of *Lent*, and finding themſelves authoriz'd by the Letters and Powers of the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and of the Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg* and divers other Princes, they elected *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*. They are the very Words of *Henry Stero*, † a Monk of *Altaich*, who liv'd in the Time of *Rodolphus* I, of *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, and of *Albert* I, Emperors, that is to ſay, much about the Time we are ſpeaking of. Notwithſtanding which, there does not appear any thing regulated concerning the Number of the Electors, ſince beſides the Princes whom *Stero* does not name (tho' the Archbiſhop of *Triers* made uſe of their Powers) he names at leaſt nine, to wit, the three Archbiſhops, two Princes of the Houſe of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, and at leaſt two of the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, ſince he ſpeaks in the Plural Number.

‡ *Eberhard*, Archdeacon af *Ratisbone*, who liv'd at the ſame Time, and has written Annals of *Auſtria*, of *Suabia*, and of *Bavaria*, from the Year 1273, in which *Rodolphus* I. was choſen, to that of 1305, * ſpeaks almoſt in the ſame Terms, when he ſays, † That *Adolphus*, King of the *Romans*, being ready to enter with his Army into *France*, was hinder'd from doing ſo by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, by the King of *Bohemia*, by *Albert* Duke of *Saxony*, and by two Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg*; which is a ſufficient Teſtimony, that, notwithſtanding the Electoral Dignity began then to be ſecur'd to certain Families, the Number of Electors was not yet regulated.

We have very conſiderable Proofs hereof in what happen'd immediately before the Election of the Emperor *Charles* IV, Author of the *Golden Bull*. *Albert* of *Auſtria*, who ſucceeded to *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, being kill'd *May* 1, 1308, *Henry* ‡ of *Luxemburg* ſucceeded him. But foraſmuch as Hiſtory ſays nothing of the Particulars of his Election, we ſhall paſs it by, and ſhall ſpeak of that which was made by Schiſm, of *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*, and of *Frederick le Bel* Duke of *Auſtria*, Couſin Germans, and both Grandſons to the Emperor *Rodolphus* I. The Emperor *Henry* of *Luxemburg* being dead of Poiſon on *Auguſt* 24, 1313, there was an *Interregnum* of above a Year. At laſt two were choſen in the Year 1314, that is to ſay, above three hundred and twelve Years after the Death of *Otho* III. And nevertheleſs at theſe Elections were preſent at leaſt nine Electors, *viz.* the three Eccleſiaſticks, *Rodolphus* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria* his Brother, *John* of *Bohemia*, *Volmar* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, *Rodolphus* the Son of *Albert* I. Duke of *Saxony*, and *Erick* Son to *John* III. Duke of the *Lower Saxony*.

But there is not any thing more convincing than what paſs'd at the Election of * *Charles* IV, that is to ſay, immediately before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*. *Lewis* IV. had preſerv'd the Rights of the Empire with great Vigour againſt the Attempts of the Popes, who, on their part, had created him ſo many Enemies, that, in the Year 1346, ſome Princes proceeded to the Election of *Charles* of *Luxemburg*, Grandſon to the Emperor *Henry* VII. But he could not ſo well eſtabliſh himſelf, but, after the Death of *Lewis*, an Attempt was made to diſpoſſeſs him of the Imperial Dignity. *Albert* of *Strasburg*, who liv'd at that Time, and who has written a Chronicle from the Reign of *Rodolphus* I. to the Death of *Charles* IV, ſpeaks thereof in ſuch Terms, as will ſufficiently make known, That the Number of Electors was not

† In Chron. preced. * H. Canis. *has publiſh'd it*, Tom. 1. Antiq. Lect. * *Richard* of *Cornwall*, and *Alphonſus*. † *In the Year* 1297. † In Chron. An. 1257. ‡ *Albert* I. * *Charles* IV.

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regulated before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*. He writes thus †:

" After the Death of *Lewis* IV, *Henry* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Lewis* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, *Rupert* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, as well for himſelf, as by virtue of the Power he had receiv'd from *Rodolphus*, and *Rupert* of *Bavaria*, his Couſins; and from *Eric* Duke of *Saxony*, who had likewiſe a Right to elect, becauſe his Father was the eldeſt Son of *Rodolphus*, alſo Duke of *Saxony*, who had elected *Charles* IV, met in order to elect *Edward* King of *England*, who excuſing himſelf on the Differences he had to decide with the King of *France*, they choſe *Frederick* Marquiſs of *Miſnia*." And afterwards ſpeaking of the Election of *Gunther* Count of *Suartzemburg*, he ſays, ‡ " That the Count conſented to their Proceeding to the Election of his Perſon, provided that the Princes and Lords, who were aſſembled at *Franckfort*, declar'd the Empire vacant; and that the major part of the Princes, who ſhould be judg'd to have a Right to elect, ſhould agree thereupon among themſelves. So that four Princes, and a good Number of Lords being met, and having declar'd the Empire vacant, and that thoſe four had a Right to elect, *Henry* of *Wirneburg* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Lewis* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, *Rodolphus* Duke of the *Rhine*, who was a Priſoner, and *Eric* Duke of *Saxony*, elected on the Day of the Purification *Gunther* Count of *Suartzemburg*." At the firſt Election was preſent *Rupert* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, with Powers from *Rodolphus* and *Rupert* his Couſins: At the ſecond, *Rodolphus* elects, with the Conſent of the two *Ruperts:* Wherein we muſt obſerve, not only that two Princes of the ſame Houſe, and of the ſame Branch, diſcharge the Functions of Elector, and aſſiſt at the Election in this Quality, but alſo that they have Power from the abſent, who by that Means have a Share in the Electoral Dignity. We even ſee two Electors in the Houſe of *Saxony*, the one whereof chuſes *Charles* IV, and the other *Edward* King of *England*, and *Gunther* Count of *Suartzemburg*. From whence we muſt conclude that the Number of Electors was not yet regulated immediately before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, and that this Regulation was very neceſſary to avoid Schiſms, and to give Repoſe to the Empire of *Germany*.

What we have now ſaid is ſo notorious, that even thoſe who refer the Inſtitution of the College of Electors to the Emperor *Otho* III, and to Pope *Gregory* V, are forc'd to agree to a Truth which they are not able to conteſt. We have ſeen above the Confeſſion of Cardinal *Baronius*. But, that no Advantage may be drawn therefrom, they ſay it is indeed true, that, before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, all the Princes of the Empire were call'd to the Elections, but that they had no definitive Voice, and ſo only a Right of Preſentation, or of Nomination, and not that of Election, which was reſerv'd to the ſeven Electors, excluding all the other Princes of *Germany*; that is to ſay, That when all the Princes, as well Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, and even the Counts and Barons, were aſſembled, the ſeven Electors retir'd into a Chamber appointed for the Election, while the other Princes and Lords deliberated in another Apartment on the Nomination of one or more Perſons, endow'd with all the Qualities neceſſary for this high Dignity; and that this Nomination being perform'd by a Plurality of Votes, the ſame was put into Writing, to be preſented to the Electors, who afterwards examin'd among themſelves, and in private, into the Merits of the Perſons ſo nam'd, and elected him they thought the beſt qualify'd.

They alledge for this a Paſſage out of *Roger* * *Hoveden*, which ſays, *That, after the Death of the Emperor, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Dukes, Counts, and other Lords, meet, and nominate twelve Perſons, out of which Number they will have the Emperor choſen, and preſent them to the Archbiſhops of* Mentz *and of* Cologn, *to the Duke of* Saxony, *and the Count* Palatin; *ſo that he of the twelve ſo nominated, that is choſen by theſe four Princes, is Emperor.* But who does not here ſee that *Hoveden* ſpeaks like an *Engliſhman*; that is to ſay, like a Foreigner who has no Knowledge at all of the Affairs of *Germany*? He does not deſerve we ſhould reflect on what he ſays, becauſe there is nothing like it in all the Hiſtory of the Times; and we have inſtanc'd in the contrary, when we ſpoke of the Election of the Emperor *Philip*, which was perform'd in the Time *Hoveden* ſpeaks of. We ſhall only take notice, that what he ſays ſignifies nothing to the Inſtitution of the Electoral College by *Otho* III, or *Gregory* V, inaſmuch as he reduces the Electors to four in Number, and excludes therefrom the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, the King of *Bohemia*, and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*.

We ſhall therefore oppoſe his Teſtimony with that of *Matthew Paris*, who liv'd almoſt at the ſame Time, and who being of the Council of *Richard* Duke of *Cornwall*, who was call'd to the Empire after the Death of *William* of *Holland*, might have an Inſight into the Affairs of *Germany*, which the other had not. Speaking of the Election of *Richard*, he ſays, † " The chief Lords, on whom depends the Election of the King of the *Romans*, the future Emperor, are the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatin of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Poland*, the Marquiſs of *Miche*, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, the Duke of *Carinthia*, the Duke of *Meley*, the Duke of *Brabant*, who is alſo Duke of *Lovain*, the *Lantgrave* of *Thuringia*, and the Marquiſs of *Miſnia*." It is true, it may be ſaid of him what we ſaid above of *Roger Hoveden*, that is to ſay, That he does not treat of foreign Affairs with the ſame Exactneſs he brings to the Hiſtory of *England*; but yet we may gather from him this certain Truth, That in his Time, that is to ſay, about fifty Years after that of *Hoveden*, there was no Talk of four Electors,

† An. 1348. pag. 145. Tom. 2. of Urſtic.
‡ An. 1349. pag. 150.
* Cap. Defuncto itaq; Imper. Annal. parte poſt. 776.
† An. 1257. ſub Henrico III. Angliæ Rege.

nor

nor of the Electoral College, in the State it is now in.

Simon Schardius, Counſellor to *Wolfgang-William*, Duke of *Newburg*, who has written a Treatiſe of the Electors, to which he has given the Title *De Septemviratu*, with a Deſign to ſhew that they were inſtituted in the Time of *Gregory* V, and of *Otho* III, ſays, That he has a Cannon, with which he can batter all the Arguments that can be objected to this pretended Inſtitution, and alledges for this Purpoſe the Canon *Venerabilem extr. de Electo. & Electi poteſt.* and particularly theſe Words of Pope *Innocent*, *Jus Principum nobis nolumus vendicare*; *verum illis Principibus, jus & poteſtatem Eligendi Regem in Imperatorem promovendum, recognoſcimus, ad quos de Jure, & antiqua Conſuetudine, noſcimus pertinere*; that is to ſay, That ſo far are we from being inclin'd to uſurp the Right of the Electors, that on the contrary we acknowledge that it belongs to thoſe who actually poſſeſs it with a good Title, and from all Antiquity. But Cardinal *Baronius* anſwers for us in the Place we have before quoted, ‡ and ſays, That they who believe that the Pope here means the ſeven Electors, are miſtaken, it being certain that in his Time all the Princes of *Germany* were Electors. And in Reality it is impoſſible to draw from thoſe Words any Conſequence for the *Septemvirate*; for, that it may not be thought the Pope ſpeaks of ſeven Electors, we muſt ſee what the ſame Pope ſays elſewhere, to wit, That the Princes of *Germany*, who are not Electors, are the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, the Duke of *Suabia*, the Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, the Duke of *Limbourg*, the Duke of *Carinthia*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Gueldres:* That the Secular Electoral Princes are the Duke of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Duke of the *Saxons*, the Duke of *Brabant*, and of *Lovain*; and that the Prelates are the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Cologn*, and of *Saltzbourg*.

He ſays expreſſly, that the King of *Bohemia* and the Duke of *Saxony* are not Electors, and that the Archbiſhop of *Saltzbourg*, the Dukes *Auſtria*, of *Bavaria*, of *Suabia* and of *Brabant* are; there being no room to reproach him with Ignorance in the Affairs of *Germany*, for his excluding from the Election, the King of *Bohemia*, and the Duke of *Saxony*, ſo as to render his Teſtimony invalid. For beſides that in his Time there were ſeveral Dukes of *Saxony*, ſome of whom began to be excluded from the Election, while the others maintain'd their Right, as appears by the ſame Paſſage, where he puts the Duke of the *Saxons* in the Number of the Electors; it may be ſaid, that the Electoral Dignity was not as yet annex'd to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and that it was not ſo, till the Declaration the Emperor *Rodolphus* I. made on that Account in favour of *Wenceſlas*, his Son-in-law, as we ſhall make it appear elſewhere, when we ſhall ſpeak of the King of *Bohemia* in particular. We indeed acknowledge that there is ſome Contradiction to be found between *Innocent* IV, and *Matthew Paris*, but it is ſufficient for us to ſhew, that they agree in this, that they make the Number of Electors much greater than it is at preſent.

Cardinal *Bellarmin*, who has compos'd a Treatiſe, *De Tranſlatione Imperii*, againſt *Flaccius Illyricus*, who had written one on the ſame Subject; conſidering that the Authority of *Martinus Polonus*, who is the firſt that has written of the Inſtitution of the ſeven Electors by *Gregory* V, is not of Force enough to be oppos'd to that of Pope *Innocent* his Maſter: That the Book, *De Regimine Principum*, which is aſcrib'd to *Thomas Aquinas*, is ſuppoſititious; and that the Teſtimonies of modern Authors cannot be compar'd with the Truth gather'd from the Particulars of Hiſtory; he explains himſelf; and as if he had liv'd ſix hundred Years ago, pronounces confidently: and as if he had the Original of the pretended Ordinance of *Gregory* V. by him, ſays, * That the Decree of *Gregory* contain'd four Points. *Firſt*, That he made the Empire, which till then had been hereditary, elective. *Secondly*, That he took away the Right of Election from the People, who enjoy'd it before, in Concurrence with the Prelates and Princes. *Thirdly*, That he excluded from the Election the *Italians*, who had a Share therein before. And, *Fourthly*, That he reduc'd the Number of the Electors, which was before confus'd and uncertain, to that of Seven. To all which he adds, That this Ordinance of *Gregory* was very punctually executed, immediately after the Death of *Otho* III, in reference to the three firſt Points; but as to the Fourth, to wit, the Reduction of the Electors to the Number of Seven, it was not ſo, by reaſon of the Oppoſition made by the other Princes.

But this Shift deſtroys it ſelf in this, That as to the firſt Point it makes the Empire hereditary to the Time of *Gregory:* And as to the Second and Third, the Cardinal confeſſes, that before the Publication of this pretended Ordinance, the People, and even that of *Italy*, had a Share in the Election. Now if it was hereditary, how could the People elect? And if it was elective, how can the firſt Point ſubſiſt? Beſides that the Third is directly contrary to the Truth of Hiſtory, ſince we have made it appear above, that the *Italians* were preſent at ſeveral poſterior Elections, and particularly at thoſe of *Conrade* II, and of *Frideric* I. And as for the fourth Point, which *Bellarmin* confeſſes was not executed, we think that this ingenuous Confeſſion makes altogether for the Opinion which we eſtabliſh; ſince by owning that all the other Princes oppos'd the Reduction to the Number of Seven, and that in effect the Right of electing remain'd common to all, he ought to produce the Ordinance it ſelf, or at leaſt alledge ſome contemporary Author who makes mention of it. But foraſmuch as we find a profound Silence therein for above two hundred Years after the Death of *Otho*, without any Author's ſpeaking of the Electors, and ſtill leſs of the Ordinance of *Gregory*, we think we may take Advantage therefrom, and abſolutely deny that *Gregory* V, and *Otho* III, regulated the Number of the Electors; and may be bold to ſay, that it was not ſo, till the Time of the Emperor *Charles* IV.

‡ *Chap.* V.

* Lib. 3. cap. 2.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The Golden Bull.

WHat we have ſaid in the foregoing Chapters, only ſerves for a Preliminary to the Treatiſe of the Election, and of the Electors, which being grounded chiefly on the *Golden Bull*, we have thought it proper to inſert it here at length, as being in a manner the ſole Foundation of all we ſhall treat of hereafter.

IN the Name of the holy and undivided Trinity. Amen. CHARLES, by the Grace of God, Emperor of the *Romans*, always Auguſt, and King of *Bohemia*, to all preſent and to come.

That Kingdom that is divided in it ſelf ſhall be deſolate, for its Princes have made themſelves Accomplices of Robbers. And it is for that Reaſon that God has ſent amongſt them the Spirit of Stupefaction, that they may go groping their way when the Sun is in its Meridian, as if they walk'd in a profound Darkneſs; and he has taken from them their Lights, that they may become blind themſelves, and Leaders of the Blind. They who travel in Darkneſs ſtumble; and they who are blind in their Underſtanding ſow Diviſion and Enmity, the ſole Springs of all other Wickedneſs. Say, Pride, how would'ſt thou have reign'd in *Lucifer*, if thou hadſt not call'd Diſſenſion to thy Aſſiſtance? Say, *Satan*, how thou would'ſt have driven *Adam* from *Paradiſe*, if thou had'ſt not debauch'd him from the Obedience which he ow'd to his Creator. Say, Anger, how could'ſt thou have ruin'd the *Roman* Empire, if Diviſion had not arm'd *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*; and if it had not fill'd the whole Empire with Civil Wars? Say, Luxury, how thou would'ſt have deſtroy'd the City of *Troy*, if Diſſenſion had not raviſh'd *Helen* from her Husband? And thou, Envy, how many times haſt thou us'd thy utmoſt Efforts, to try to ruin this Empire, which God has founded on theſe three theological Virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, as on a holy and undivided Trinity; by ſowing, as the old Serpent did, the Venom of Diſſenſion among the Electors? Among the Electors, I ſay, who are the Supporters and Buttreſſes of that Structure, the main Branches, and chief Members of the Empire; who like ſeven Flambeaus ought to give it Light and Splendor, by the Union of their Minds and Sentiments, and by a perfect good Underſtanding amongſt themſelves. Wherefore finding our ſelves oblig'd to hinder theſe Diſorders from happening for the future, as well on the Account of the Imperial Dignity with which we are inveſted, as of the Electoral which we enjoy as King of *Bohemia*; after having caus'd this Affair to be maturely deliberated in our Court or ſolemn Diet aſſembl'd at *Nuremberg*, where were preſent all the Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, and ſeveral other Princes, Counts, Barons, Lords, Gentlemen and Deputies of Free-Towns, by the Advice of whom, and by our full Power, and Imperial Authority, being ſeated in the Throne of the Empire, cloth'd with the Imperial Robes, and having the Imperial Crown on our Head, and holding the Ornaments in our Hands: We have publiſh'd the preſent Edict, and have thought fit to prevent by the following Laws, thoſe Diſorders and Diſſenſions, which might for the future diſturb the Tranquillity of the Empire. Given in the Year of Grace, One Thouſand Three Hundred Fifty Six. Indict. IX. *January* 10. Of our Reign the Tenth, and of our Empire the Firſt.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Safe-conduct of the Electors, and by whom they ought to be guarded.

§. 1. WE therefore will and ordain, by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, of our certain Knowledge, and full Imperial Power, that whenever there ſhall be Occaſion for the Election of a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor; and that according to the ancient and laudable Cuſtom, the Princes Electors ſhall ſet out, in order to repair to the Place of the Election; the Electors, through whoſe Countries the other Electors or their Deputies ſhall have Occaſion to paſs, being well and duly requir'd thereto, ſhall be oblig'd to conduct them ſafely through the Countries under their Juriſdiction and Obedience, or farther if it be neceſſary; and to give them a Safe-conduct without any Fraud, to the Place of the Election, as well going as coming, under the Penalty of being perjur'd, and of loſing their Vote and Suffrage, and the Share they ſhould have had in the Election, for that Time only; without any need of other Declaration than the preſent, againſt thoſe who in this ſhall have ſhewn themſelves negligent, or Rebels.

§. 2. We alſo ordain, and give notice to all the other Princes who hold of the Empire, of what Quality or Condition they may be; as alſo to all Counts, Barons, Vaſſals and Subjects, as well Nobles as Plebeians; to the Inhabitants and Communities of Towns, Burroughs, and Places of the Empire, under the Penalties hereafter expreſs'd, That they guard, and give Safe-conduct to the Electors, or to the Deputies they ſhall ſend to the Election, through their Countries and Territories, or farther if poſſible, without any Fraud. And for default in doing this, the ſaid Counts, Barons, Vaſſals, and noble Subjects, as Perjurers, ſhall be depriv'd not only of the Fiefs they hold of the Empire; but alſo of all their other Eſtates, of what Quality ſoever they may be. And as for the Inhabitants and Communities of Towns, they ſhall not only forfeit all their Privileges, Liberties,

Immunities and Favours they hold of the Empire; but ſhall alſo be deem'd proſcrib'd Perjurers, and put in the Ban of the Empire, as in ſuch Caſe we from this preſent put them, as well as then: permitting all our Subjects in general, and each of them in particular, to fall upon them, and to attack, offend and injure the Proſcrib'd, without having need for this Effect to obtain any Permiſſion from the Judicature, or that in ſuch Caſe the Aggreſſor need to apprehend any Puniſhment on the part of the Empire, which is far from revenging thoſe, who like Perjurers, Rebels, diſobedient and perfidious Wretches, ſhall have been ſo audacious as to diſturb the Repoſe of the State, and to offend the Dignity of the Empire.

§. 3. We ordain and give notice to all the Inhabitants and Communities of Towns, that they ſell to the Electors, or to the Deputies they ſhall ſend to the Election, as well going as coming, at a reaſonable Rate, thoſe Proviſions they ſhall have occaſion for, as well for themſelves as for thoſe of their Retinue: And all this without Fraud, and under the ſame Penalties.

§. 4. If any Prince, Count, Baron, Vaſſal and Subject, Noble or Plebeian, Inhabitant or Community of a Town is temerarious enough to undertake or attempt any thing againſt the Electors or their Deputies, going or coming, to offend them in their Perſons, or in their Retinue and Attendants, he ſhall be ſubject to the ſame Penalties.

§. 5. If it happens that an Elector has a Quarrel with ſome of his Collegues, their Difference ſhall not hinder them (upon being requir'd thereto) from giving him the neceſſary Safe-conduct, under the Penalty of loſing their Votes in the Election for that time only, as we ſaid before.

§. 6. In like Manner, if the other Princes, Counts, Barons, Officers and Vaſſals, Nobles or Plebeians, Inhabitants and Communities of Towns, have a Quarrel, or are at War amongſt themſelves, or with any one of the Electors, yet they ſhall not fail of giving the neceſſary Safe-conduct, if they will avoid the Penalties with which this preſent Edict threatens them.

§. 7. And to the End this our Will may be executed in every Point, we will and ordain, That the Princes, Counts, Barons, Gentlemen, Towns and Communities, give for this Effect, their Letters ſign'd and ſeal'd in good Form, and that they oblige themſelves by Oath not to contravene the ſame, in any Manner whatever; ordaining the ſame Penalties againſt thoſe, who ſhall refuſe to give their Letters in good Form.

§. 8. If it happens that an Elector, or other Prince, holding of the Empire, of what Quality or Condition ſoever he may be, Count, Baron, or their Heirs or Succeſſors, holding Fiefs of the Empire, refuſes to obey our Laws and Conſtitutions: If he be an Elector, the other Princes his Collegues ſhall expel him their College, and ſhall deprive him of his Vote, and Electoral Dignity, and of the Fiefs he holds of the Empire. And if it be any other Prince or Lord, not only he ſhall be refus'd the Inveſtiture of his Fiefs, but he ſhall alſo be declar'd ſubject to the Penalties before-mention'd.

§. 9. Now notwithſtanding our Will is to oblige to this Safe-conduct, indifferently, all Princes, Counts, Barons, Gentlemen, and Communities; yet we have thought fit to aſſign to each Elector particular Safe-conducts, Eſcorts, and Convoyes, according to the Places and Territories through which they are to paſs, in the following manner.

§. 10. Firſt, The King of *Bohemia*, Great Cup-bearer of the Empire, ſhall be conducted by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and by the Biſhops of *Bamberg* and of *Wurtzbourg*, by the Burggraves of *Nurembourg*, by the Counts of *Hohenlo*, of *Wertheim*, of *Bruneck* and of *Hanau*, and by the Towns of *Nuremberg*, of *Rotembourg* on the *Tauber*, and of *Winſheim*.

§. 11. The Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Italy*, ſhall be conducted by the Archbiſhops of *Mayence* and of *Triers*, by the Count *Palatin*, by the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, by the Counts of *Catznellebogen*, of *Naſſau*, of *Dietz*, of *Iſembourg*, of *Weſterbourg*, of *Runkel*, of *Limbourg* and of *Falkenſtein*, and by the Towns of *Wetzlar*, *Gelnhauſen* and *Friſlar*.

§. 12. The Archbiſhop of *Triers*, Great Chancellor of the Empire amongſt the *Gauls*, and in the Kingdom of *Arles*, ſhall be conducted by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and by the Count *Palatin*, by the Counts of *Spanheim*, *Veldentz*, *Catznellebogen*, *Naſſau*, *Dietz*, *Iſembourg*, *Weſterbourg*, *Runkel*, *Falkenſtien*, *Eppenſtein*, and by the Town of *Mentz*.

§. 13. The Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, High Steward of the Empire, ſhall be conducted by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

§. 14. The Duke of *Saxony*, Great Mareſchal of the Empire, ſhall be conducted by the King of *Bohemia*, by the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and of *Magdebourg*, by the Biſhops of *Bamberg* and of *Wurtzbourg*, by the Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, by the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, by the Abbots of *Fuld* and of *Hirtsfelt*, by the Burggraves of *Nuremberg*, by the Counts of *Hohenlo*, of *Wertheim*, of *Bruneck*, of *Hanau* and of *Falkenſtein*, and by the Towns of *Erfort*, *Mulhauſen*, *Nuremberg*, *Rotembourg* on the *Tauber*, and of *Wertheim*.

§. 15. All thoſe we have now nam'd, ſhall all conduct together with the Elector of *Saxony*, the Marquiſs of *Brandenbourg*, Great Chamberlain of the Empire.

§. 16. Our Will is, and we ordain very expreſſly, That whoſoever of the Electors ſhall have a mind to make uſe of theſe Eſcorts and Safe-conducts, ſhall make it duly known to thoſe from whom he would require them, and ſignify to them what Road he intends to take; to the End, that they who ſhall be nominated for ſuch Convoy or Safe-conduct, may have due Time to prepare themſelves for the ſame.

§. 17. However what we have now ſaid of Safe-conducts ought to be ſo underſtood, that they whom we have mention'd, and all the others, ſhall not be oblig'd to give any Eſcort or Safe-conduct, except on their own Territories, and within their own Countrey, and ſo far as they can do it conveniently, and no farther; the whole without Fraud.

§. 18. It is alſo our Will, and we ordain, that the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* for the Time being, ſhall ſend Expreſſes to all the other Electors

his

his Collegues, and ſhall invite 'em to aſſiſt at the Election by his Letters Patents, which ſhall expreſs and name the Day on which the ſaid Letters in all Likelihood may be deliver'd to them, to the end that in three Months, reckoning from the ſaid Day, they may repair in Perſon, or elſe ſend their Deputies to *Francfort* on the *Main*, provided with a good Procuration ſign'd with their Hand, and ſeal'd, in order to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor. Now what theſe Letters ought to be, and in what Terms are to be conceiv'd the Procuration and Powers of the Embaſſadors, or Deputies the Electors ſhall think fit to ſend to the Election, is what ſhall be explain'd hereafter, when we ſhall ſpeak of the Form we require ſhould be obſerv'd therein.

§. 19. And the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſhall be oblig'd to ſummon by his Letters Patents the other Electors his Collegues, within a Month after he ſhall be inform'd of the Death of the Emperor; which if he does not do, the other Electors may, and ſhall be oblig'd, by virtue of the Oath they have taken to the Empire, to meet at *Francfort* within the firſt three Months following, in order to proceed there to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor, as we have ſaid above.

§. 20. And each Elector, or his Embaſſador, ſhall not enter the Town of *Francfort* but with the Retinue of two hundred Horſe only; amongſt whom he may have fifty Men at Arms and no more.

§. 21. That Elector, who after having been duly ſummon'd and invited to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor, ſhall refuſe or neglect to come thither, or to ſend his Embaſſadors or Deputies, provided with a good Procuration ſign'd and ſeal'd in good Form; or who being come to the Place, or having ſent thither his Deputies, if he or they leave the Town before the Election is executed, he ſhall for that Time loſe the Vote and Share he had there.

§. 22. We command the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants of the ſaid Town of *Francfort*, and ſignify to them to take into their Protection all the ſaid Electors, as well in general as every of them in particular, and the ones againſt the others, in caſe of any Difference or Quarrel amongſt them; and this towards and againſt all; as well their Perſons as their Domeſticks, compris'd in the Number of two hundred which we have aſſign'd them. And this by the Oath which we ordain them to take for this effect on the holy Goſpels. And in caſe they fail therein, we declare them from this preſent Time, as well as then, Perjurers and Traitors; and as ſuch to have forfeited all the Rights, Privileges and Immunities which they hold, or may hold of the Empire; proſcribing them, and putting them in the Ban of the Empire: and as ſuch we expoſe them to the Diſcretion of the firſt Comer, to be with Impunity attack'd, injur'd and kill'd as Traitors, perfidious and unfaithful to the Empire, without the Aggreſſor's being liable to be puniſh'd or accountable to Juſtice for the ſame. Likewiſe the Inhabitants of the ſaid Town of *Francfort* ſhall not ſuffer any Stranger, unleſs he be of the Retinue of the Electors to enter into the Town during the whole Time of the Election, of what Condition or Quality ſoever he may be. And if there is found any other Stranger in the Town, beſides the Number of two hundred, of which the Retinue of the Electors ought to be compos'd, the ſaid Inhabitants ſhall be oblig'd by virtue of the Oath they have taken to the Empire, and of that which we command them to take expreſſly for that, to make him depart thence immediately and without Delay.

CHAP. II.

Of the Election of the King of the Romans.

§. 1. AFter that the Electors, or their Deputies, ſhall be come to *Francfort*, they ſhall not fail to repair the very next Day in the Morning to the Church of Saint *Bartholomew*, where they ſhall cauſe to be ſaid in their Preſence a Maſs to invoke the Holy Ghoſt; to the end that the ſame Holy Ghoſt, illuminating their Minds, and ſtrengthening them with his Grace, they may be able to make Choice of a good and juſt Prince, and worthy to be elected King of the *Romans*, future Emperor, for the Good of all *Chriſtendom*. After that the Maſs ſhall be ended, the the Electors, follow'd by their Attendants, but without Arms, ſhall march up to the Altar, on which Maſs ſhall have been ſaid; and there ſhall take the Oath on the Goſpel of St. *John*, *In principio erat Verbum*, which ſhall be laid before them; the Eccleſiaſticks by putting their Hand on their Stomach, and the Seculars by actually touching the Goſpel. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſhall preſent to them the Form of the Oath, which he ſhall take with them, and they or their Deputies with him, much after this manner.

§. 2. " I Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, Great " Chamberlain of the Empire, Prince Elec- " tor, do ſwear on the holy Goſpels put " here effectually before me, by the Faith I " owe to God, and by the Oath I have ta- " ken to the holy Empire, that by the Help " of God, with all my Underſtanding, and " all the Force of my Judgment, I will chuſe " for the temporal Head of *Chriſtendom*, " that is to ſay, for King of the *Romans*, " future Emperor, him I ſhall judge in my " Conſcience to be moſt worthy thereof; and " I promiſe on the ſame Faith, that I will give " my Vote and Suffrage in the ſaid Election, " without any Hope of Profit, Penſion, Pro- " miſe or particular Intereſt. So help me God, " and all his Saints.

§. 3. After the Electors, and the Embaſſadors of thoſe abſent, ſhall have taken the Oath in the Form above mention'd, they ſhall go no more out of the Town of *Francfort*, nor ſhall not ſeparate till the Election be ended, and till they have choſen a temporal Head to the World, or to *Chriſtendom*, to wit, a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor. And if they do not perform the ſame within a Month, to reckon from the Day they ſhall have taken the Oath, they ſhall have no other Food but Bread and Water. And we very expreſſly for-

bid

bid them to go out of the ſaid Town of *Francfort*, till they all, or the major part of them, ſhall have choſen a temporal Head to *Chriſtendom*, that is to ſay, a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor.

§. 4. The Election which ſhall have been made by the Conſent of the major part of the Electors, and by a Plurality of Votes, ſhall be of the ſame Force as if it been made by all of them unanimouſly. Likewiſe if any one of the Electors, or his Embaſſadors or Deputies ſhall come to *Francfort* after the Election ſhall be begun, they ſhall be admitted, the Election remaining in the ſame State it ſhall be in at the Time of their Arrival.

§. 5. And foraſmuch as by an ancient and laudable Cuſtom it has been ſo at all Times inviolably obſerv'd, it is alſo our Will, and we ordain by our full Power, that for the time to come, he who ſhall be ſo choſen King of the *Romans*, ſhall be oblig'd to confirm to the Electors, as to the chief Members of the Empire, all the Rights, Privileges, Liberties, Favours, Exemptions, Dignities and Advantages which they hold of the holy Empire, which they enjoy, and ſhall have enjoy'd till then; and this without any Delay or put off, immediately after his Election, and before he can be capable of meddling with the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Empire. And this the elected King of the *Romans* ſhall be oblig'd to confirm to them by his Letters Patents, ſign'd and ſeal'd in good Form, immediately after he ſhall be crown'd Emperor.

§. 6. Which Confirmation ſhall be made by the Elect, to each of the Electors in particular, in the Quality of King of the *Romans*, and afterwards ſhall be by him renew'd in the Quality of Emperor, promiſing that he will give them no Trouble or Lett in the Functions of their Dignities, or in the Enjoyment of their Rights, Privileges and Preheminences, but on the contrary will generouſly maintain them therein.

§. 7. Finally, we ordain, that in caſe three Electors preſent, or the Deputies or Embaſſadors of the abſent, give their Vote and Suffrage to any one of their Collegues to elect him King of the *Romans*; the Vote of the fourth, if he be there in Perſon, or that of his Embaſſador in his Abſence, ſhall have the ſame Force and Virtue as that of the others; ſhall augment the Number of the Chuſers, and effect that Plurality which is neceſſary for the Election.

CHAP. III.

Of the Place of the Archbiſhops of Triers, Cologn *and* Mayence.

IN *the Name of the holy and undivided Trinity. Amen.*

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, Emperor of the *Romans*, always Auguſt, and King of *Bohemia*, to all preſent and to come.

§. 1. The Glory and Majeſty of the Empire, the Honour of the Emperor, and the State it ſelf ſubſiſts but by the Union and good Underſtanding between the venerable and illuſtrious Princes Electors, who like Buttreſſes ſupport that ſacred Structure by the ingenious Piety of their Prudence; by which they ſtrengthen the Power of the Imperial Arm: So that the cloſer the Knot of their mutual Friendſhip is knit, the firmer is the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and the more ſecure and unſhakeable.

§. 2. Therefore to remove and take away for ever all Subject of Quarrel and Jealouſy which might ariſe amongſt the venerable Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, on the Score of Precedency in the Royal and Imperial Courts; and to the end, living in a good Underſtanding among themſelves, they may with one Heart labour to promote the Good of the State, and apply all their Thoughts to the Affairs of the Empire, for the Conſolation of all *Chriſtendom*; we have, by the Advice and Counſel of all the Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, ordain'd and determin'd, and do ordain and determine by this preſent Edict, which is to be perpetual and irrevocable, that the Reverend the Archbiſhops abovenam'd ſhall take their Places as follows; to wit, that of *Triers* over-againſt the Emperor; that of *Mayence* within his Dioceſe and Province, and even out of his Province, within the whole Extent of his Chancery, except within the Province of *Cologn* only, on the Right Hand of the Emperor; as in like manner the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* ſhall have it within his Province, and out of his Province all over *Italy* and amongſt the *Gauls:* and this in all publick Actions and Ceremonies, as Judgments, Conferences, Collations, and Inveſtitures of Fiefs, Entertainments, Councils, and in all other Aſſemblies where they ſhall be preſent about the Affairs of the Empire. And it is our Will that this Order of Place be obſerv'd amongſt the ſaid Archbiſhops of *Triers*, *Cologn*, and *Mayence*, and between their Succeſſors perpetually, and it ſhall not be in the Power of any Perſon or Perſons whatever to change or alter the ſame, for any Cauſe or Occaſion whatſoever.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Princes Electors in General.

§. 1. WE ordain alſo that in all the Imperial Courts, or Aſſemblies, where the Emperor and the Princes ſhall be preſent in Perſon, as well in Council as at Table, the King of *Bohemia*, as a Prince crown'd and ſacred, ſhall take Place immediately after the Archbiſhop, who, according to the Place where the Aſſembly ſhall be held, ſhall be ſeated on the Right Hand of the Emperor, by virtue of this preſent Ordinance: And after him on the ſame ſide ſhall ſit the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*. On the Left Hand, and immediately after the Archbiſhop, who ſhall be on that ſide, the Duke of *Saxony* ſhall take Place, and after him the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*.

§. 2. The

§. 2. The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſhall have Power and Right, as he has at all Times had it, to call together his Collegues whenever the Empire ſhall become vacant. In like manner none but the ſaid Archbiſhop only ſhall have Power to put Things to the Vote, collect the Suffrages, and ask the Opinions in the following manner.

§. 3. Firſt he ſhall ask the Opinion of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, who ſhall have the firſt Vote, according to what has been at all Times practis'd in this reſpect: After that he ſhall ask that of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, whoſe Office it is to crown the King of the *Romans*: The King of *Bohemia* ſhall vote in the third Place, as being the firſt of the Secular Electors, on the account of his Regal Dignity: The Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* ſhall have the fourth Vote: The fifth ſhall belong to the Duke of *Saxony*; and the ſixth to the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*. This being done, the other Princes Electors ſhall in their Turn ask the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* his Vote and Suffrage.

§. 4. We alſo ordain that at the Ceremonies of the Imperial Court, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* ſhall give the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, Water to waſh with. The King of *Bohemia* ſhall ſerve him when he would drink the firſt Time; it being left to his Choice to do the ſame with the Royal Crown on his Head or not; and the Duke of *Saxony* ſhall do his Office as he has been us'd to do.

CHAP. V.

Of the Right of the Count Palatin *of the* Rhine, *and of the Duke of* Saxony.

§. 1. WHen the Empire ſhall happen to be vacant, the illuſtrious Count *Palatin*, High Steward of the holy Empire, ſhall be Vicar of the Empire in *Suabia*, in *Franconia*, and on the *Rhine*, on the account of his Principality, or by virtue of the Privilege particularly belonging to the *Palatinate*; with Power to adminiſter Juſtice, to nominate to Benefices, to receive the Revenue of the Empire, to confer Fiefs, and to receive Fealty and Homage in the Name of the Empire; except thoſe Fiefs, the Inveſtiture whereof is given with the Standard, which therefore we reſerve to the Emperor only, or to the King of the *Romans*: to whom alſo of Obligation ſhall be renew'd the Fealty and Homage which ſhall have been made to the Vicar during the *Interregnum*. Forbidding nevertheleſs very expreſſly the ſaid Count *Palatin*, to alienate or mortgage any thing belonging to the Empire, during the Time of his Vicarſhip.

§. 2. It is alſo our Will that the illuſtrious Duke of *Saxony*, Great Marſhal, do enjoy the ſame Right of Vicarſhip in thoſe Countries where the *Saxon* Law takes place, in the ſame manner, and on the ſame Conditions above mention'd.

§. 3. And altho' by a very ancient Cuſtom the King of the *Romans* or the Emperor be oblig'd to be accountable to the Law, and to anſwer before the Count *Palatin* High Steward and Prince Elector of the holy Empire; yet the Count *Palatin* ſhall not exerciſe this Juriſdiction, unleſs it be in a Diet or Imperial Court where the Emperor or King of the *Romans* is perſonally preſent.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Compariſon of the Electors with the other Princes.

WE ordain that in all the Ceremonies and publick Aſſemblies of the Empire, the ſaid Princes Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, ſhall be ſeated in the manner, and according to the Order above preſcrib'd; and that no other Prince, of what Dignity, State, Condition or Quality ſoever he may be, ſhall pretend to any Precedency there. We ordain particularly in reference to the King of *Bohemia*, that he ſhall precede, without any Conteſtation, all the other Kings and Princes how powerful and conſiderable ſoever they may be; and whatever be the Cauſe that obliges them to be preſent at the Diets and publick and general Aſſemblies of the Empire.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Succeſſion of the Princes.

§. 1. AMidſt the many Applications we beſtow on the Affairs of the Empire, there is not any that affords us more Labour than that we employ Night and Day for the Preſervation of Peace and a good Underſtanding between the Princes Electors; becauſe we know that we cannot make uſe of their Prudence in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Empire, if we do not remove from them all Subjects of Hatred and Rancour amongſt themſelves; which we propoſe to do by declaring and juſtifying the Rights of every one of them.

§. 2. Indeed it is manifeſt and notorious to all the World, and there is no body who does not know that the illuſtrious King of *Bohemia*, the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* have a Right of Vote and Place at the Election of the King of the *Romans*, future Emperor, by virtue of their Reign, and of their Principalities, as well as the Eccleſiaſtical Electors their Collegues, with whom they are reputed, and are in effect true and lawful Princes Electors of the holy Empire. Now that for the time to come there may happen no Scandal or Diviſion among the Children of the ſaid Secular Princes Electors, and that the publick Welfare and Tranquillity may not be in Danger of being diſturb'd or retarded, we have been willing to remove the Cauſe thereof by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict; and for this purpoſe we ordain that the ſaid Secular Electors, or any one of them happening

to dye, the Right, Vote and Power of Election shall belong, without any Difficulty or Contestation, to his eldest Son, who shall be lawfully born, and a Layman; and in Default of him to his next Brother, who shall be, as we said before, lawfully begotten, and a Layman. And if it shall happen that the said eldest Son dyes without Issue lawfully begotten, the Right, Vote and Power of Election shall belong, by virtue of the present Edict, to his Brother by the Father's Side in a direct and lawful Line: And it is our Will that this Succession of the eldest Sons be inviolably observ'd for ever among the Heirs of the Electors; yet so nevertheless, that in case the said Prince Elector or his eldest Son happens to dye, leaving Children in the State of Minority, the eldest of the Brothers of such Elector, or of such eldest Son, shall be Guardian and Administrator of the young Elector, till he has attain'd the Age of eighteen Years complete; and then the Guardian or Administrator shall be oblig'd to surrender immediately and without delay, to his Pupil, the Right of Election, which he shall have enjoy'd till then.

§ 3. And if it shall happen that any of the Principalities come to be vacant, to the Profit of the Empire, the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, may dispose thereof, as of a thing escheated to him, and to the holy Empire; without Prejudice however to the Rights, Privileges, and Customs, which our Kingdom of *Bohemia* has obtain'd from the Emperors our Predecessors; by virtue of which, the Inhabitants of our said Kingdom may chuse to themselves a King when the Kingdom shall be vacant. Neither do we pretend to prejudice those Rights; but, on the contrary, we understand and will, very expressly, that our said Kingdom be maintain'd therein, and that its Privileges be preserv'd in every Point, according to their Form and Tenour.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Exemption of the King of Bohemia, *and of the Inhabitants of the said Kingdom.*

AND forasmuch as by a Privilege which the Emperors and Kings, our Predecessors, have granted to the Illustrious Kings of *Bohemia*, our Ancestors and Predecessors, to the Kingdom and Crown of *Bohemia*; as also it has been there practis'd in all Times, without this Custom being interrupted by any Action, or Custom to the contrary, that no Prince, Baron, Gentleman, Soldier, Vassal, Burgess, or other Inhabitant of that Kingdom, of what Condition or Quality soever he may be, can for any Cause, or under any Pretext whatever, be cited before any other Judge than before the King of *Bohemia*: We, being minded to renew the said Grant and Privilege, do ordain, of our full Imperial Power, by this perpetual and irrevocable Constitution, that, if notwithstanding that Privilege, any Prince, Baron, Nobleman, Vassal, Burgess or Peasant, is summon'd out of the Kingdom for any Cause whatever, civil or criminal, he shall not be deem'd lyable to such Jurisdiction, or to appear either in Person or by his Attorney. And if it shall happen that the foreign Judge, not residing within the Kingdom, shall proceed in such Cause to a Sentence interlocutory or definitive; it is our Will, and we ordain by our full Imperial Power, that all Defaults and Orders, issu'd out by such Judges, as also the Sentences and Executions, shall be declar'd null, and that it shall not be allowable by virtue of those Sentences to execute or attempt any thing to the Prejudice of the present Privilege. We likewise very expressly forbid all Princes, Barons, Nobles, Vassals, Burgesses, Peasants, and all other Persons, of what Condition or Quality soever they may be, to appeal from the Decrees or Sentences, interlocutory or definitive, given by the King or his Judges, on Pain of Nullity, or Loss of their Cause.

CHAP. IX.

Of Mines of Gold, Silver, and other Mettals.

WE ordain also, and declare, by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, by the same Imperial Power, and of our certain Knowledge, that our Successors Kings of *Bohemia*, and all the other Electors, as well Ecclesiasticks as Seculars, may possess all the Mines of Gold, Silver, Tinn, Copper, Brass, Lead, and of all other Mettals, as also all the Salt-Pits already discover'd, and that shall be hereafter discover'd, as well in our said Kingdom, and the Provinces thereunto annex'd, as in the Territories and Principalities of the other Princes Electors, without their being oblig'd to pay any Duties for the same, in any manner or way whatever. They may also receive the Duties and Customs which are already establish'd, and harbour the Jews, as the Kings of *Bohemia*, our Ancestors and Predecessors, have formerly done; as also the other Electors have at all Times had a Right to do the same.

CHAP. X.

Concerning the Coyn.

WE also ordain that the King of *Bohemia*, who shall after us succeed to the Kingdom, shall be able to coyn Money of Gold and Silver, in such part of his Kingdom, and in such Places under his Obedience, as he shall think fit, and in such Manner and Form as has been at all Times observ'd in our said Kingdom; and this pursuant to the Right the Kings our Predecessors have at all Times enjoy'd.

We also understand, and ordain by this present Imperial Constitution, and perpetual Bounty, that the Kings of *Bohemia* may purchase from other Princes and Lords, and even from all other Persons, Lands, Castles and Inheritances, of what Kind or Nature soever they may be, and even receive them by Gift and by Mortgage; on Condition however, that they shall

ſhall be oblig'd to leave them in the ſame Nature as they found them; the Fiefs, as Fiefs, and the Freeholds and alodial Lands, as ſuch, &c. and to pay the ordinary Duties to the Empire. Which preſent Conſtitution we alſo extend to all the other Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, their lawful Succeſſors and Heirs; the whole on the Terms and Conditions above-mention'd.

CHAP XI.

Of the Exemption of the Princes Electors.

§. 1. WE alſo ordain that the Counts, Barons, Gentlemen, Nobles, Vaſſals, Officers, Soldiers, Burgeſſes, and all other Perſons, of what Condition or Quality ſoever they may be, Subjects of the Churches of *Cologn*, *Mayence* and *Triers*, ſhall not be forc'd out of the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Churches at the Inſtance of any Plaintiff, nor oblig'd to appear, and be impleadable, before any other Judges than before the Ordinary Judges of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, as we find it has been at all Times obſerv'd. And if it ſhall happen, that notwithſtanding this preſent Edict, any of the Subjects of the Churches of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, be ſummon'd before any other Judge, for any Cauſe whatever, civil or criminal, the Perſon ſo ſummon'd ſhall not be oblig'd to appear: But we ordain, that whatever ſhall have been done againſt ſuch Perſons not appearing, by the Judges reſiding out of the Diſtrict or Extent of the Juriſdiction of the ſaid Churches, ſhall be null and of no Effect.

§. 2. To all which we add very expreſſly, That the Counts, Barons, Gentlemen, Noblemen, Vaſſals, Burgeſſes and Inhabitants, Subjects of the ſaid Churches, of what Condition ſoever they may be, cannot appeal from the Sentences, definitive or interlocutory of the Officials, or of the ſecular Judges of the ſaid Archbiſhops, and of the ſaid Churches; unleſs it be in the Caſe of Denial of Juſtice; prohibiting and forbidding all other Judges to receive ſuch Appeals, and to take Cognizance thereof, on Pain of Nullity. And in Caſe of Denial of Juſtice, we permit them to appeal, not indifferently to all other Judges in Ordinary, or Subdelegates, but immediately to the Imperial Court, and to the Judge who ſhall there preſide; caſſing and annulling whatever ſhall be done contrary to this preſent Conſtitution.

§. 3. The which we extend alſo by this Imperial Law, to the Illuſtrious Count *Palatin* Duke of *Saxony*, and Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, and to their lawful Succeſſors and Heirs, in the Manner and Form above-mention'd.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Aſſembly of the Princes.

§. 1. THE Cares which continually take up our Thoughts, for the Good of the State, have made our Imperial Highneſs conſider that it is neceſſary the Princes Electors, who are the unſhakeable Foundations, and the immoveable Baſes of the Empire, being remote one from another, ſhould meet oftner than they have us'd to do; to the End that having made a Report to the Aſſembly of the Faults and Diſorders they ſhall have obſerv'd at home, and in their Neighbourhood, they may be able to apply a Remedy thereto by their common Advice; and by their prudent Counſels preſcribe and ordain the neceſſary Reformation.

§. 2. We have therefore reſolv'd, in the ſolemn Aſſembly of the Princes Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, and of many other Princes and Lords, and by their Advice we have thought fit to ordain, That for the Time to come the ſaid Princes Electors ſhall meet perſonally once in the Year, in one of our Imperial Towns, within a Month after *Eaſter*. And to this Purpoſe we deſire that the Aſſembly of this preſent Year may be made in our Imperial City of *Metz*, there to reſolve in what Place it may conveniently be held the next Year. And this preſent Ordinance ſhall take Place no longer than it ſhall pleaſe us and them; we taking into our Protection and Safeguard the ſaid Princes Electors, as well going and coming, as during the Stay they ſhall make at theſe Aſſemblies.

And foraſmuch as the Diſpatch of Affairs is moſt commonly retarded by the Feaſts and Entertainments, which are made at the Aſſemblies of Princes, we ordain with their Conſent, That, during the ſaid Aſſemblies, there ſhall be no general Feaſt made, but yet there may be particular Ones, which do not prejudice the Diſpatch of Affairs.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Revocation of Privileges.

WE likewiſe ordain by this Imperial Edict, perpetual and irrevocable, That all the Privileges, and all the Letters which we or the Emperors our Predeceſſors ſhall have granted *de motu proprio*, or otherwiſe, to all ſorts of Perſons, of what Condition or Quality ſoever they may be; even to Towns and Communities, for Rights, Cuſtoms, Favours, and Exemptions; and even thoſe which we or the Emperors our Succeſſors ſhall grant for the time to come, ſhall not prejudice or derogate in any manner whatever, from the Rights, Honours, and Dignities of the Lords Princes Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars; altho' it ſhould, by the ſaid Privileges and Letters, be expreſſly ſaid, That they could not be revok'd or made void, unleſs the ſaid Letters be entirely inſerted in the Revocation, and that it makes a particular mention thereof. Which ſaid Privileges and Letters, inaſmuch as they prejudice and derogate from the Liberties, Juriſdictions, Rights, Honours, and Demeſnes of the ſaid Princes Electors, or of any of them, we now annull and revoke, of our certain Knowledge, and hold them as annull'd and revok'd by our full Imperial Power.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of thoſe from whom Fiefs are taken away, as being unworthy thereof.

AND foraſmuch as in many Places the Vaſſals and Feudataries make a verbal Reſignation, out of Seaſon, and maliciouſly, of the Fiefs they hold of their Lords, to the end they may be able to defy them; and that under the Pretext of a War, or declar'd Enmity, they may attack, invade, and take Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Fiefs and Lands; we declare by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, That ſuch Reſignations and Renunciations ſhall be deem'd as not made; unleſs they ſhall have been made frankly and really: So that the Lords have been put into real and effectual Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Fiefs, with Proteſtation to leave it free to the ſaid Lords, without troubling or moleſting them in any manner or way whatever. We ordain at the ſame Time, That thoſe who ſhall give any Diſturbance to their Lords in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Fiefs ſo reſign'd, or not reſign'd, ſhall be declar'd infamous, and put in the Ban of the Empire, without it being ever in their Power to re-enter under any Pretext whatever; and we declare, That the Inveſtiture, which ſhall be given to the Prejudice of the preſent Conſtitution, ſhall be null. We ordain alſo that the ſame Penalties ſhall be executed againſt all thoſe who ſhall dare to attempt any thing againſt their Lords, or ſhall do any thing maliciouſly to their Diſſervice, without any previous Defiance or Renunciation.

CHAP. XV.

Of Conſpiracies.

§. 1. WE alſo diſapprove and condemn all Leagues and unlawful Conſpiracies, and all private Aſſemblies, forbid by the Laws between Towns and Towns, and private Man and private Man, or between a Town and a private Perſon, under Pretext of Parentage, or of the Protection of Burgeſſes and Inhabitants, and under any other Colour that may be given to ſuch Alliances and Confederacies, which we by theſe Preſents declare to be null. As alſo all thoſe which the private Inhabitants and Subjects of the Princes and Lords might make, with any other Prince, Town or Community, without the Conſent of their Lords, and without excepting them in their Treaties. All which we ordain, in Execution of the Conſtitutions of the Emperors our Predeceſſors.

§. 2. We except nevertheleſs the Confederacies, Leagues and Alliances, which are known to be made by Princes and Towns for the Preſervation of the publick Peace.

§. 3. We condemn all private Perſons, who ſhall have dar'd to make Leagues and Confederacies againſt the expreſs Tenor of this Law, in three and twenty Marks of Gold by the way of Fine, beſides the Penalty above expreſs'd, and the Note of Infamy; and each Town, beſides the Loſs of its Privileges, Rights and Liberties, in two hundred Marks of Gold, whereof one half ſhall be confiſcated to our Profit, and the other half to the Profit of the Lord to whoſe Prejudice the Alliance or League ſhall have been made.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Pfalburgers

§. 1. AND foraſmuch as ſeveral Burghers, who are Subjects or Barons, having a Mind to ſhake off the Yoke of the ordinary Subjection, procure to themſelves the Right of Burghers elſewhere, pretending to be protected by thoſe who give them ſuch Right, and enjoy the Liberties and Privileges of the Places where they procure the ſame, while they nevertheleſs remain and reſide effectively in the Place of their firſt Abode, and under their ancient Lords; which Burghers are call'd in the *German* Tongue *Pfalburger*; and becauſe it is not juſt that any ſhould receive Benefit from their Malice; we having taking hereupon the Advice of all the Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, of our full Imperial Power and certain Knowledge have ordain'd, and do ordain by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, That thoſe Burghers and Inhabitants, who ſhall after this manner make a Jeſt of thoſe under whom they remain, ſhall not in any way whatever enjoy the Rights, Privileges, and Liberties of the Towns where they ſhall ſo have acquir'd the Right of Burghers, unleſs they actually live there, and do all thoſe things which the Inhabitants of thoſe Places are oblig'd to do.

§. 2. And thoſe who are already receiv'd, or ſhall be receiv'd hereafter, contrary to the Tenor of this Law, ſhall not in any manner whatever enjoy the Right of ſuch Reception, nor the Privileges of thoſe Places where they ſhall pretend to have been receiv'd. And this notwithſtanding all Privileges, Letters, or Cuſtoms to the contrary hereof, which they may have already obtain'd, or might obtain hereafter: The which, by reaſon they are contrary to this Ordinance, we revoke by theſe Preſents, and declare them to be void and of no Effect; except the Rights which the Lords, who ſhall have been ſo abandon'd, have over the Perſons and Goods of their Subjects: And we forbid all other Lords, Towns and Communities, to receive the Subjects of another; and command them to ſend back thoſe they ſhall have receiv'd amongſt them, within a Month after the Signification of theſe Preſents, under the Penalty of a hundred Marks of pure Gold, the one half whereof to be apply'd to our Treaſury, and the other to the Lords of ſuch as ſhall have been ſo receiv'd.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Defiances.

WE declare that they who having Cauſe to bid Defiance to any one, or ſhall pretend to

to have it, shall send to challenge or defy him, any where else than at the Place of his Abode, or at a Place where he does not commonly reside, cannot with Honour ravage his Lands, nor burn his Houses, or otherwise damnify his Estate. And forasmuch as it is not reasonable any Advantage should be reap'd from Malice, we ordain, by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, that no Person whatever shall, under the Pretext of Defiance, lay waste, burn or outrage a Lord or any other Person with whom he has liv'd familiarly, or in a friendly and civil Manner, till three Days after the Defiance shall have been signify'd to the Person, or at the Place of Abode of him he shall have a mind to defy. Whoever shall undertake to do otherwise shall be declar'd Infamous, and punish'd by the Law as a Traitor, in the same Manner as if he had been the Aggressor without any Defiance.

We also forbid and condemn all sorts of unjust Wars and Quarrels; as likewise all undue Burnings, Ravages, Violence and Impositions; as also the Exactions which have been usually practis'd, for Safe-conducts, and Safeguards which are forc'd on any Person. The Whole under the Penalties appointed by the Laws.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Form of a Summons, or Letters of Intimation.

VObis Illustri & Magnifico Principi, Domino Marchioni Brandeburgensi, *Sacri Imperii Archicamerario, Coëlectori & amico nostro charissimo, Electionem* Romani *Regis, quæ ex rationalibus causis imminet facienda, præsentibus intimamus, vosque ex Officii nostri debito ad Electionem præfatam rite vocamus; quatenus a die tali, &c. intra tres menses continuò computandos, per vos, seu Nuncios aut Procuratores vestros, unum vel plures sufficiens mandatum habentes, ad locum debitum, juxta formam sacrarum Legum super hoc editarum, venire curetis, deliberaturi, tractaturi, & concordaturi cum aliis Comprincipibus & Coëlectoribus vestris, & nostris de Electione futuri Regis* Romanorum, *in Imperatorem postmodum, favente Deo, promovendi: In eodem mansuri usque ad plenam Confirmationem Electionis hujusmodi: & aliàs facturi & processuri, prout in sacris Legibus super hoc deliberatè editis invenitur expressum: alias non obstante vestrâ, seu vestrorum absentia, in præmissis unà cum aliis Comprincipibus, & Coëlectoribus vestris, prout Legum ipsarum sancivit Authoritas, finaliter procedemus.*

CHAP. XIX.

The Form of the Procuration.

NOS N. *Dei Gratia Comes* Palatinus Rheni, *Sacri Imperii Archidapifer, Princeps Elector. Notum facimus tenore præsentium universis, quod cum Electio* Romanorum *Regis ex rationalibus Causis immineat facienda, nos de Honore & Statu Sacri Imperii sollicitudine debita intendere cupientes, ne tam gravibus dispendiis periculosè subjaceat, de fide & Circumspectionis Industria dilectorum nobis talis, &c. Fidelium nostrorum obtinentes utique præsumptionis indubiæ fiduciam singularem ipsos, & quemlibet eorum in solidum, ita quod non sit melior Conditio occupantis, sed quod per unum inceptum fuerit, per alium finiri valeat, & licitè terminari, omni jure, modo & forma, quibus melius & efficacius possumus seu valemus, nostros veros & legitimos Procuratores, & Nuncios speciales facimus, constituimus, & ordinamus, ad tractandum ubilibet unà cum aliis Comprincipibus & Coëlectoribus nostris, tam Ecclesiasticis quam Secularibus, & cum ipsis concordabunt * & concludent de quacumque persona habili & Idonea in Regem* Romanorum *Eligenda, & ipsis tractatibus super Electione talis personæ habendis, pro nobis, loco & nomine nostris, interessendum, tractandum & deliberandum; nec non vice & nomine nostris eandem personam nominandum, & in ipsam consentiendum, ac etiam in Regem* Romanorum *Eligendum, ad Sacrum Imperium promovendum, ac in animam nostram præstandum quodcumque Juramentum necessarium, debitum & Consuetum fuerit; circa præmissa & quodlibet præmissorum, alium vel alios Procuratores in solidum substituendum & revocandum, & omnia & singula faciendum quæ in præmissis & circa præmissa, etiam usque ad Consummationem Tractatuum, Nominationis, Deliberationis & Electionis hujusmodi de præsenti faciendæ necessaria aut utilia fuerint, seu etiamquomodolibet opportuna, etiamsi præmissa, vel eorum quodlibet, mandatum exigant speciale, etiamsi majora vel magis singularia fuerint supradictis, & quæ nosmetipsi facere possemus, si hujusmodi Tractatuum, Deliberationis, Nominationis, & Electionis futuræ Negotiis præsentes & personaliter adessemus. Gratum & ratum habentes & habere volentes, & nos perpetuò habituros firmiter promittentes, quicquid per antedictos Procuratores seu Nuncios nostros, nec non Substitutos & Substituendos, ab ipsis seu ipsorum altero, in præmissis seu præmissorum quolibet, actum, gestum, seu factum fuerit, aut quomodolibet ordinatum.*

CHAP. XX.

Of the Union between the Princes Electors, and of the Rights which particularly belong to them.

FOR as much as it is well known that all the Principalities, by virtue of which the secular Princes Electors have a Right and Vote in the Election of the King of the *Romans*, future Emperor, are so annex'd and link'd to the Rights, Offices, Dignities and other Prerogatives, that they are inseparably united in themselves: so that the Right and Vote, the Office and Dignity, can only belong to him who possesses effectually the said Principalities, with their Territories, Vassallages, Fiefs and Demesnes; We ordain by this Imperial Edict, perpetual and irrevocable, that for the future the said Principalities shall be so

* *Here there is a Fault in the Original.*

united to the Electoral Dignity, that whoever ſhall be peaceable Poſſeſſor of one of the ſaid Principalities, ſhall likewiſe be ſo of the Electoral Dignity; and ſhall be eſteem'd by all, true and lawful Elector: and as ſuch, ſhall of Obligation be invited to the Elections of the Kings of the *Romans*, and to all the Aſſemblies that ſhall be conven'd, for the Honour and Dignity of the Empire, and for the Good of the State; without poſſibility of ſeparating the Electoral Dignity from the Principalities, at any Time, or on any Account whatever, and without Poſſibility of ſuing for, or recovering the one, without the other, either by Law or otherwiſe: We requiring, that all Hearing ſhall be deny'd to him, who ſhall ſue for the one without the other. And if it ſhall happen, that by ſurpriſe or otherwiſe, a Hearing be given to thoſe who ſhall ſue for the one without the other; or even that an Order or Sentence has been given in that Reſpect, the whole ſhall be null, and of no effect.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Order to be obſerv'd by the Archbiſhops in any Proceſſion.

WE have ſaid in the beginning of this preſent Conſtitution, that it was neceſſary to regulate the Order and Rank the Electors ought to keep, as well in Councils as at Proceſſions, and even at Table in the Diets and other publick Aſſemblies, thereby to avoid the Inconveniences which might enſue therefrom. For which Reaſon we have reſolv'd to aſſign to each of them, the Rank they ſhall hold at Proceſſions and in their March; and we ordain by this perpetual Edict, That every time the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, ſhall think fit to go out in Publick, and in Ceremony, during the Diets and General Aſſemblies, and will have the Regalia or Ornaments carry'd before him, the Archbiſhop of *Triers* ſhall march firſt and alone, ſo that between him and the Emperor ſhall be none but the Princes who bear the Regalia. But if the Emperor does not cauſe them to be carry'd, then the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhall march in the ſame Rank, but immediately before the Emperor; at whoſe ſides the two other Archbiſhops ſhall march, each in the Place which has been above aſſign'd him according to the Province in which they ſhall happen to be.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Order the Secular Princes ſhall obſerve who carry the Regalia.

AND that we may ſettle the Rank the ſecular Princes Electors ſhall hold in marching with the Emperor in Publick and in Ceremony; We ordain, That when the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, ſhall be preſent at any Diet or General Aſſembly, where it ſhall be requiſite for the Princes Electors to bear the Regalia or Imperial Ornaments before him, at his going in Publick, or at a Proceſſion; the Elector of *Saxony*, who carrys the Imperial or Royal Sword, ſhall march immediately before the Emperor, between him and the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, and ſhall have on his Right-Hand the Count *Palatin* carrying the Ball, and on his Left the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* bearing the Scepter, going all three a breaſt. The King of *Bohemia* ſhall follow the Emperor immediately; no body to go between him and the Emperor.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the Functions of the Archbiſhops in the Preſence of the Emperor.

WHen Maſs ſhall be to be ſaid before the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, and that the Archbiſhops of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, or two of them ſhall be preſent; in that Caſe ſhall be obſerv'd, at the Confeſſion which is made at the beginning of *Maſs*; at the kiſſing of the Goſpel, and the Pax, and even when a Bleſſing is crav'd at Table, as alſo at the Graces which are ſaid after Meals, the Order we have thought fit to eſtabliſh therein by their Advice and Conſent; to wit, That the Firſt ſhall have that Honour the firſt Day, the Second the ſecond Day, and the Third the third Day; eſtabliſhing the Order of Primacy among the Archbiſhops, according to the Order and Time of their Conſecration. And to the End they may prevent one the other in the Point of Honour and Civility, and that by their Example they may oblige the others to do the like among themſelves; It is our Will, That he to whom it ſhall belong to officiate, ſhall do to his Collegues the Honour of an Offer of his Place; and that he do not officiate till the others ſhall have refus'd the ſame.

The following LAWS *were publiſh'd by* CHARLES IV, *Emperor Auguſt, King of* Bohemia, *in the Diet of* Metz, *on* Chriſtmas-Day, 1356; *aſſiſted by all the Princes Electors of the Holy Empire, and in the Preſence of the Reverend Father in God* T. *Biſhop of* Alba, *Cardinal of the Holy See, and of* Charles *the eldeſt Son of* France, *Duke of* Normandy, *and Dolphin of the* Viennese.

CHAP. XXIV.

§. 1. WE ordain, That he who ſhall have been ſo wicked as to attempt, or to promiſe to attempt, with Princes, Gentlemen, or private Perſons, or even with Plebeians, againſt the Life of the Reverend and Illuſtrious Prin-

Princes Electors of the Holy *Roman* Empire, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, (who are as the Members of our Body) or of any of them, ſhall periſh by the Sword as being guilty of High Treaſon, and that his Goods and Eſtate ſhall be confiſcated, becauſe on theſe Occaſions the Laws puniſh with the ſame Severity, the Will, as the Crime it ſelf. And altho' it were juſt, that the Sons of ſuch Perſon ſhould dye the ſame Death, becauſe the ſame Examples may be apprehended from them, yet nevertheleſs we by a particular Bounty give them their Lives; but it is our Will, that they be depriv'd of their maternal Inheritance, and of all the Goods and Eſtates they might hope for from their other Relations and Friends; to the End that being always poor and neceſſitous, they may always have before their Eyes the Infamy of their Father; and being depriv'd of all ſorts of Honours and Dignities, they may languiſh in a perpetual Want, ſo as to find their Comfort in Death, and their Torment in Life.

§. 2. It is alſo our Will, That they who ſhall dare to intercede for ſuch kind of Perſons, be branded with perpetual Infamy.

§. 3. As for the Daughters of ſuch Criminals, in what Number ſoever they may be, we ordain, That they ſhall have the *falcidian* Allowance out of their Mother's Eſtate, whether ſhe have made a Will or not; to the End they may be contented with a bare Suſtenance, and may not enjoy either the Advantage of the Inheritance, nor the Quality of Heireſſes; becauſe the Sentence ought to be by ſo much the more moderate in reference to them, as we are perſuaded that the Infirmity and Weakneſs of their Sex, will hinder them from committing Crimes of this Nature.

§. 4. We declare alſo, That the Emancipations ſuch Perſons ſhall have made of their Sons or their Daughters ſince the Publication of the preſent Law, ſhall be null and of no Effect.

§. 5. In like Manner we declare null and of no Validity all Conſtitutions or Settlements of Portions, Donations, and all other Alienations which ſhall have been made by Fraud, and even of Right, from the Time they ſhall have begun to lay the firſt Project of theſe Conſpirations.

§. 6. We indeed allow the Wives of ſuch Perſons to withdraw their Portion; but if the Dowry their Husbands have made them, and whereof they have receiv'd the Revenue and Profits, is to return to their Sons; it is our Will that whatever is ſo to be reſtor'd to the Sons, be apply'd to our Treaſury, and even that the Daughters have out of the ſame, only the falcidian Allowance.

§. 7. What we have here ſaid concerning theſe Criminals and their Sons, ought to be underſtood alſo of their Attendants, Accomplices and Miniſters, as alſo of their Sons. However if any one of the Accomplices, being touch'd with a Deſire of true Glory, ſhall diſcover the Conſpiracy in its beginning, he may aſſure himſelf of an honourable Reward from us. But thoſe who ſhall have had a Hand in theſe Conſpiracies, and ſhall reveal them but very late, yet before they have been detected, may be aſſur'd of the Pardon of their Crime. We alſo ordain, That even after the Death of the Criminal it ſhall be lawful to inquire into what has been acted againſt the Perſons of the ſaid Princes Electors, as well Seculars as Eccleſiaſticks. The Queſtion may alſo be given in this Crime, to the Servants and Domeſticks againſt their Maſters.

§. 8. We likewiſe ordain by this Imperial Edict, and it is our Will, That an Information be taken even after the Death of the Criminal; to the End that the Crime being prov'd, the Memory of the Deceas'd may be condemn'd, and his Goods confiſcated. For as ſoon as any Perſon reſolves on a Wickedneſs of this Nature, he is guilty thereof in his Soul, and tormented in his Conſcience. Wherefore it is our Will, That as ſoon as any one ſhall be guilty of this Crime, he ſhall be no longer able to ſell, alienate, nor give Liberty to his Slaves; neither ſhall it be lawful to pay him what is due to him.

§. 9. We ordain, That for theſe Crimes the Queſtion may be given to the Servants and Domeſticks of the Criminals, and that they may be forc'd to depoſe againſt their Maſters; becauſe too great an Abhorrence and Deteſtation cannot be had, of the Attempts that are made againſt the Princes Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars. And if any one of theſe Criminals dyes while his Tryal is preparing, it is our Will that the Eſtates which might come to him by Succeſſion, be put into the Hands of the Law, till it be known to whom they ought to belong.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Preſervation of the Principalities of the Electors entire.

IF it be good that all the other Principalities be preſerv'd entire, to the End Juſtice may thereby be corroborated, and that the good and lawful Subjects may enjoy a great Repoſe and a profound Peace; it is beyond Compariſon ſtill more juſt, that the great Principalities, Demeſnes, Honours and Rights of the Princes Electors, ſhould remain unimpair'd and entire. For where the Danger is greateſt, there the ſtrongeſt Remedies muſt be apply'd; leſt the Pillars being beat down, the whole Structure ſhould fall to ruin.

§. 1. It is therefore our Will, and we ordain by this perpetual Edict, That for the Time to come, the large and magnificent Principalities, to wit, the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, the County *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, the Dutchy of *Saxony*, and the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, their Lands, Diſtricts, Homages and Vaſſalages, with their Appurtenances and Dependences, ſhall not be liable to be ſhar'd, divided or diſmember'd, in any way whatever; but that they remain perpetually whole, and be preſerv'd entire.

§. 2. It is our Will that the eldeſt Son ſhall ſucceed thereto; and that the whole Demeſne, and the whole Right belong to him alone, unleſs he be a Fool, or have ſome ſuch other notable Imperfection, that ſhall abſolutely hinder him from governing. In which Caſe we deprive him of the Inheritance, and call thereto the ſecond Son, if there be any in the ſame Line; if not,

not, the eldeſt of the Brothers or ſuch other Relation on the Father's ſide who ſhall appear to be neareſt in a direct and Male Line; who ſhall be oblig'd to give Proofs of his Bounty and Piety to his other Brothers and Siſters, by contributing to their Subſiſtence according as God ſhall inſpire him, and to the Wealth he ſhall have; but we expreſſly forbid all Partition, Diviſion or Diſmembring of the Principalities of the Electors, and of their Appurtenances and Dependences in any manner whatever.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Imperial Court, and of the Meeting or Seſſion.

§. 1. ON the Day the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, ſhall think fit to hold a ſolemn Court, the Princes Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, ſhall repair by one of the Clock, or thereabout, to the Imperial or Royal Lodgings, where the Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, being cloth'd in his Imperial Garments, ſhall mount on Horſeback with all the Princes Electors, who ſhall accompany him to the Place prepar'd for the Seſſion, in the Order and Manner we have above preſcrib'd, in the Ordinance that regulates the Order of Proceſſions.

§. 2. In this Proceſſion the Arch-Chancellor, in whoſe Chancery the Imperial Court ſhall be held, ſhall carry at the end of a Silver Rod, all the Imperial and Royal Seals.

§. 3. But the Secular Princes ſhall carry the Scepter, the Ball, and the Sword in ſuch manner as we have ſaid elſewhere.

§. 4 Some other Princes, the Nomination of whom ſhall depend on the Will of the Emperor, ſhall carry the Crown of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and that of *Milan*, immediately before the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, who ſhall march in the Rank we have allotted him above. However this Ceremony ſhall be only perform'd before the Emperor crown'd, and not before the King of the *Romans*.

§. 5. The Empreſs, or Queen of the *Romans*, being cloth'd in her Royal Apparel and Ornaments, ſhall march immediately after the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, but at the diſtance of ſome Paces; and ſhall march ſo to the place of the Aſſembly, accompany'd by her Ladies and Maids of Honour.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Functions of the Princes Electors in the ſolemn Courts of the Emperors, or of the Kings of the Romans.

WE ordain, that in what Place ſoever the Emperor or the King of the *Romans* ſhall think fit to keep his ſolemn Courts, where the Princes Electors ſhall be oblig'd to do their Functions and diſcharge their Offices, the following Order ſhall be obſerv'd.

§. 1. Firſt the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, being ſeated in his Royal Chair, or Imperial Throne, the Duke of *Saxony* ſhall do his Office in the manner we ſhall hereafter expreſs. There ſhall be put before the Imperial or Royal Lodgings, a Heap of Oats which ſhall reach to the Belly or Saddle of the Horſe, on which the Duke ſhall be mounted, and the Duke holding a Silver Staff in his Hand, and a Meaſure or Buſhel of Silver of the Weight of twelve Marks, and being on Horſeback, ſhall fill his Buſhel with Oats, and ſhall give the ſame to the firſt Groom that ſhall be there ready; and having planted the Staff in the Heap of Oats, he ſhall withdraw, and leave the Oats to the Lord of *Pappenheim*, Vice-Marſhal; and in his Abſence to the Marſhal of the Imperial Court, who ſhall permit the ſame to be pillag'd.

§. 2. As ſoon as the Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, ſhall be ſeated at Table, the Eccleſiaſtical Princes Electors, that is to ſay, the Archbiſhops, ſtanding up before the Table with the other Prelates, ſhall crave a Bleſſing on the ſame, according to the Order we have before preſcrib'd. The Bleſſing being crav'd, all the Archbiſhops, if they are preſent, or elſe one or two of them, ſhall take the Imperial or Royal Seals from the Hands of the Emperor's Chancellor: And he in whoſe Arch-Chancery the ſolemn Court is held, having at his Sides the other two Archbiſhops, who ſhall with him have their Hands on the Silver Staff, from which the Seals ſhall hang, ſhall advance; and making a low Bow, ſhall put the Seals on the Table before the Emperor, who ſhall reſtore them preſently; and he, in whoſe Arch-Chancery the Ceremonies ſhall be perform'd, ſhall put the Great Seal about his Neck, and ſhall wear it in that manner all the time of Dinner; and after Dinner on Horſeback from the Palace to his Lodgings. Now the Staff of which we now ſpeak ought to be of Silver, to the Weight of twelve Marks, and the three Archbiſhops ſhall cauſe it to be made at their Expence, each bearing a third part thereof. The Staff and the Seals ſhall remain to the Chancellor of the Court, who ſhall diſpoſe thereof as he pleaſes. For as ſoon as he of the Archbiſhops to whom it ſhall belong to carry the Seals about his Neck from the Palace to his Lodgings, ſhall be come there, he ſhall ſend back the Seal and the Horſe to the Chancellor of the Court; to whom Decency requires he ſhould alſo give the Horſe, that he may thereby give a Teſtimony of the Affection he has for him, and of the Value he has for his Perſon.

§. 3. After that, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, being on Horſeback, ſhall approach; and having in his Hand a Baſon, and an Ewer of Silver of the Weight of twelve Marks, with Water and a fine Napkin; and lighting off his Horſe, ſhall pour out Water for the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, to waſh with.

§. 4. The Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* ſhall enter on Horſeback, carrying four Diſhes of Silver, with Meat in them, each Diſh weighing three Marks; and lighting off his Horſe, ſhall ſet the Diſhes on the Table, before the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*.

§. 5. Then

§. 5. Then ſhall come the King of *Bohemia*, Great Cup-bearer, being alſo on Horſeback, and holding in his Hand a Silver Cup or Goblet cover'd, weighing twelve Marks, and full of Wine and Water; and alighting from his Horſe, ſhall preſent the ſame to the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, to drink.

§. 6. We alſo ordain, that purſuant to what has been hitherto practis'd, the Lord of *Falquenſtein*, Vice-Chamberlain, ſhall have the Horſe, the Baſon, and the Ewer of the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*. The Lord of *Nortemberg*, Steward, the Horſe and the Diſhes of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*: The Deputy Cup-bearer of *Limburg*, the Horſe and Cup of the King of *Bohemia*; and the Vice-Marſhal *Pappenheim* the Horſe, the Staff, and Meaſure of the Duke of *Saxony*. Provided ſtill that theſe Officers are perſonally preſent at the Imperial or Royal Court, and there do the Functions of their Offices; but if they are all abſent, or ſome of them, then the Officers in Ordinary of the Emperor, or of the King of the *Romans*, ſhall ſerve in their Abſence each in his Office: and as they diſcharge the Functions thereof, ſo they ſhall alſo enjoy the Emoluments.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Imperial and Electoral Tables.

§. 1. THE Imperial or Royal Table ought to be ſo diſpos'd, that it may be ſix Foot higher than the other Tables of the Room; and on Days of ſolemn Courts, none ſhall ſit there, except the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, alone.

§. 2. But the Place or Table of the Empreſs, or Queen, ſhall be prepar'd on one ſide, and lower than that of the Emperor, or of the King of the *Romans*, by three Foot, and higher than that of the Electors by three Foot: but the Tables and Places of the Princes Electors ſhall be all of the ſame height.

§. 3. Tables ſhall be prepar'd for the ſeven Electors, Eccleſiaſticks as well as Seculars, at the bottom of the Imperial Table; to wit, three on the right, and three others on the left, and the ſeventh right againſt the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, in the ſame Order we have laid down before in the Chapter of the Places and Order to be obſerv'd by the Princes Electors; ſo that no Perſon of any Condition or Quality whatever, ſhall place themſelves in the intermediate Space, or at their Tables.

§. 4. However the aboveſaid Secular Princes Electors, or any of them, ſhall not ſit down at Table, till all the other Electors their Collegues ſhall have diſcharg'd their Offices; but as ſoon as any one of them ſhall have perform'd his, he ſhall retire to his Table, and ſhall there remain ſtanding till all the others have executed the Functions of their Offices; and then they ſhall all ſit down at the ſame time, each at his Table.

§. 5. And foraſmuch as we find by very certain Relations, and by Traditions ſo ancient, that there is no Memory to the contrary, that it has been at all Times happily obſerv'd, that the Election of a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor, ought to be perform'd in the Town of *Francfort*, and the Coronation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and that the Emperor Elect ought to hold his firſt Court at *Nuremberg*: It is our Will, for many Reaſons, that the ſame be practis'd for the future, unleſs there happens ſome lawful Impediment.

§. 6. When alſo any of the Electors, not being able to come in Perſon to theſe ſolemn Courts, ſhall ſend thither an Embaſſador or Deputy, this Embaſſador, of what Condition or Quality ſoever he may be, ſhall indeed be admitted to the Aſſemblies by virtue of his Powers; but he ſhall not ſit at the Table which ſhall have been prepar'd for him that ſent him.

§. 7. In fine, all the Ceremonies of the Imperial or Royal Court being ended, all the Scaffolds and Structure of Wood, which ſhall have been made for the Meeting, and for the Tables of the Emperor, or of the King of the *Romans*, and of the Princes Electors aſſembl'd for a ſolemn Court, or to give the Inveſtiture of the Fiefs, ſhall belong to the Steward.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of the Rights of the Officers, when the Princes do Homage for their Fiefs to the Emperor, or to the King of the Romans.

§. 1. WE ordain by this preſent Imperial Edict, that when the Princes Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, ſhall receive their Fiefs or *Regalia* from the Hands of the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, they ſhall not be oblig'd to pay or give any thing for the ſame. For the Money which is given for Inveſtitures being due to the Officers, and the Princes Electors being the firſt Officers of the Court, where they have their Subſtitutes eſtabliſh'd and paid by the Emperors, it would be impertinent for the Subſtitutes to require Money or Preſents from their Superiors; unleſs the ſaid Princes Electors will give them any thing of their own good Will, and by the way of Liberality.

§. 2. But all the other Princes of the Empire, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, in receiving their Fiefs, as we juſt now ſaid, from the Emperor, or of the King of the *Romans*, ſhall give to the Officers of the Court, each ſixty three Marks and one Quarter of Silver; unleſs they can prove their Exemption, and ſhew by Imperial or Royal Privileges, that they are diſpens'd with from paying the ſaid Sum, and all the other Fees which have been us'd to be paid at the receiving an Inveſtiture. And it ſhall be the Steward of the Houſhold to the Emperor, or to the King of the *Romans*, who ſhall make a Partition of the ſaid Sum of ſixty three Marks, and one Quarter of Silver, in the following manner. Firſt having taken ten Marks for himſelf, he ſhall give as much to the Chancellor of the Emperor, or of the King of the

Romans: To the Secretaries, Notaries and Inditers he ſhall give three Marks; to the Sealer for the Wax a quarter of a Mark; the Chancellor or the Secretaries not being oblig'd to give for the ſame any more than a Certificate, and ſimple Letters of Inveſtiture. In like manner the Steward ſhall give the ſaid Sum of ten Marks to the Cup-bearer of *Limburg*, ten to the Steward of *Nortemberg*, ten to the Vice-Mareſchal of *Pappenheim*, and ten to the Vice-Chamberlain of *Falquenſteim:* provided that they are perſonally preſent at theſe Inveſtitures, and that they there diſcharge the Functions of their Offices; otherwiſe, and in their Abſence, the Officers of the Court of the Emperor, or of the King of the *Romans*, who ſhall do the Office of the abſent, and who ſhall have had the Trouble thereof, ſhall alſo receive the Profit and Emoluments thence accruing.

§. 3. But the Horſe, or ſuch other Beaſt, on which ſhall be mounted the Prince who does Homage to the Emperor, or to the King of the *Romans*, whatever it may be, ſhall belong to the Great Mareſchal, that is to ſay, to the Duke of *Saxony*, if he be there preſent; if not, to the Lord of *Pappenheim* his Vice-Mareſchal; and in his Abſence to the Mareſchal of the Emperor's Court.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Inſtruction of the Princes Electors in Languages.

§. 1. FOraſmuch as the Largeneſs of the *Roman* Empire is oblig'd to give Laws to, and command People of different Nations, varying in their Morals, manner of Living and Languages; it is juſt, and thoſe endu'd with the moſt Wiſdom think it ſo, that the Princes Electors, who are the Columns and Buttreſſes of the Empire, ſhould be inſtructed in ſuch manner as to ſpeak ſeveral Languages; becauſe as they are oblig'd to aſſiſt the Emperor in its moſt important Affairs, it is neceſſary they ſhould underſtand Variety of Perſons, and alſo that they ſhould be able to make themſelves underſtood by them.

§. 2. Wherefore we ordain, that the Sons, the Heirs and Succeſſors of the illuſtrious Princes Electors; to wit, of the King of *Bohemia*, of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, who in all Likelihood know the *German* Tongue, becauſe they ought to have learn'd it from their Infancy; having attain'd the Age of ſeven Years, ſhall be inſtructed in the *Latin* Tongue, the *Italian*, and *Sclavonian:* that by the Time they have attain'd that of fourteen they may be skill'd therein. Which is what we eſteem not only to be uſeful, but alſo neceſſary, by reaſon the uſe of theſe Languages is very common in the Empire, for the Management of its moſt momentous Affairs.

§. 3. However we leave it to the Diſcretion of the Fathers to direct the Particulars of this Inſtruction; ſo that it ſhall depend on them to ſend their Sons or their Relations whom they ſhall think likely to ſucceed them in the Electorate, to ſuch Places where they may learn thoſe Languages with Eaſe; or to aſſign them ſuch Preceptors and Companions, by whoſe Inſtructions and Converſation they may render themſelves perfect therein.

CHAP. VIII.

Several Remarks on the Golden Bull.

* FOrmerly the Emperors caus'd their Edicts to be ſeal'd with a Golden Seal, which was call'd *Bulla*, or *Bull*, which is a barbarous Word in its Signification, rather than in its Etymology; but the Title of *Golden Bull* is by Excellency given to the Edict which the Emperor *Charles* IV, Duke of *Luxemburg* and King of *Bohemia*, made in the Year 1356, to regulate the Rights, Privileges, Prerogatives, and Preheminences of the Princes Electors; and that, by reaſon of the Advantage this Edict has over all the others, ſerving as a pragmatick Sanction, or rather as a fundamental Law to the Empire, a Baſis to the Grandeur of the Electors, and a Luſtre to the Electoral Dignity. The Original of this Edict, which is conceiv'd in *Latin*, written on Vellum, is kept in the Town-houſe of *Francfort* on the *Main*, bound up in red Parchment, being a *Quarto* of about an Inch thick. At the Back of the Book in which it is ſow'd, there paſs ſeveral Nooſes or ſliding Knots of black and yellow Silk, at the end of which hangs a Golden Seal of the Thickneſs and Largeneſs of a Silver Crown, which is ſaid to be hollow, and fill'd with Wax. On the one ſide whereof is to be ſeen the Emperor ſeated in a Chair, in the manner of a Throne, holding in his Right Hand the Scepter, and in the Left a Golden Ball, with this Motto in the Circumference: *Carolus Quartus, Divinâ favente Clementiâ, Romanorum Imperator ſemper Auguſtus:* and for want of Room, there is put in the Body of the Medal, near the King's Effigies, on the one ſide, *Bohemiæ*, and on the other, *Rex*. On the Reverſe is a Caſtle with three Towers, or Belfreys, much like the Arms of the City of *Hamburgh*, which denotes a great Church, or a City; on the Gate are theſe Words, *Aurea Roma*; and in the Circumference,

Roma Caput mundi regit orbis frena Rotundi;

without Subſcription.

* 1. *Remark, the* Golden Bull, *or* Seal.

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The Golden Seal is here a Mark of Sovereignty in the Perſon of the Emperor. His Succeſſors preſerv'd to themſelves this Right down to *Frederick* III, and to *Maximilian* I, as appears by the Conſtitutions of the Years 1495, and 1497, which are only ſeal'd with the Emperor's Seal. But when the Sovereign Power began to be curb'd by Capitulations at the Election of the Emperor *Charles* V, this Cuſtom was alter'd, as well as the Terms the Emperors were us'd to inſert in their Edicts, *of our certain Knowledge, Authority and Imperial Power*, of which the Emperor *Charles* IV. makes uſe in ſeveral Places of his *Golden Bull*. Formerly the States of the Empire approv'd, and authoriz'd in ſome meaſure, the Reſolutions which were taken at the Diets; but then the Sole Will of the Emperor gave them the Force and Virtue of a thing determin'd. *Res ſingulæ, ad effectum productæ, glorioſi Principis auditui, in ſacris ejus obtutibus exponebantur, & quicquid data à Deo ſapientia eligeret, omnes ſequebantur*, ſays *Hincmar*. *Maximilian* I, from the Year 1500, inſerted in his Letters theſe Words, *with the Conſent of the Electors*. But at this Day they go a great deal farther: There is now no Edict nor Conſtitution made but with the Conſent of the States, and in the General Diets of the Empire, by way of Contract and reciprocal Obligation between the Emperor and the Empire; who not taking any Reſolutions till they have been agreed upon on both ſides, there is no longer any mention made of Imperial Power, but this Clauſe is inſerted: *We have agreed with the States, and the States with us, on what follows*. So that when in the laſt Diet at *Ratiſbone*, which broke up on *May* 19, 1654, the Emperor had ſlipt into the Reſolution this Clauſe, *of our full Power and Imperial Authority*, there aroſe ſo great a Confuſion thereupon, that the Emperor, to cover his Fault, was oblig'd to caſt it on the Ignorance of the Clerk who had drawn up the Inſtrument.

As for the Seal, it is not long ſince it was cuſtomary to ſeal the Reſolutions which have the Force of a Law in the Empire, in ſuch manner that the Emperor's Seal was at the Head of the ſilken Nooſes, which afterwards made two Ends, of which that on the right had firſt of all the Seal of the Elector of *Mentz*, and in his Abſence that of another Eccleſiaſtical Elector, who was there preſent. After that the Seal of the firſt Eccleſiaſtical Prince, or that of his Deputy; and afterwards that of the firſt Prelate, who was not a Prince. On that on the left, was firſt the Seal of the firſt Secular Elector, or of his Deputy; after that, that of the firſt Prince, and afterwards that of a Count of the Empire: This Honour being alternately ſhar'd between the Counts of *Suabia* and of *Wetteravia*. After which the two Ends were join'd, to apply thereto the Seal of the Town where the Diet was held.

But this Order was chang'd in the laſt Diet of *Ratisbone*, which we before mention'd; ſo that the Nooſes or running Knots having paſs'd through the Emperor's Seal, had ſix Seals on each end; to wit, on the right ſide, 1. That of *Mayence*, 2. That of the Elector of *Bavaria*, 3. That of the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, 4. That of the Duke of *Bavaria*, 5. One for the Prelates who were not Princes, and, 6. The Seal of the City of *Cologn*. On the left ſide were the Seals, 1. Of the Elector of *Saxony*, 2. Of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, 3. Of the Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, 4. Of the Count *Palatin* of *Lauteren*, 5. Of the Counts of *Wetteravia*, and, 6. The Seal of the Town of *Ratisbone*. With this Difference nevertheleſs, that the Embaſſadors of the Electors of *Bavaria*, of *Saxony*, and of *Brandenburg*, and of the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, put there the Seals of their Princes: The Deputies of the Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, of the *Palatin* of *Lauteren*, put their own Seals, and the others were there preſent. To which we muſt farther add, that when the Emperors ſeal'd in Gold, the Kings of the *Romans* ſeal'd only in Wax.

We muſt take notice that the **Golden Bull* makes no mention of any other Edict, or of any other Law or Conſtitution that has regulated the Number and the Dignity of the Electors; but only of an ancient and laudable Cuſtom; overthrowing by that means the Opinion of thoſe who aſcribe the Inſtitution of the Electoral College to *Gregory* V, and to *Otho* III. And indeed we have before made it appear, † that at the Time of the Election of *Charles* IV, Author of the *Golden Bull*, the Number of Electors was not yet regulated. Wherefore we are not afraid to ſay, that there is great Likelihood the Electoral Dignity, or the Right of Electing, was by degrees uſurp'd by the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*; by the King of *Bohemia*, by the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, by the Duke of *Saxony*, and by the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*: as well by the expreſs Excluſion of the Duke of *Auſtria*, who was foreclos'd in the Time of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, and by the Deprivation of ſeveral illuſtrious Families, whoſe Princes had a Right to aſſiſt at the Elections; as the Dukes of *Suabia*, of *Franconia* and *Carinthia*; as by the Reunion of ſeveral Principalities, which had all of them a Right to elect in the ſame Family: As for Inſtance, *Bavaria* and the *Palatinate*, *Miſnia* and *Thuringia*, *Moravia* and *Sileſia*, which laſt made a part of *Poland*, with *Bohemia*; and by the Alienation of ſeveral Provinces which have been ſeparated from the Intereſt and Obedience of the Empire; as all *Italy*, *Poland*, *Lorrain*, the Dutchies of *Gueldre*, of *Brabant*, *Luxemburg*, and others: and that ſo the modern Electors, who had made themſelves extremely powerful and conſiderable, as well by reaſon of the Extent of their States, as by their Alliances, have by little and little arrogated to themſelves the Right of Election to the Excluſion of all the other Princes of *Germany*; eſtabliſhing themſelves in this Dignity, and ſetting themſelves up for Electors, by a Cuſtom inſenſibly introduc'd; eſpecially during the Schiſms which began to ruin the Empire under and after the Reign of *Frederick* II; ſo that this Cuſtom did not paſs into a fundamental Law, till it did ſo by the Publication of the *Golden Bull*.

We ſee therein, that ‡ the Number of Ele-

* III. *The* Golden Bull *is the firſt Conſtitution that mentions Electors.*
† Chap. 6.
‡ IV. *The Number of the Electors.*

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ctors is regulated, and fix'd to that of ſeven, and the Electoral College remain'd in this State till theſe laſt Wars of *Germany*. *Frederick* V, Elector *Palatin*, being put in the Ban of the Empire for having accepted of the Crown of *Bohemia*, the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. diſpos'd in the Year 1623. of the Electoral Dignity, appropriated by the *Golden Bull* to the Counts *Palatins* of the *Rhine*, as being the eldeſt Branch of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, in Favour of *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria* of the Branch of *Munichen*; but during the Negotiation of the Peace of *Germany*, the Crown of *Sweden* and the Proteſtant Princes made Inſtances that that Honour might be reſtor'd to the *Palatin* Houſe; ſo that by the Treaty concluded at *Munſter* and at *Oſnaburg*, in the Month of *October*, 1648, an eighth Electorate was created for *Charles Lewis*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and his Relations, and lawful Heirs in the Male Line. The Article ſays, *As for what relates to the* Palatin *Houſe; the Emperor, and the Empire, for the publick Good and Tranquillity, conſent, That by virtue of the preſent Agreement an eighth Electorate be eſtabliſh'd, which ſhall be enjoy'd for the Time to come by the Lord* Charles Lewis, *Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine, *and his Heirs and Relations on the Father's Side, deſcending from the Branch of* Rodolphus, *according to the Order of ſucceeding, expreſs'd in the* Golden Bull. From thence it follows, that, inſtead of ſeven Electors mention'd in the *Caroline* Conſtitution, there are at this Day eight; to wit, the Archbiſhops of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*; the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, and the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*. We ſhall hereafter ſpeak of each of them in particular.

* From what we have now ſaid, one might conclude, that the Order eſtabliſh'd by the *Golden Bull* may be chang'd, and ſo would not be a fundamental Law of the Empire. And this is indubitable, becauſe we ſee that not only in many things the Regulation of the *Golden Bull* is not obſerv'd, but alſo that the ſame has been derogated from, by ſeveral Conſtitutions contrary thereunto, and that in what was moſt eſſential therein; as in the Number of the Electors, which had been fix'd to ſeven by the Emperor *Charles* IV, in order to avoid an Equality of Votes, and the Diſorders that are as it were an inevitable Conſequence thereof. However this Change does not hinder the *Golden Bull* from ſerving ſtill as a fundamental Law to the State; but on the contrary, ſince this Change was not made but by the general Conſent of all the States of the Empire, which might even change the whole Form of the Government, we muſt believe that the Regulation made by the *Golden Bull* cannot be chang'd, at leaſt as to what is of the Eſſence of the Election, but by a Power, of which the States of the Empire are the only Depoſitaries, to the Excluſion even of the Electoral College, which cannot alone aboliſh what has been eſtabliſh'd by all the States together.

It is alſo certain, that the Electors alone may alter the Regulations which relate to them in particular, and which were only made with their Conſent, as the Emperor *Charles* IV. expreſſes himſelf in the Text of the *Golden Bull*, when he treats of the Functions of the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors: So that if they think fit to change amongſt themſelves the Rank, they may do it; becauſe they are alone concern'd therein, and that it is of no Importance at all to the Publick, that they march or ſit after one manner ſooner than another: Provided ſuch Change or Alteration be made by the Conſent of all of them, and without any Oppoſition; foraſmuch as the Contradiction of any one of them would abſolutely hinder the ſame. The Reaſon of what we have now ſaid, is, That he that can do the greater can alſo do the leſſer; ſo that if the Electors can of their Authority change the Place and Time of the Election, they may alſo alter the Rank among themſelves: But with this Difference, that the one may be done by a Plurality of Votes, and to the other the Conſent of all is abſolutely neceſſary, by this Rule of the Civil Law, *That two cannot diſpoſe of the Right of a third, and to his Prejudice, without his Conſent.* Now it is not neceſſary to prove that the Electors may change the Place of Election, contrary to the expreſs Direction of the Law, ſince there are ſo many Examples thereof; and as for the Time, we ſee, that even at this Day they do not proceed to the Election, altho' the Day of their Intimation be elaps'd above theſe four Months: Which nevertheleſs is ſo contrary to the *Golden Bull*, that if two or three, or at moſt four Electors, oppos'd this Delay, and met at *Franckfort* in order to proceed to an Election, they might do it without Poſſibility of declaring the ſame faulty; becauſe the voluntary Abſence of the Perſons ſummon'd, can do no Prejudice to the Right of the preſent; as the Text expreſſes it in formal Terms, *Ch.* 1. §. 21. And it is for this Reaſon that ſuch Delays are by ſo much the more dangerous, that they, who are the Cauſe thereof, would be anſwerable for the Schiſm, which might enſue therefrom in the Empire.

† Having then preſuppos'd, as we now ſaid, that what the *Golden Bull* contains concerning the Eſſence of the Election, cannot be alter'd but with the Conſent of all the States of the Empire; there remains to examine, Whether contrary to the expreſs Direction of the Law the Elector of *Mayence* can convene the Electors his Collegues, for the Election of a King of the *Romans* during the Emperor's Life. It is evident that all that the *Golden Bull* ſays of the Election, can have no Room, unleſs the Empire be vacant. The Paſſages are too expreſs, and too formal on that Subject, in the firſt Chapter, *Concerning the Safe-conduct of the Electors*, §. 19. *And the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhall be oblig'd to ſummons the other Electors his Collegues within a Month after he ſhall be inform'd of the Death of the Emperor.* Chap. IV. *Concerning the Electors in general*, §. 2. *Whenever the Empire ſhall become vacant*, the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſhall have Power and a Right to convene. And Chap. V. *Concerning the Right of the Count* Palatin, §. 1. *When the holy Empire ſhall become vacant*, &c. It is in Effect the Intention of the Legiſlator, and the true Senſe of the Law, in which nothing is to be found that can give a-

* V. *Changes contrary to the* Golden Bull. † VI. *Whether there can be any Election when the Empire is not vacant.*

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ny Suſpicion of the contrary. For ſo far are the Words, *Electionem, quæ ex rationabilibus Cauſis imminet facienda*, which are to be found in the Form of the Letters of Intimation, and that of the Procuration, from being able to ſuggeſt that the Election has room, even when the Empire is not vacant; that, on the contrary, they ſignify properly, *The Election to which it is neceſſary to proceed, for very weighty and important Cauſes*; that is to ſay, on the Account of the Death of the Emperor: Which will plainly appear, if they are compar'd with the Paſſage we before alledg'd, and which ſays in formal Terms, That the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſhall have Power and Right to call together the Electors his Collegues, *when the Empire ſhall be vacant*. From whence it neceſſarily follows, that when the Empire ſhall not be vacant, the Archbiſhop ſhall have no Right to convene.

And that this Law has been always underſtood after this manner in the Empire, appears evidently by the Reaſons the Princes alledg'd, to procure the Election of *Ferdinand* I. to be declar'd vicious. About the latter End of the Year 1530, *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Mayence*, ſummon'd the Electors, and invited them to repair by a certain Day to *Cologn*, in order to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*. *John*, Elector of *Saxony*, who was otherwiſe diſſatisfy'd with the Emperor, would not come thither; but the other ſix Electors (*Ferdinand* himſelf being compris'd) did, notwithſtanding his Abſence, proceed; and elected on *January* 5, 1531, *Ferdinand*, Brother to the Emperor *Charles* V, King of the *Romans*. The Elector of *Saxony*, and with him *Erneſt* Duke of *Lunenburg*, *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, *William* and *Lewis* Dukes of *Bavaria*, complain'd of that Procedure; maintaining, all, that this Election could not ſubſiſt, for the many Defects that occurr'd therein; but chiefly becauſe the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, in convening the Electors, had exceeded his Power, ſince the *Golden Bull* gives it him but only when the Empire is vacant. And therefore when the Electors of *Mentz* and *Palatin* were for entring into a Negotiation with them, to oblige them to acknowledge *Ferdinand*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the other Princes, gave them to underſtand, That they were ready to allow of what was paſs'd, provided an Ordinance was made, that for the future, before any Procedure to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, during the Life of the Emperor, the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſhould be oblig'd to call together the ſix Electors (becauſe the King of *Bohemia* has no Share in the Affairs of the Empire out of the Election, nor even in the Deliberations which are had on the Neceſſity of an Election) and ſix ſecular Princes, in order to deliberate and conſult with them, whether it be neceſſary to proceed to an Election during the Life of the Emperor; and that he ſhould be even oblig'd to take their Conſent in good Form, for the Convocation. The Accommodation was not made, till the Treaty which was concluded at *Caden* in *Bohemia*, *June* 29, 1534, and one of its chief Articles contain'd in expreſs Terms, * That the Elector of *Saxony* ſhould acknowledge *Ferdinand* for King of the *Romans*; but that *Ferdinand* ſhould be oblig'd, on his part, to procure that the Emperor, and the other Electors, ſhould paſs an Ordinance, That for the Time to come, whenever there ſhould be Occaſion to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, during the Life of the Emperor, the Electors ſhould be oblig'd to meet, to deliberate on the Neceſſity of ſuch Election.

Moreover we maintain, That the Princes Electors, as Electors, cannot take a Reſolution of that Importance, and which deſtroys one of the moſt momentous Parts of the fundamental Law of the Empire; but that it is the Electoral College that alone, as firſt Member of the Empire, can do it; becauſe it can diſpenſe in the Matter of Common Law, by a ſovereign Power, with the tacit Conſent of the two others, which have not oppos'd the Poſſeſſion the Electoral College has by little and little acquir'd of the Sovereignty of the Empire, in part of its moſt important Functions; of which the Election of a King of the *Romans*, during the Life of the Emperor, is not the leaſt. And as it is impoſſible it ſhould be perform'd, but the Emperor muſt have a greater Hand therein than the Electors, and his Authority deprive them, in ſome Meaſure, of the Liberty which ancient Cuſtom and the *Golden Bull* gives them; the whole Empire has an Intereſt to hinder the Imperial Dignity from becoming hereditary, or that there ſhould be ſeveral Heads of the Empire at the ſame Time.

It is alſo plain, that they who have caus'd Coadjutors (as one may ſay) to be given them during their Life, have done it out of a Deſign to render the Empire hereditary in their Family. It was ſo under *Charlemagne*, and the Emperors of his Houſe, as we have ſaid elſewhere: So that they could cauſe Succeſſors to be nominated during their Life; and thoſe of the Houſe of *Saxony* and *Suabia* were willing it ſhould be known that they endeavour'd to eſtabliſh a kind of hereditary Succeſſion in their Families. But there is Room to wonder, that the Emperor *Charles* IV. ſhould dare to deſire the Electors to proceed to the Election of his Son, contrary to the expreſs Declaration of the Law he had juſt publiſh'd. The Hiſtory of that Time ſays, That he alienated a part of the Demeſne of the Empire, to corrupt thoſe who without that would not have betray'd their Honour, nor caſt their Eyes on a Prince who brought ſo many ill Qualities to the Government of the Empire, that the Electors were forc'd to do, out of the laſt Neceſſity, what they had before done by Corruption; that is to ſay, to proceed to the Election, and to ſubſtitute in his Place, not a King of the *Romans*, but an Emperor, during his Life. In the other Elections of this Nature, ſo much Deference was had to the Will of the Emperors who had caus'd the ſame, that one may ſay, that not only the Directions of the *Golden Bull* were not conſider'd therein, but alſo that even the Electors themſelves did not enjoy all the Liberty, which they are entitled to by the fundamental Law of the Empire, and with-

* Sleidan. l. 9.

out which the whole Election is faulty.

It is true that by the Articles 34, and 38, of the Capitulations of *Ferdinand* II, and III, the Emperor permits the Electors to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, during the Life of the Emperor; nay without his Consent, when they shall judge it necessary for the Good of the Affairs of the Empire: but the Law * in that Case presupposes a manifest Necessity, notorious to all the Empire, and declar'd such by the Electors, before the Archbishop of *Mayence* can summon his Collegues. † In what we have now said, the Quality of King of the *Romans* has a Signification very different from that which the *Golden Bull* gives it: and that the Difference thereof may appear, it is requisite to know, that that Quality was not so much as known in the House of *Charlemagne*. There were indeed to be found therein Kings of *Italy*, of *Germany*, of *Bavaria*, of *Lorrain*, of *Arles*, &c. but no King of the *Romans*. This Quality was at that Time inseparable from that of Emperor, who was Sovereign Prince of the City of *Rome*. It is also certain that the Emperors of the House of *Saxony*, down to *Henry* V, when they procur'd their Sons to be nominated to the Succession of the Empire, caus'd the Quality of King to be given them; but without the Denomination of any particular Province: and they were only call'd Kings, and not Kings of the *Romans*, or Kings of *Germany*. It is since the Reign of *Frideric*, sirnam'd *Red-beard*, that Histories begin to speak of a King of the *Romans*: but in the Signification in which that Quality is taken at this Day, that is to say, to denote thereby the presumptive Heir of the Empire: whereas the *Golden Bull*, when it speaks of the King of the *Romans*, means the Prince who is chosen by the Consent of the Electors, after the Death of the Emperor; and to whom nothing is wanting but the Papal Coronation, to take the Quality of Emperor.

Charles the *Bald* having usurp'd the Imperial Dignity after the Death of the Emperor *Lewis* II, his Nephew; and having oblig'd Pope *John* VIII. to crown him, to the Prejudice of *Lewis* the *German*, his eldest Brother; was the first that began to reckon the Years of his Empire separately from those of his Reign; not so much to signify that he held the Imperial Dignity from the Pope, as because being King of *France* from the Year 840, he could not confound the Years of his Reign with those of the Empire, to which he had succeeded but since the Death of *Lewis* II, who did not dye of thirty five Years after that Time. So that one might say, That this Distinction did not begin from the Day on which he was crown'd by the Pope, but from the Day he had taken possession of the Empire, which was vacant by the Death of his Nephew: if one was not oblig'd to acknowledge, that the too scrupulous Devotion of some Emperors, and the Softness of others, has yielded to the Popes an Advantage which they had not; and whereof they have made so good a use, that they not only pretended to have the Imperial Dignity at their Disposal, but have also found the Means to share the Empire with them, and make themselves Masters of its Capital City.

We shall see elsewhere whether it be the Pope or the Election that bestows the Empire: and it is sufficient to acknowledge here, that most of the Emperors have had that Deference to the Popes, as to be contented with the Quality of King, till they were crown'd by the Pope; notwithstanding they were in full possession of the Sovereignty, and actually discharg'd all the Functions thereof; so that they wanted only the bare Name. And it is in this Sense we must understand the *Golden Bull*, when it speaks of the King of the *Romans*, future Emperor: that is to say, of the Sovereign Prince of the Empire, who only takes the Quality of King, but is in effect Emperor, and who will take the Quality thereof immediately after the Ceremonies of the Coronation by the Pope. From whence we may conclude, That there can be no room absolutely for the Election of a King of the *Romans*, but when the Empire is vacant; because the same State cannot have two Sovereigns at the same Time. But at this Day, the King of the *Romans* is nothing else, than the Prince who is nominated by the Electors during the Life of the Emperor, with Power to administer Affairs, in the Emperor's Absence, and in his Name; and to succeed to the Empire immediately after the Death of the Emperor, without any need of a farther Election or Confirmation. Whereof we have an Example in *Rodolphus* II, who having been elected King of the *Romans* during the Life of the Emperor *Maximilian* II, his Father; and being present at the Diet of *Ratisbone*, where the Emperor dy'd *October* 12, 1576, caus'd immediately the Inscription of his Lodgings to be alter'd, and instead of *Royal Majesty*, made be put, *for his Imperial Majesty*. And it is by this Means that they endeavour to save their Honour, who make no Difficulty to elect a King of the *Romans* during the Life of the Emperor, when they say, That the Law speaks only of the Election of a King of the *Romans*, who is Emperor in effect: but that the modern Elections are properly no more than Nominations of a Successor: and so are not within the Bounds of the Law. But this Shift does not destroy the Reason we have before alledg'd, drawn from the same *Golden Bull*, which by giving to the Archbishop of *Mayence* the Power to convene the Electors his Collegues, in order to an Election, declares expressly, That he cannot make use of the same, but when the Empire is vacant: so that to have a Convocation of the Electors, for the Election of a King of the *Romans* during the Life of the Emperor, the Archbishop of *Mayence* is oblig'd to get himself authoriz'd by those who have Power to do it in default of the Law; that is to say, by the States of the Empire, or by the College of Electors, who represent them; when this Election gives only the Survivorship, and as one may say, the Coadjutorship. And thus it is we must understand the 38th Article of the Capitulation of the Emperor who dy'd last, which says, That the Electors may meet for the Election of a King of the *Romans*, whenever they shall judge it

* Chap. I. † VII. *The Quality of King of the* Romans.

necessary

neceſſary for the Good of the Affairs of the Empire, even during the Life of the Emperor, with, or without his Conſent. For to make a King of the *Romans* in the Senſe of the *Golden Bull*, during the Life of the Emperor, is what is impoſſible, unleſs there has been a previous Proceeding for the Depoſition of the Emperor reigning, as has been ſaid before.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Electoral College; and of the Dignity and Power of the Princes Electors in general.

WE have ſaid in the foregoing Chapter, that there is no room for an Election, properly ſpeaking, but when the Empire is vacant: but before we ſpeak of the Election it ſelf, we ſhall treat of the Electoral College, and of the Princes Electors in general; as alſo of ſome Preliminaries which precede the Election, and make one of the principal Parts thereof.

We have ſhewn, that the College of Electors, and the Electoral Dignity, had their Beginning but about the Time that the Emperor *Charles* IV. regulated their Number, and confirm'd their Rights, Privileges and Prerogatives, by his perpetual and irrevocable Edict, which is call'd the *Golden Bull*; which ſpeaking of the Princes Electors, ſays, That they are *the Flambeaus that gave Light to the Empire; its Buttreſſes, Pillars and Baſes; the moſt neceſſary Members of the Emperor; the Prop which by an ingenious Prudence ſupports the whole Fabrick; and the main Force of the Imperial Arm; that he may by their Counſel govern the perpetual Inconſtancy of the Affairs of the World.* And the Emperor *Rodolphus* II, in his Decree of *July* 17, 1590, ſays, *That the Eminence of the Princes Electors is ſo inſeparable from the Eminence of the Imperial Power, that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other.* And indeed, whether we conſider the Electoral College, as the firſt, and moſt powerful Member of the Empire; and the Electors, as the only hereditary Officers of the Empire; or look upon 'em as the Princes, who can beſtow the Crown of *Germany* on whom they pleaſe, and can deprive the Emperor of his Dignity, if they judge it neceſſary for the Good of the Affairs of the Empire; we ſhall be oblig'd to acknowledge, that if in all *Europe* there be a Body that can be put in parallel with what there was moſt Auguſt in the ancient *Roman* Empire, it is without doubt the Electoral College, which is compos'd of ſo many Senators, Conſuls, and Dictators; or rather of ſo many Sovereigns, as there are Princes Electors.

* It is certain that the firſt Inſtitution of the Electoral College confin'd it to the Number Seven; but it would be folly to ſeek for the Reaſon of this Number, in the imaginary Efficacy, which is by a ſuperſtitious Obſervation beſtow'd on the ſeptenary Number; ſince it is to be found only in the Inequality of Votes, which was eſteem'd neceſſary to avoid thoſe Diviſions and Schiſms, which were but too common in the Empire. *Simon Schardius* ſays, That the Author of the Inſtitution of the Electoral College, was oblig'd to fix it to the Number Seven, rather than to that of Three or Five; as well becauſe he could not refuſe that Honour to the Three Archbiſhops, who were already Great Chancellors of the Empire; as thereby to give ſome Satisfaction to all the Orders of the ancient Electors, which were compos'd of Kings, Dukes, Marquiſſes and Counts. He preſuppoſes that the Electoral College was inſtituted by the Emperor *Otho* III, and agrees that the Empire became elective but only after the Death of *Lewis* III. So that thoſe pretended Electors of whom he ſpeaks, can only be conſider'd from the Year 912, to 1002, in which *Otho* III. dy'd; and yet it will not be found that during that Time there were any Kings preſent at the Elections: not even the King of *Bohemia*, whoſe Regal Dignity is only known ſince the Year 1086. Moreover, the Dutchies and Counties were not as yet hereditary, and moſt of the Marquiſates were only erected by *Henry* I. So that it cannot be ſaid, That at his Election there were any Marquiſſes preſent, no more than at that of *Conrade* I. his Predeceſſor: And we have ſhewn elſewhere, that the Succeſſion of the Three *Othos* was rather hereditary than elective.

There are others who ſay, that *Otho* III. made choice of thoſe Prelates and Princes, to the end the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Germany*, might chuſe for the *Germans:* the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, as Great Chancellor of the Empire amongſt the *Gauls*, and in the Kingdom of *Arles* for *France:* the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, as Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Italy*, for the *Italians:* the King of *Bohemia* for the *Slavonians*; and the Duke of *Saxony* for the *Saxons*. But this Reaſon is by ſo much the more impertinent, as by that means the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* would repreſent no body; beſides that it is ridiculous to ſay, that the Archbiſhop of *Triers* ſpeaks there in the Behalf of the *French*, ſince for theſe many Ages paſt *France* does not acknowledge the Empire, and does not intermeddle in its Affairs as being a part thereof; nay ſhe would not allow at the laſt Treaty of *Munſter*, that *Alſace*, which was given it to reimburſe the Charges of the War, ſhould continue in the Dependence of the Empire.

* *The Reaſon of the ſeptenary Number.*

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We ſay then, that the Truth of the Matter is, that thoſe Princes had no great Difficulty to exclude all the reſt; as well for the Reaſons heretofore alledg'd, *as becauſe that the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, being the moſt powerful Prelates of *Germany*, who had had a good Share in the former Elections, there was an Obligation to conſider them; as well as the King of *Bohemia*, who was very potent, and without doubt the firſt Prince of *Germany*; not only on the account of his Regal Dignity, but alſo of the many Provinces he poſſeſs'd, a good part of which he had annex'd to his Crown. The Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* was one of the firſt Princes of the Empire, not only by reaſon of his Eſtates, which were the fineſt and largeſt of all *Germany*, and becauſe he had the Quality of the Emperor's Judge; but alſo as being the eldeſt of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, as Grandſon to the Emperor *Adolphus* of *Naſſaw*, and as Unkle to the Emperor *Charles* IV, who had marry'd in the Year 1353, for his ſecond Wife, *Agnes* of *Bavaria*, Daughter of *Rodolphus* III, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*. The Duke of *Saxony* poſſeſs'd the firſt Dutchy of the Empire, and had for Grandfather by the Mother's ſide the Emperor *Rodolphus* I. And the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* was in the Hands of the Princes of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, Sons of the Emperor *Lewis* IV. So that we muſt not wonder if theſe Princes ſeiz'd the Honour and Authority of electing the Emperors to themſelves, at a Time when the other Princes of the Empire were not in a Condition to diſpute it with them.

Neither muſt we wonder that the Number of the Secular Electors is greater than that of the Eccleſiaſticks. For ſince theſe laſt aſſiſt at the Elections but only in the Quality of Princes, it is very reaſonable to allow ſome Advantage to thoſe who are ſo in effect; and ſince the matter is to elect a Secular Prince, or, as the *Golden Bull* ſays, a Temporal Head to the Empire, it is juſt that the Seculars ſhould have the beſt Share in the Election; even if there were not reaſon to fear, leſt the Eccleſiaſticks (who depend in ſome meaſure on a Foreign Power) ſhould labour to eſtabliſh the Pope's Authority, to the Prejudice of the Dignity of the Empire.

† As for the Dignity of the Electors, beſides the Epithets the *Golden Bull* gives them, it muſt be own'd to be ſo great, that to make them Kings, they only want the Title and Regal Crown. The Law it ſelf gives them, in ſome meaſure, the Majeſtick Dignity, when it ſays, that they who undertake any thing againſt the Perſon of an Elector, are guilty of High Treaſon; becauſe their Dignity conſtitutes a part of the Imperial Dignity, and is inſeparable from it, as we have ſaid in the beginning of this Chapter.

‡ And it is for this reaſon that the Electors precede all the other Princes, of what Condition or Quality ſoever they may be. The *Golden Bull* ſays expreſſly; ** That in all the publick Ceremonies and Aſſemblies of the Empire, the Princes Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, ſhall hold their Place and Rank, and that no other Prince, of what Dignity, Eſtate, Condition, or Quality he may be, ſhall pretend to any Precedency.* And this Rule admits of no Exception in reference to the Diets and General Aſſemblies of the Empire; nor even with reſpect to the Electoral Aſſemblies, where the Electors repreſent the Sovereignty. This is ſo true, that altho' the ſame Text ſeems to make an Exception of Foreign Kings, when it ſays, *That particularly the King of* Bohemia *ſhall precede, without any Conteſtation, all other Kings, how powerful ſoever they may be*, yet nevertheleſs all the other Electors lay claim to the ſame Advantage, and enjoy it in effect: nay they do not ſuffer (even out of the Diets) any Foreigner to precede them in *Germany*. We ſhall ſay nothing of the manner how *Lewis* IV, Elector *Palatin*, receiv'd *Henry* Duke of *Anjou* in his Journey to *Poland*, altho' he was a King Elect, and Brother of the firſt King of *Chriſtendom:* For he made it but too plain that he was at home; and one may ſay, that he us'd that great Prince with a little Incivility. But we have an illuſtrious Example in *Joachim* II, Elector of *Brandenburg*, who refus'd to yield Precedency to *Rodolphus* of *Auſtria*, notwithſtanding he was Son to the Emperor then reigning, crown'd King of *Hungary*, and deſtin'd to the Empire, to which he attain'd ſome Years after.

It is true that the Fathers of the Council of *Baſil* would needs take Cognizance of the Difference which happen'd there about Precedency between the Electors and the Biſhop of *Chalon*, Embaſſador from *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*; and that they were imprudent enough to pronounce in Favour of the Biſhop, by the Decree they made on *May* 23, 1437. But this Sentence being given by incompetent Judges, had ſo little Force, that when the Embaſſadors of *Charles the Bold*, the Son of *Philip*, would have taken Advantage thereof, and pretended to the Precedency in the Diet of *Ratisbone* in the Year 1471, the Electors oppos'd it, and oblig'd the Embaſſadors to take their Seat out of the Rank, on a Bench deſign'd for Foreign Embaſſadors, right againſt the Emperor; while they themſelves kept their Places, by the Emperor's ſide, and in the ſame Line. The Electors were in the right to act after this manner; becauſe the Duke of *Burgundy*, notwithſtanding he poſſeſs'd ſeveral Dutchies and Counties, and was a Prince of the Blood, and Dean of the Secular Peers of *France*, could not be conſider'd but in two reſpects; to wit, either as a Foreign Prince, and in that Quality he could not pretend to Rank or Place before, nor amongſt the Electors; or elſe, as Prince of the Empire, on the account of his Dutchies of *Brabant*, of *Limburg*, and of *Luxemburg*, and in this Quality he was oblig'd to give Place to the Electors. Beſides, he could not diſpute Precedency with them, becauſe, as he poſſeſs'd no Territories in Sovereignty, he could not refuſe the Hand to the Electors, † who are Sovereign Princes, as we ſhall ſee preſently, altho' they do Homage; becauſe in doing it to the Empire, they only do it to themſelves. This was the reaſon why the Pope's Nuncio

* Chap. 8. Rem. 3. † *High Treaſon is committed againſt the Electors.* ‡ *The Precedency of the Electors.*
* Chap. 6. ‖ Holland *and* Zeland *had been Members of the Empire.*

and

and the Embaſſador of *England*, knowing very well that the Electors would not yield Precedency to them, would not be preſent at the firſt Coronation of the Emperor *Charles* V. As in effect, they would have been ſo far from giving Place to the Nuncio, that *Adolphus* of *Schauemburg*, Elector of *Cologn*, abſolutely refus'd to yield Precedency to Cardinal *Moron*, the Pope's Legate at the Diet of *Ratisbone* in the Year 1556. It is true that in the Council of *Trent* the Eccleſiaſtical Electors plac'd themſelves after the Legates; but then we muſt conſider, that it was an Aſſembly merely Eccleſiaſtical, and that the Electors, by being immediately after the Legates, had without doubt the moſt honourable Place after thoſe who repreſented the Pope's Perſon, in the Quality he gives himſelf of Head of the Church, and before all the other Secular Princes.

*We don't deny that every where elſe but in the Empire the Electors have a great deal of Deference for Crown'd Heads; and we believe that even in *Germany* it ſelf they would make no Difficulty to pay ſome Reſpect to Kings, eſpecially to him who is in Poſſeſſion of preceding all the other Kings of *Chriſtendom*, ſince the fourth Article of the Capitulation of the Emperor that dy'd laſt declares expreſſly, that the Embaſſadors of the Electors ſhall give Place to thoſe of Crown'd Heads ev'n at the Court of the Emperor; but then we ſay alſo, that excepting Kings, there is no Prince but who is oblig'd to yield them the Precedency. The Duke of *Savoy* is one of the firſt Princes of *Europe*: He takes the Quality of King of *Cyprus*, and his Embaſſadors are treated in *France* as thoſe of Crown'd Heads: yet nevertheleſs the Duke *Charles Emanuel* (the Prince in the World who knew beſt how to procure himſelf what he thought his Due) Grandſon by the Mother's ſide to *Francis* I, King of *France*, Son-in-Law to *Philip* II, and Brother-in-Law to *Philip* III. King of *Spain*, being one Day at Table with the late Cardinal *de la Vallette*, and the Duke of *Longueville*; and this laſt having ask'd him after what manner he carry'd it in reference to the Electors, he took off his Hat, and ſaid, That he reſpected them as his Maſters and Superiors; becauſe being Vicar of the Empire, he was oblig'd to acknowledge them for ſuch. An Anſwer that ought to give Confuſion to thoſe who not being acknowledg'd for Princes, and not being ſo in effect, will however carry it on the Level with the Electors, and fail in the Reſpect they owe them.

†We ſaid before that the Princes the Electors are Sovereigns, and it is without doubt this Sovereignty which gives the greateſt Luſtre to the Electoral Dignity. It is true this will appear a Paradox to thoſe who believe that the Sovereignty of the Empire reſides in the Perſon of the Emperor, as Head of the fourth univerſal Monarchy: But beſides that this Opinion is very ill eſtabliſh'd, we ſhall content our ſelves with this previous Suppoſition, as being a certain Truth, that he that poſſeſſes all the Rights of Sovereignty is a Sovereign; and to ſhew that the Princes Electors poſſeſs them all: In the *firſt* place they make Laws, Statutes and Conſtitutions: They aboliſh the old ones, and eſtabliſh new ones, without the Emperor's Leave, and with ſo abſolute a Power, that the Chamber of *Spire* is oblig'd to have regard thereto in the Judgments it gives between their Subjects; even tho' theſe Laws and Conſtitutions ſhould derogate from the Common Law. *Secondly*, They exact an Oath of Fidelity from their Subjects, and by that means oblige them more ſtrictly to themſelves than to the Emperor, to whom the Electors are only oblig'd in a ſimple Acknowledgment of Vaſſallage, which they pay him as to the firſt Perſon of the Empire. *Thirdly*, They create Officers for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice: They make Regulations for the Civil Government, and have their Chancellors, their Parliaments, their Counſellors of State, their Treaſurers, and all the other Officers of State, Juriſdiction, Polity, and Revenues, that Sovereign Princes are us'd to have. But *Fourthly*, the moſt illuſtrious Mark of Sovereignty is the Power they have of making War, and to be able with Impunity to handle the Sword which God puts into the Hands of none but Sovereigns. Private Perſons in making War with one another, are liable to the Penalties which the Laws ordain againſt the Seditious, who diſturb the Tranquillity of the State, and violate the publick Peace: And if they take Arms againſt their Prince, they are Rebels and Criminals of High Treaſon. There is no Pretext that can juſtify the Arms which a Subject takes againſt his Prince, and it is not a War, but a Revolt, and an actual Rebellion, the Guilt whereof cannot be expiated but by Death. If ſometimes the Title of Peace is given to the Treaties Sovereigns make with their Subjects, to oblige them to lay down their Arms, it is an Abuſe. Peace is only the Concluſion of a lawful War, declar'd by a Prince to a Prince, and by a Sovereign to a Sovereign: whereas Rebellions can be quell'd by nothing but the Death of the Rebels, or by the Pardon which the Goodneſs of the Prince has granted them. But the Electors apprehend nothing of all this. They declare and make War whenever they pleaſe: and to this purpoſe they make Levies of Soldiers, as well for their own Defence as for the Aſſiſtance of their Friends and Allies. They appoint Places of Arms, and of Rendezvous: They lay up Magazines of Proviſions and Ammunition: They caſt Cannon, fortify their Towns, and build Forts on their Frontiers. And that they may make themſelves more powerful and more conſiderable, they make Leagues and Alliances amongſt themſelves, and with Strangers, and the Emperor cannot be offended thereat: Whereof we have not only Examples in the Confederacy of *Smalkalden*, which the Elector of *Saxony* and ſome other Proteſtant Princes engag'd in about ſix ſcore Years ago; and in the Union the ſaid Proteſtants made ſome Years before theſe laſt Wars of *Germany*; but alſo the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Empire allow thereof, and are very expreſs on this Subject; particularly thoſe of the Years 1555, 1564, and 1570. And it is for this Reaſon that the Electors treat with the Emperor on

* *The Electors give Place to Crown'd Heads every where elſe but in Diets.*

† *The Rights of Sovereignty of the Electors, which they have in common with other Princes.*

the Level, and make no mention of Pardon or Abolition, but of an Amnesty, or General Oblivion, of what has been done on both sides. We have an Example hereof in the Treaty which the late Duke of *Saxony* made with the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, in the Month of *May*, 1635, which is commonly call'd, *The Peace of* Prague, wherein the Elector speaks and treats like a Sovereign as well as the Emperor. *Fifthly*, The said Electors have high, middling, and low Jurisdictions; not only as the other Lords who have a supreme Jurisdiction, but in a much more eminent Degree, since they judge in *dernier resort*; especially in Criminal Causes, where they proceed to an Execution notwithstanding an Appeal. We shall hereafter have occasion to enlarge on what relates to Civil Processes. *Sixthly*, They harbour and give Protection to the *Jews*. *Seventhly*, They grant Letters of Pardon, of Grace, of Remission, and of Abolition, of Revocation of the Ban, and of Restitution to Honours and Estates; and generally all others, for the Dispatch whereof there is a Necessity to have recourse to the Sovereign Power. *Eighthly*, They grant the Rights and Privileges of Fairs and publick Markets. *Ninthly*, They raise Imposts and Taxes, as well personal as real, and establish Excises and Duties. *Tenthly*, They permit and forbid Hunting and Fishing in the Forests and Rivers within the Extent of their Power, and have for this purpose all the necessary Justice and Jurisdiction. *Eleventhly*, They have the Rights of Waifs and Strays, of Bastardism, and of Escheats for want of Heirs. *Twelfthly*, They coin Money both of Gold and Silver, with what Stamp and Title they please: They cry down that which is worn, and prohibit that of their Neighbours having Currency within their Jurisdiction. *Thirteenthly*, They take the Tithes of Mines and Salt-pits, which private Persons discover in their Territories: They have a Share in the Treasures that are found, and pay nothing of all this to the Emperor. *Fourteenthly*, They send their Embassadors to Kings, Princes and Foreign States. *Fifteenthly*, They contract Marriage as well within as without the Empire, without asking Permission for the same. *Sixteenthly*, They give Dispensations for Marriages in the Degrees forbidden by the Canons. And *Seventeenthly*, They even change the State of Religion within their Countries. To say all in a word, They do every thing that a Sovereign can do, and all that a King can do in his Kingdom. We do not want Examples nor Authorities to confirm what we have here said; but forasmuch as no body can doubt hereof, and that most of the Princes of the Empire enjoy these Rights and Privileges as well as the Electors, we shall content our selves with remitting the Curiosity of the Reader to the whole Volumes which have been written on that Subject, by *Sixtinus* in his Treatise *De Regalibus*: *Hen. Arnisæus, de Jure Majestatis*; *Matth. Stephanus de Jurisdictione*; *Theodorus Rinking de Regimine Seculari & Ecclesiastico*; *Arumæus*, *Buxtorfius*, *Weremundus ab Erenberg*, *Daniel Otto*, &c. and shall speak now of those Rights and Privileges which are peculiar to the Princes Electors.

The Electoral College may be consider'd, either as the first Member of the States of the Empire, whereof the two others are the Princes and free Cities; or else as an Assembly compos'd of Princes, who alone have a Right to elect an Emperor, and to call to the Empire him they judge most worthy thereof. As one of the Members of the Empire, it was compos'd (before the Number was augmented by the Treaty of *Munster*,) but of six Princes; to wit, of the Archbishops of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*; of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*; and since the Year 1623, of the Duke of *Bavaria*, who was put in his place; of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*. At this Day it is compos'd of seven Princes, because two Electorates have been made of *Bavaria*, which before made but one. But the Electoral College, as such, that is to say, compos'd of Princes which are consider'd in the Quality of Electors, comprehends, together with those we have already nam'd, the King of *Bohemia*, who notwithstanding he has no Share in the Affairs of the Empire, is nevertheless an Elector, and has a Right to assist at the Elections; so that without him the Electoral College, conven'd for an Election, would not be complete; because if he were neglected, he might cause it to be declar'd vicious, as we shall say hereafter.

*These eight Princes have alone the Right to make an Emperor, and to call to the Empire, by the way of Election, a Prince who without that could not pretend thereto: and as that is the first and chief Function of these Princes, they were call'd Electors; because they have a Right to elect, to the Exclusion of all the other Princes of *Germany*. When we say that the Electors alone have a Right to elect, we do not only exclude therefrom all the other Princes, but even the Emperor, who cannot be present at the Election that is made of a King of the *Romans* during his Life, when the absolute Necessity of the Affairs of the Empire obliges the Electors to proceed thereto; but we also give to understand, that the Right of electing an Emperor is peculiar, and, as the Schools term it, proper to the Princes Electors. We shall speak more amply thereof elsewhere, when we shall treat of the Election it self.

†The Princes Electors are in Possession, for above these six score Years, not to make an end of the Election till they have limited the Power of the future Emperor, by Conditions put down in Writing, and whereof a sort of Treaty is made which is call'd the *Capitulation*; by which the Emperor elect renounces to almost all the Rights of Sovereignty which the former Emperors enjoy'd. We also make a particular Chapter thereof in the Sequel of this Treatise. Wherefore we shall proceed.

‡The Right of electing belongs to the Electors by the Fundamental Law; and the States of the Empire have resign'd to them that of setting Bounds to the Sovereignty of the Emperor; and they do both the one and the other in the Name of the whole Empire, because they have succeeded in that to the Right which all the Princes, Prelates and Free Towns en-

* I. *Right of the Electors to chuse an Emperor.* † II. *To make the Capitulation.* ‡ III. *To depose the Emperors.*

joy'd

joy'd formerly; but the Queſtion is to know, Whether the ſaid Princes Electors have alſo the Power to depoſe him they have choſen. This is what might be doubted: Firſt, becauſe it ſeems as if the Power of the Electors conſiſted only in the Election, which being perform'd, they have executed all the Power of their Office: Secondly, becauſe the Law that gives them a Power to elect, does not give them that of depoſing, ſince there ſhould have been a particular Expreſſion for that Purpoſe, becauſe the Law cannot be ſtrain'd to things that are odious: Thirdly, becauſe that the Emperor is the Lord of the Univerſe, and, as ſuch, above the Laws: That it belongs only to God to judge Sovereigns: That the Emperor becomes ſuch, immediately after the Election, and ſo the Power of the Electors cannot reach his Perſon: Fourthly, becauſe the ſame Law that obliges the Emperor to appear, and be accountable to the Laws, before the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, ordains very expreſſly, That the Count *Palatin* ſhall not take Cognizance thereof, but in a Diet or General Aſſembly, and in Conjunction with all the States of the Empire in a Body, who alone can judge him; and therefore that the Princes Electors cannot aſſume a Right which the States of the Empire have reſerv'd to themſelves.

We willingly own that the Law, which gives to the Electors a Right to elect, does not give them the Power to depoſe; but it does not follow from thence that the Electors cannot depoſe. Rights are not always acquir'd by an expreſs Law; for if that were, the States themſelves of the Empire could not depoſe the Emperor: And yet it is certain nevertheleſs that they can, and there are Examples thereof in *Charles the Groſs*, and in *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, becauſe that Right is natural to them; and as ſuch they have reſign'd it by a tacit Conſent to the Electors, who have exerted it without any Oppoſition from the States. It is true alſo that Subjects cannot dethrone their Sovereigns, and that in elective States, they, who have a Right to elect, have not the Power to depoſe, unleſs the Election is perform'd by the States aſſembled in a Body: But we are ſo far from ſuppoſing that the Emperor, as Emperor, is Sovereign, that on the contrary we have juſt before ſaid, that there is not any Elector but who is Sovereign: Now it is as impoſſible to eſtabliſh a Plurality of Sovereignties in the ſame State, as to give ſeveral Suns to the World. And ſince the Emperor is oblig'd to acknowledge the Count *Palatin* for Judge, it is evident that he may be judg'd, and by Conſequence that he may be alſo depos'd; for it would be to no Purpoſe to judge him, if the Judgment cannot be executed; and if he can be depos'd by the States, he may likewiſe be ſo by the Electors, to whom the States have reſign'd their Power. They are very much miſtaken, who believe that the Electors have fulfill'd the whole Duty of their Office by the ſole Act of Election, ſince the *Golden Bull* ordains very expreſſly, * That the Electors ſhall meet every Year, to make a Report to the Aſſembly of thoſe Diſorders they have obſerv'd in their reſpective Provinces, and to remedy the ſame among themſelves, and to reform what ſhall be found amiſs, even in the Perſon of the Emperor. We have alledg'd the Examples of *Charles the Groſs*, and of *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*: The firſt was depos'd by the States, in a Body, becauſe the Empire being ſtill at that Time hereditary, it was of Neceſſity requiſite that all the States ſhould meet in a Body to proceed to an Action of that Importance. *Adolphus* of *Naſſau* was depos'd by thoſe who had then a Right to elect, whoſe Number not being as yet regulated, it may be ſaid, that thoſe Princes and Prelates who were preſent, repreſented in ſome Meaſure the States of the Empire. But there is not any room left to doubt of the Right of the Electors, after the Depoſition of *Wenceſlas*. He was Son to the Emperor *Charles* IV, and had been elected ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull*; ſo that the Order that was obſerv'd in his Depoſition, is ſufficient alone to regulate the Right which we attribute to the Electors, by reaſon of the Share they had therein. We have the verbal Proceſs thereof, and the Judgment, amongſt the Imperial Conſtitutions publiſh'd by *Goldaſte*, where *John* Archbiſhop of *Mentz* ſpeaks of the ſame, in the VIII[th] Article, in theſe Terms, † *Nos itaque* Joannes *Archiepiſcopus, nomine prædictorum Dominorum, Sacri Romani Imperii Coëlectorum, tum commemoratis, tum aliis pluribus inſignibus defectibus cauſiſque moti, hac noſtra ſententia, quam præſenti ſcripto damus ac ferimus, prædictum Dominum* Wenceſlaum, *ceu inutilem, negligentem, diſſipatorem, ac indignum Sacri Romani Imperii defenſorem, eodem Romano Imperio, omnique ejus Gradu, Dignitate, ac Ditione ad idem pertinente, privamus, & ſubmovemus*, &c. The ſame Archbiſhop had ſaid before, That it was in Conſequence of the Complaints, all the Princes, Prelates, and free Cities had made againſt the Conduct of *Wenceſlas*, that the Electors had put this important Affair in Deliberation; but he does not ſay that the Princes, Prelates, and free Towns, had any Share therein: And when he pronounces the Sentence of Depoſition, as it accordingly belongs to him to publiſh the Election, in the Quality of Dean of the Electoral College, he makes no mention at all of the States of the Empire, but only ſpeaks in the Name of the Electors his Collegues. However, ſince the ſaid verbal Proceſs takes notice of the Complaints of the Princes and Towns, it would not be amiſs to bring here this Precaution, That before they proceeded to theſe Extremities, the Advice of ſome of the moſt conſiderable Princes of the Empire was taken, after which the Electors met, in order to judge of the Neceſſity of the Depoſition; that they might authorize the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* to iſſue out his Summons for the Convocation, which he has not otherwiſe the Power to do, but when the Empire is vacant; ſince the Emperor himſelf cannot cauſe it, without the expreſs Permiſſion and Conſent of the Electors; and this by the Example of what was practis'd at the Proceeding to the Depoſition of the Emperor *Henry* IV. This Prince proteſted againſt the Procedure of thoſe who were for offering Violence to him, and ſaid, That he ought at

* Chap. 12.

† Tom. 1. p. 379.

leaſt

leaſt to be allow'd the Time to call together the Archbiſhops of *Mentz*, of *Triers*, and of *Breme*; the Biſhops of *Friſingen*, of *Augsburg*, of *Coire* and of *Baſil*; the Duke *Magnus* and the Duke *Thierry*, the Duke of *Bohemia*, the Counts of *Flanders* and of *Burgundy*, and the others, that they might take Cognizance with them who were already aſſembled, of the Cauſe of the Depoſition.

It might here be doubted, whether in the Caſe of Depoſition, it would be neceſſary to ſummon thereto the King of *Bohemia*. We make no Difficulty to conclude in the negative; not ſo much becauſe the King of *Bohemia* was not preſent at the Depoſition of *Wenceſlas*, for that could not be, *Wenceſlas* being himſelf King of *Bohemia*, as becauſe the King of *Bohemia* is an Elector for the Election only, and has nothing to do with the Deliberations which regard the Affairs of the Empire; which alone has an Intereſt, it ſhould be well govern'd; and becauſe the Electoral College is conſider'd in this Action, as firſt Member of the States of the Empire, rather than as merely electoral. It is alſo certain that the Right of electing is only a bare Honour, which the Emperor *Charles* IV. had a Mind to annex to his Crown of *Bohemia*; and this Advantage cannot be ſtrain'd to the Prejudice of the other Electors, whoſe Authority is by ſo much the greater, as the Number of the Electors is leſſer.

‡ The XIIth Chapter of the *Golden Bull*, which we lately quoted, ſays, *That it is neceſſary the Princes Electors (who are the unſhakeable Foundations, and the immoveable Baſes of the Empire) being remote one from another, ſhould meet oftner than they were us'd to do; to the end, that having made a Report to the Aſſembly of what is wanting, and of the Diſorders they ſhall have obſerv'd at home, and in their Neighbourhood; they may be able to remedy the ſame by their common Advice, and ordain by the Prudence of their Counſels the neceſſary Reformation.* The Emperor adds, *That they ſhall meet once a Year in Perſon, and in one of the Imperial Towns.* The Neceſſity which the Law impoſes on the Electors of meeting every Year, and in Perſon, was rather an Injunction, and a Service, than a Right or a Privilege. They could not diſpenſe therewith, but with the Emperor's Permiſſion, and the common Conſent of all the Electors: But at this Day there is nothing that obliges them, to meet, except the ſole Neceſſity of the publick Affairs, which may move and invite them but cannot compel them. There is no Time now limited, nor Place fix'd for that Purpoſe, neither is there any thing that can abſolutely oblige them to be perſonally preſent at theſe Aſſemblies. The Capitulation of the Emperor *Charles* V, confirm'd by the Capitulations of all the other following Emperors, ſays, *We alſo permit the ſix Princes Electors above-nam'd to meet, by virtue of the* Golden Bull, *as often as they ſhall have a Conveniency to do it, and ſhall judge it neceſſary for the Good of the Affairs of the Empire, that they may deliberate and conſult, without our being able to hinder the ſame; or on that Account to conceive any Indignation againſt the ſaid Electors in general, or againſt any one of them in particular.* This Capitulation, as alſo all the others, ſpeaks but of ſix Electors, and by that means tacitly excludes the King of *Bohemia* from the Electoral Aſſemblies, for the Reaſons we ſhall have Occaſion to touch upon hereafter, when we ſhall ſpeak of the King of *Bohemia* in particular.

Theſe Aſſemblies are call'd *Collegiate Diets*, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe which are held only on the Score of the Election, and which are for that Reaſon call'd *Electoral Diets*. * *Goldaſte* thinks that theſe Collegiate Diets have had their Beginning during the *Interregnum*, under *Alphonſus* of *Caſtile* and *Richard* of *Cornwall*; but the expreſs Words of the Emperor *Charles* IV, when he ſays, That he ordains, that for the Time to come the Electors ſhall meet every Year, and that this Ordinance ſhall laſt as long as it ſhall pleaſe him and the Electors; ſufficiently ſhew that they have no other Foundation than the *Golden Bull*. Since that Time, the ſix Electors have made ſeveral Treaties amongſt themſelves, for the Preſervation of this Right, and particularly that which they made at *Worms* in the Year 1521, by which they ordain, That the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſhall have Power to convene the other Electors his Collegues, by his Letters Patents, (which ſhall contain the Subject of the Convocation) only when the Remoteneſs of the Electors ſhall have hinder'd them from agreeing on the Affair that is propos'd; in which Caſe the Elector of *Mentz* ſhall aſſign them a Day, by which they ſhall repair to *Mayence*, *Franckfort*, *Gelnhauſen*, or to *Fuld*. But at this Day the Practice is otherwiſe: The Convocation is not perform'd till the Electors have judg'd it neceſſary: There is no ſet Place for theſe Aſſemblies, and they are often made at the Inſtance of the Emperor, who ſometimes is there preſent, either in his own Perſon, or elſe by his Commiſſioners. It is not that he has any Right to be there, but the Electors ſuffer it. As for the Affairs that are there treated off, they are without doubt the moſt important of the Empire, as appear'd by the Collegiate Diet, which was conven'd at *Ratiſbone*, in the Year 1630, where the Electors oblig'd the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. to diſmiſs the the Duke of *Walleſtein*, to disband part of his Army, to ſuperſede the Contributions; gave Audience to the Embaſſadors of *France* and *England*, who acted there contrary to the Emperor's Intentions, and forc'd him to conſent to a Treaty that was very glorious to *France*, and very diſadvantageous to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, concerning the Succeſſion to the Dutchy of *Mantua*.

† The Convocation of the States General of the Empire, or of the Imperial Diets, belongs only to the Sovereign; and foraſmuch as the Emperor repreſents the Sovereign Magiſtrate in the Empire, it alſo belongs to him to convene the Diets. We ſay that the Emperor repreſents the Sovereign; but becauſe he is not ſo in effect, ſince the Empire of *Germany* is not a Monarchical State, the Power of convening the States has been ſo limited in his

‡ IV. *Of meeting about the Affairs of the Empire.*
† V. *To give their Conſent to the Convocation of the General Diets.*
* In Tractatu de Regno Bohem. Lib. 1. C. 6. n. 7.

Perſon by all the Capitulations, that he cannot do it without the Conſent of the Electors. The Capitulation of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III, ſays very expreſſly; *We will not undertake to ſummon a Diet, or General Aſſembly, till we have firſt ſent an expreſs Deputation, to deſire the Conſent and Agreement of the ſix Electors.* The Conſent of the Electors muſt be expreſs, and to be ſuch, the Emperor muſt make known to the Electors the Exigency of Affairs that obliges him to call a Diet, requiring the Advice and Conſent of each of them, even with reference to the Time and Place of the Aſſembly: which is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that if the Emperor omits asking the Advice and Conſent of any one of them, the whole Convocation will thereby be defective and null. The Electors ſend their Conſent in the Form of *Letters Patents*, ſign'd under their Hand, and ſeal'd with the Great Seal. Where we muſt obſerve, That therein the Plurality of Votes is conſider'd as well as at the Elections, as well for the *negative* as the *affirmative:* ſo that the Oppoſition of two or of three would not hinder the Emperor from proceeding; but that of four would, becauſe it would divide the Suffrages, and hinder the Convocation.

* The Conſent of the Princes Electors, is not only requiſite for the Convocation of the Diets, but alſo to all the other Acts by which the Emperor might arrogate to himſelf any Right of Sovereignty. The Right of making Treaties of Alliance, and of Leagues offenſive and defenſive, without doubt belongs to none but Sovereigns: but ſo far is the Emperor (as Emperor) from having that Power, that on the contrary, by the Capitulations which have been made with the laſt Emperors, it is very expreſſly ſaid, that the Emperor ſhall make no League nor Alliance, as well in *Germany* with the Princes of the Empire, as elſewhere with foreign Princes and States, without the Conſent of the ſix Electors: it not being ſufficient to obtain for that, the Conſent or Declaration in Writing, of each Elector in particular, but the Emperor is oblig'd to make the Propoſal thereof in a Collegiate Diet, expreſſly conven'd for that Purpoſe. And foraſmuch as it was otherwiſe acted, in the Negotiation of the Treaty of *Prague* in the Year 1635, it was declar'd by the Treaty it ſelf, and by the Capitulation made the Year following with *Ferdinand* III, that it ſhould not be a Precedent: but that the former Capitulations ſhould be inviolably obſerv'd for the future, without any Diſpenſation to the Emperor, except in the utmoſt Neceſſity, and for very weighty and preſſing Cauſes; in Conſideration whereof, he may delay convening the Collegiate Diet, but he ſhall nevertheleſs ask the Conſent of the Princes Electors in particular.

† The Electors, as Sovereign Princes, can raiſe Taxes, and lay Duties on their Subjects: but they cannot lay, nor raiſe any Duties on Strangers who paſs through their Countrey, but with the Conſent of all the other Electors aſſembled in a Collegiate Diet. The Reaſon is, becauſe their Sovereignty does not extend beyond the Places under their Obedience: and foraſmuch as the Electors and their Subjects enjoy a general Exemption, of all Duties of Entries, or carrying out, Tolls, &c. it was thought fit that the raiſing of thoſe Duties, and the ſetling the Impoſts, ſhould not be done but by the general Conſent of 'em all, as the laſt Emperor promiſes in his Capitulation, Article 20, &c. That he will not ſuffer any Perſon, of what Condition or Quality ſoever he may be, to lay new Impoſts, or to inhance and continue thoſe already eſtabliſh'd, without the Conſent of the ſix Electors, obtain'd in a Collegiate Diet; nor can the Emperor for that Effect, give Letters of Recommendation to the Electors.

‡ The Empire had formerly its Revenues, and the Emperor had his Demeſnes; the Revenues whereof were capable not only of ſupplying the ordinary Expences of his Court, but alſo of furniſhing the extraordinary Charges of the War: But for above theſe two hundred Years laſt paſt, the Emperors have liv'd only on the Revenues of their hereditary Countries, and made War but with the Contributions which they have rais'd on all the States of the Empire, purſuant to the Taxation or Aſſeſſment of the Regiſter. When the Emperors went to receive the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, all the Eſtates of the Empire were oblig'd to ſend along with him a certain Number of Men at Arms; to wit, twenty thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe: and in default of the Supply of Men, that Duty was converted into Money, at the Rate of four Florins; that is to ſay, of eight Livres of *French* Money for each Foot Soldier, and of twelve Florins, or of four and twenty Livres *per* Month for each Trooper. It is true that this Number was moderated in the Diet of *Worms*, in the Year 1557, to three thouſand ſix hundred and four Horſe, and to ſixteen thouſand four hundred forty nine Foot; whoſe Pay, at the Rate we before laid down, amounts to near two hundred and twenty thouſand Livres *per* Month; which being multiply'd (for they ſometimes grant a hundred, or ſixſcore thouſand) amounts to very conſiderable Sums. This Collection of Money is what we call Contributions, and in the *German* Phraſe, the *Journies to* Rome: and they are demanded by the way of Subſidy. The Electors in giving their Conſent thereto, might authorize the raiſing thereof; but ſince the laſt Diet ſome Alterations have been made; and it has been thought reaſonable, that ſince all the States were charg'd therewith, all the States ſhould likewiſe conſent to the raiſing of the ſame.

* We have ſaid before in this Chapter, that the Electors have a Right to coin Money, and that they can even regulate the Standard thereof; but that the ſame is in common to 'em with all the other Princes and free States of the Empire. And therefore that is not the Right or Privilege which we pretend to ſpeak of here, but of that the Electors have to hinder the Emperor from giving the Privilege of coining Money, to thoſe who had it not before, without the Conſent of the ſix Electors. We ſpeak of that Right of coining Money,

* VI. *To hinder the Emperor from making Alliances without their Conſent.* † VII. *They give leave to raiſe Impoſts.*
‡ VIII. *To hinder the Emperor from making Gatherings, or raiſing Contributions.* * IX. *To give their Conſent for the Privilege of coining Money.*

which the Emperor can grant with the Conſent of the Princes Electors, and not of that of regulating the Standard thereof, which the Emperor, as Emperor, has not, nor cannot grant, becauſe it is inſeparably annex'd to the Sovereignty.

† The Proſcription, or baniſhing out of the Empire, which ſucceeded to the Interdiction of Fire and Water of the ancient *Romans*, is without doubt one of the moſt illuſtrious Marks of Sovereignty. For which Reaſon it was not thought adviſeable to leave it to the Diſcretion of the Emperor. Formerly it was done only by the Eſtates aſſembled in a Body, as appears in the Proſcriptions of the two *Henrys*, Father and Son, Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Bavaria*; becauſe the Proſcription, which is call'd in *Germany* the Imperial Ban, being a Penalty that extends to the Children, ſo as to deprive 'em even of the Eſtates which they do not inherit from their Fathers, but to which they ſucceed by virtue of the firſt Inveſtiture, and which cannot be alienated by Contract; it is juſt that this Alteration, which deſtroys in ſome Meaſure the Nature of the Fiefs, be done with the Approbation of all the States of the Empire, or with a right Information of the Cauſe by the Imperial Chamber, which repreſents them: tho' it ſeems as if the Text of the *Golden Bull* (which ſpeaks of the Misfortune of the Sons, who are depriv'd of their paternal Inheritance) ought not to be underſtood, but of the Confiſcation which is made in the Caſe of High Treaſon, in the firſt Degree. But it is not in the Proſcriptions that are made according to the Forms and ordinary Procedures, that the Conſent of the Electors is requir'd. It is neceſſary, only when in notorious Caſes the Criminal is proceeded againſt in an extraordinary Manner, whereof there are two very remarkable Inſtances: The firſt in the Proſcription of *John Frideric*, Elector of *Saxony*, by the Emperor *Charles* V. And the other in that of the Elector *Palatin* who dy'd laſt, by the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. This laſt gave Occaſion to the Complaints which the Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg* made of the Precipitancy with which the ſame was done: ſo that to prevent the like Diſorders for the future, that Article was inſerted in the Capitulation of *Ferdinand* III, which ſays, That the Emperor ſhall not be able to put any body into the Ban of the Empire, even in notorious Caſes, without the Knowledge, Advice and Conſent of the Princes Electors; provided thoſe againſt whom ſuch Proceeding is, be of the States immediately ſubject to the Empire: it being certain that they who are not, may be proſcrib'd by the Lords on whom they depend.

‡ And foraſmuch as the Procedures we have now ſpoken of, were ſometimes executed by the Council which happens to be in Authority near the Perſon of the Emperor, which frequently encroach'd alſo on the Juriſdiction of the Chamber of *Spire*, it has been thought adviſeable to ſtipulate by the Capitulation made with the late Emperor, That a Regulation ſhould be made for the *Aulick Council* of the Empire, with the Conſent of the ſix Electors, according to which the Emperor ſhould be oblig'd to reform the ſame.

* The Electors have alſo this Advantage over the other Princes of the Empire, that they pay nothing for the Inveſtitures, which they are oblig'd to deſire a Confirmation of at every Change, for which all the other Princes, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, are oblig'd to pay ſixty three Marks of Silver and a quarter, to the Officers of the Emperor's Court, and to the Vicars of the Electors, according to the Direction of the *Golden Bull:* and the Prince who receives the Inveſtiture, is to leave the Horſe he was mounted on at that Time to the Great Mareſchal of the Empire, or to his Deputy; and in their Abſence to the Mareſchal of the Emperor's Court.

Charles IV, in regulating the Duties which the Princes of the Empire are to pay when they do Homage for their Fiefs, to ſixty three Marks and a quarter of Silver, excepts therefrom the Electors; † becauſe that Sum being due to the Deputy Officers, or to the Officers of the Emperor's Court: and the Electors being hereditary Officers of the Empire, it would not be juſt that the Subſtitutes ſhould exact Money or Preſents from their Superiors. But this is what we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more amply of elſewhere, in Chap. XI. of this Diſcourſe.

All theſe Rights and Privileges are ſo anner'd to ‡ the Electoral Dignity, that they are inſeparable therefrom, juſt as the Electoral Dignity is inſeparable from the three Arcbiſhopricks of *Mentz*, *Triers* and *Cologn*, and from the Principalities to which the *Golden Bull* appropriates the ſame: So that he who is in a peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, of *Bavaria*, of the Dutchy of *Saxony*, of the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, and of the County *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, is Elector, and ought to be ſummon'd to the Election; without poſſibility of ſeparating the Electoral Dignity from the Principalities, at any Time, or for any Cauſe whatever, and without poſſibility of the one being ſu'd for, or recover'd without the other, in Law or otherwiſe; agreeably to the *Caroline* Conſtitution, which is expreſs therein, in Chap. 30.

* Now that the Princes Electors might have wherewith to ſupport this high Dignity, which gives them ſo much Advantage over the other Princes, the Emperor *Charles* IV. thought fit that their Principalities ſhould be indiviſible, and forbad the Partition, or diſmembring thereof in ſuch plain Terms, that none but the Eldeſt alone can ſucceed thereto. Formerly, and before the Number of Electors was regulated, the Practice was otherwiſe, becauſe the Electoral Dignity being ſhareable among the Princes of the ſame Houſe, it was neceſſary the Principality ſhould be ſo too. And in fact we ſee ſeveral Princes of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, ſeveral Dukes of *Saxony*, and ſeveral Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg* at the Elections, at the ſame Time; and who in effect poſſeſs'd together with the Title, the Principalities and the Electoral Dignity it ſelf.

At this Day the *Golden Bull* is exactly obſerv'd in that Reſpect. For notwithſtanding

† X. *No Proſcription to be made without their Conſent.*
* XII. *To receive the Inveſtitures gratis.* † *Chap.* 30.
* *The Principalities are indiviſible.*
‡ XI. *To conſent to the Ordinances of the* Aulick *Council.*
‡ *The Electoral Dignity is appropriated to the Principalities.*

there are above ten Branches in the *Palatin* Houſe, ſix or ſeven in that of *Saxony*, and three in that of *Brandenburg*, yet it will not appear that the Ducal *Saxony*, the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, or the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, to which the Electoral Dignity is appropriated, have been diſmember'd. *Luſatia* was ſeparated from *Bohemia* by the Treaty of *Prague*; and that of *Munſter* gives the *Upper Palatinate* to the Elector of *Bavaria*: But then *Luſatia* does not make a Part of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, nor the *Upper Palatinate* a Part of the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, on the Account whereof the *Palatin* is an Elector of the Empire. In like Manner the Elector of *Saxony* has given Portions to his Brothers in *Luſatia* and *Thuringia*; but then thoſe Provinces have nothing in common with the Dutchy of *Saxony*, to which the Electoral Dignity was annex'd before it enter'd into the Houſe of *Miſnia*. The Marquiſſes of *Anſpach* and of *Culmbach*, are younger Brothers of the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, and have had their Portions in *Viotland* and *Franconia*, but they had none in the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, by virtue whereof the Prince who enjoys it at this Day is Elector. We don't ſpeak here of the Right of Elderſhip, or Primogeniture, which ſeveral other Princes of *Germany* have eſtabliſh'd in their Families, by a Cuſtom inſenſibly introduc'd, or by particular and domeſtick Ordinances, and by teſtamentary Diſpoſitions, confirm'd by the Emperor; becauſe it does not belong to the Subject of our Diſcourſe, and therefore we ſhall content our ſelves with ſaying here by the by, that the Right of Elderſhip takes place in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in that of *Bavaria*, in the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, in that of *Brunſwick* and of *Lunenburg*, where nevertheleſs there are three Branches; in the Houſe of *Heſſe*, where it has been eſtabliſh'd of late, in the two Branches of *Caſſel* and *Darmſtad*; and in that of *Guſtrau* and *Suerin* in the Dutchy of *Mecklemburg*.

After what we have ſaid of the Grandeur, Dignity and Rights of the Princes Electors, we think we may add, That ſince theſe Princes enjoy, within the Extent of their States, all the Advantages the Emperors poſſeſs'd there, when they were ſtill Sovereign Lords of *Germany*; they have Reaſon to put at the Head of their Titles, *by the Grace of God*; which is an Honour reſerv'd to them only, who are acknowledg'd for Sovereigns, and who in effect hold only of God and their Sword. And as the Author of a Book entitl'd, *An Enquiry into the Rights of the King, and of the Crown of* France, might very well have forborn ſaying, *That the Electors hold of the Sovereignty of our Crown, and own themſelves Vaſſals, and liege Men of the Kings of* France; wherefore the King was willing to do them the Juſtice to diſtinguiſh them, and conſider them in quite another Manner than he does almoſt all the other Princes of *Europe*, in order to oblige them to give him the Title of *Majeſty*, which the Princes Electors gave formerly to the Emperor only. They gave to all foreign Kings the Style of *Royal Dignity*; and ſaid they were in poſſeſſion of ſo doing, by virtue of a very ancient Cuſtom: * as they repreſent it in their Letters to the King of *Sweden*, of *Auguſt* 13, 1630, on the Complaints that Prince had made, in writing to the Electors, on *April* 25, in the ſame Year, that in giving him the Style of *Royal Dignity*, they had not given him the Title, which he held from God and his Anceſtors.

During the Negotiation of the Peace at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, the Plenipotentiaries of *France* had ſignify'd, that the King could no longer ſuffer that they ſhould refuſe him the Title which the greateſt Monarchs of the World made no Difficulty to give him; but if the Princes Electors would change their Style, his Majeſty would alſo change that which levell'd 'em with the Dukes, and Peers, and Mareſchals of *France*, and even with the Counts of *Germany*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, who could not hope to maintain himſelf in the Electoral Dignity which was but juſt come into his Houſe, without the good Offices which he expected from *France*, had done it, and after his Example the Elector of *Cologn* his Brother. The two other Eccleſiaſtical Electors, who are not born Princes, and who had given the Title of Highneſs to a General of an Army, might very well give that of Majeſty to the King; and the Prince *Palatin* was not acknowledg'd as an Elector. So that in the whole Electoral College there remain'd only *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* who had not yet had that Deference to the King. The laſt made an Offer of it by a Perſon of Quality, whom he ſent on purpoſe to the Court at the beginning of the Year 1646; but foraſmuch as the Elector of *Saxony* continu'd to proteſt, that he would not change the Style, the Court ſignify'd alſo that the King would not do it neither, unleſs all the Electors did ſo; becauſe in writing to the Electoral College there would be an Obligation to Honour otherwiſe thoſe who gave the King the Style of Majeſty, than thoſe that ſhould not, which was what could not be done in the ſame Letter. However when it was repreſented, that even tho' all the Electors ſhould comply with what the King deſir'd of them, it would not be juſt the ſame Honour ſhould be done to the Eccleſiaſtical Electors who are not Princes by Birth, as to thoſe that are; ſince the Emperor and the Electors themſelves us'd them differently, and accordingly the King would always make a Diſtinction; Reaſon began to be hearken'd to; and in the Year 1647, the Queen, who was then Regent, was pleas'd to write with her own Hand to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and ſtyle him *Brother*. The King follow'd this Example in the Year 1654; and the Year following the *Sieur de Lumbres*, being ſent from Court to his Electoral Highneſs, carry'd Letters with him, which were conceiv'd in the ſame Terms, and counter-ſign'd by a Secretary of State: ſo that at preſent no Difficulty is made therein. But notwithſtanding the Elector of *Brandenburg* gives the King the Style of *Majeſty*, yet he does not do the ſame to the other Kings of *Europe*, not even to the King of *Spain*, to whom he continues the Style of *Royal Dignity*. Which is ſo true, that altho' as Duke of *Pruſſia*, he was a Vaſſal of the Crown of *Poland*, (before he had obtain'd the Sovereignty thereof by the Treaty he has lately concluded) he gave

* Lundorp. Act. Pub. Tom. III. Lib. 1. Tract. 11, & 12.

no other Style than that of *Royal Dignity*, to the King of *Poland*, when he was in *Germany*: and ſtyl'd him *Majeſty*, only when he was in *Pruſſia*, where he conſider'd him as his Sovereign.

After this it cannot be doubted that the Princes Electors have a Right to ſend Embaſſadors, ſince the *Golden Bull* gives this Quality to the Miniſters whom they employ out of the Empire; and that they ought to be treated in the Courts of foreign Kings like the Embaſſadors of Crown'd Heads: Since thoſe of *Savoy*, which cannot enter into Competition with the Electors, enjoy that Advantage in the Court of *France*, which ſerves for a Rule to all the other Courts of *Europe*, without its being in the Power of any other Prince whatever to refuſe them this Honour. Here we take the word Embaſſador in its proper and common Signification, and not improperly, as was done when it was ſuffer'd to be ſlipt into the Treaty that was made three Years ago by the Deputies of the City of *Hamburgh*, for the Freedom of Commerce; tho' with this Difference, that therein the Quality of *Embaſſadors deputed* is given them, that is to ſay, of ſimple Envoys of a Town, whoſe Freedom is ſtill conteſted; as one of the principal and moſt underſtanding Miniſters of the Court anſwer'd very pertinently, when he was ask'd Audience for theſe pretended Embaſſadors. But this is what we ſhall have an Opportunity to make a particular Diſcourſe about, in the General State of the Empire of *Germany*, which ſhall follow in a little Time, if this finds Approbation.

CHAP. X.

Of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors.

WE have ſaid before that the Electoral Dignity of the Eccleſiaſticks is not leſs appropriated to the three Archbiſhopricks, than that of the Seculars is to the four Principalities which the Emperor names in the *Golden Bull:* So that he who ſays, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, denominates at the ſame time ſo many Princes Electors of the Holy Empire; however with this Difference, that whereas the Secular Electors ſucceed to the Electoral Dignity by hereditary Right, and by virtue of the Inveſtiture of the firſt Acquirer, the Eccleſiaſticks hold theirs but by the Choice which the Chapter makes of their Perſons by the way of Election. The Clergy and the People have ever had a Right to elect their Biſhops in *Germany*; but the Chapters of the Cathedral Churches, have by little and little uſurp'd the ſame, to the Excluſion not only of the Laity, but likewiſe of all the reſt of the Clergy of the ſame Dioceſe; tho' without Prejudice to the Confirmation of the Emperor, of whom the Archbiſhop or Biſhop elect was oblig'd to receive the Inveſtiture by a Ring and a Wand; till Pope *Gregory* VII. undertook to brand with Simony the Duty the new Biſhops paid to their Sovereign. This was one of the chief Grounds of the Civil Wars in the Reign of the Emperor *Henry* IV, who ſaw his own Son in Arms againſt him, under a Pretext which the Malice of the Clergy, and the Superſtition of thoſe Times had render'd plauſible. However the ſame Son having attain'd to the Empire, and taking into Conſideration that this Attempt robb'd him of one of the moſt valuable Jewels of his Crown, he oppos'd it with all the Vigour imaginable; till finding himſelf threaten'd with the ſame Diſorders which had coſt his Father both the Empire and his Life, he was forc'd to accommodate the Matter by the Treaty he made with the Pope *Calixtus* III, in the Year 1122, by which he renounc'd the Right of Inveſtiture by the Ring and Wand; contenting himſelf with the Homage the Biſhops were to do for their Temporals, and for the Fiefs which hold of the Empire. But by the *Concordat* made between the Pope *Nicolas* V, and the Emperor *Frederick* III, in the Month of *April* 1447, the Pope does not only reſerve to himſelf the Right of confirming the Election of the Prelates, but alſo the Power of judging of the Validity of the Election; of declaring it faulty, and to provide for the Churches, if it ſhall appear that the Election was not Canonical, or if the *Elect* ſhall fail to take out the Papal Confirmation within a Month and twenty Days, without which the Emperor cannot admit him to his Oath for the Temporal.

This Election is perform'd by a Plurality of the Votes of the Chapter; and it is not enough that the *Elect* has more Suffrages in reference to thoſe who may be ſet up by others; but the Plurality of Votes muſt be conſider'd with reſpect to the whole Chapter. As for inſtance, if of thirty Canons or Prebendaries, of which the Chapter is compos'd, eight chuſe *Peter*, ten *Paul*, and twelve *James*; notwithſtanding the Number of thoſe who elect *James* is greater by half than that of thoſe who nominate *Peter*, and greater alſo than that of thoſe who elect *Paul*, yet *James* ſhall not be Archbiſhop; but *James* muſt have more Votes alone than the two others together, and the Suffrages of the major part of the Chapter; that is to ſay, that at leaſt ſixteen muſt concur to his Election to make it Canonical. But when one part of the Chapter elects, and the other poſtulates, the Number of the Poſtulants muſt be at leaſt twice as great as that of the Chuſers; that is to ſay, there muſt be at leaſt twenty Poſtulants againſt ſix Chuſers, to make the Poſtulation ſucceed. Now we call Poſtulation the Nomination of a Perſon who cannot be elected according to the Canons; either for ſome Defect in his Perſon, Age, Birth, or otherwiſe; or becauſe he is already provided with a Biſhoprick. For inaſmuch as the Canons forbid the nominating

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to a Biſhoprick a Minor and a Baſtard, and that it is not allow'd to poſſeſs two Biſhopricks at the ſame time; and ſo the Election that ſhould be made of a Perſon in whom theſe Defects ſhould be found, would be vicious; the manner of Proceeding therein is by the way of Poſtulation; that is to ſay, that the Chapter prays him, who has the Right of confirming the Election, to approve the Nomination it has made of a Perſon whoſe Election would not otherwiſe be canonical; and in ſuch caſe the Catholicks apply to the Pope, and the Proteſtants to the Emperor.

But we here ſpeak of the three Catholick Electors, who are all Catholicks; in reference to whom the Treaty of *Paſſau* made in the Year 1555, declares in expreſs Terms, That ſo far are the Chapters of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and *Cologn* from being able to make Choice of a Proteſtant, that on the contrary, if it ſhall happen that a Catholick Archbiſhop or Biſhop of a Catholick Dioceſe changes his Religion, he is oblig'd alſo to change his Condition, and to leave the Archbiſhoprick to a Catholick. Whereof we have Examples in *Herman* of *Weda*, and in *Gebhard* of *Thruchſes*, Archbiſhops and Electors of *Cologn*, who were depos'd on the account of Religion.

It is certain that we do not here conſider the Eccleſiaſtical Electors as Archbiſhops, but as Princes of the Empire, and Electors; and in this Quality they are oblig'd to receive the Inveſtiture from the Emperor: So that it ſeems that one might ſay, properly ſpeaking, that the Chapter only makes the Archbiſhop, and that it is the Emperor who makes the Elector: from whence one might conclude, that the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors cannot be preſent at the Elections before the Inveſtiture. And indeed this Opinion is ſo well eſtabliſh'd in the Schools, that the Doctors make it paſs for common; tho' Reaſon, and even Experience, are manifeſtly againſt it. For the *Theſis* that ſays, that the Election of the Chapter makes the Archbiſhop, and that the Inveſtiture makes the Prince Elector, is falſe, and directly contrary to the Diſpoſition of the *Golden Bull*, which ſays, That the Electoral Dignity of the Eccleſiaſticks is annex'd to the Archbiſhopricks of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*; from whence it follows, that the *Elect* cannot be Elector, unleſs he be Archbiſhop, and that he cannot be Archbiſhop but he muſt be both Prince and Elector at the ſame Time; becauſe they are inſeparable Qualities in thoſe three Eccleſiaſtical Electors; who aſſiſt at the Elections not only as Princes, but alſo as Prelates, to whom the Electoral Dignity is ſo appropriated, that it cannot be communicated to Seculars, whoſe Number is regulated and fix'd, as well as that of the Eccleſiaſticks.

We know very well that it is the Conſecration that properly makes the Biſhop or the Archbiſhop; but this is what no regard is had to in *Germany*, where it is ſufficient to have been elected by the Chapter, confirm'd by the Pope, inveſted of the Temporal by the Emperor, and to have the Adminiſtration of the Archbiſhoprick, to be Archbiſhop, and to be able to diſcharge the Functions thereof; altho' the Pope's Confirmatioh be not altogether ſo neceſſary, but that the *Elect* may without it diſcharge all the Electoral Functions; as we ſhall ſee in the Examples we ſhall produce anon, when we ſhall have prov'd that the *Elect* by the Chapter may aſſiſt at the Elections, even before he has receiv'd the Inveſtiture from the Emperor, that is to ſay, before he has taken the Oath of Fidelity for his Temporals. The Reaſon is, that the Election gives to the Elect, what the Entrance on an Inheritance gives the Heir, where the Dead gives Seiſin to the Living, and where after the Death of a Secular Elector, his Son, his Brother, or other neareſt Relation by the Father, ſucceeds by virtue of the Law, and by reaſon of the Inveſtiture he has receiv'd in the Perſon of the firſt Acquirer: So that the Succeſſor being Elector, as ſoon as he takes Poſſeſſion of the Principality, from which the Secular Electoral Dignity is inſeparable, it follows neceſſarily that the Elect by the Chapter is Elector as ſoon as he is in Poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick, from which the Eccleſiaſtical Electoral Dignity is alſo inſeparable. Beſides, ſince even according to the Canon Law, the Elect has the Adminiſtration of the Temporals, and the Enjoyment of the Fruits, by the ſole Virtue of the Election, before the Pope's Confirmation, and even before the Inveſtiture; he has alſo the Right of giving his Vote at the Elections, which is one of the principal Effects of the Adminiſtration, and one of the firſt Prerogatives and Preeminencies of the Archiepiſcopal Dignity. For without that there would enſue ſuch Inconveniences as it would be impoſſible to remedy: particularly if it happen'd that the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſhould dye, after the Emperor's Deceaſe, and before he had ſummon'd the Electors his Collegues to the future Election: In which Caſe, if it was neceſſary that he who ſhould be choſen during the *Interregnum*, ſhould receive the Inveſtiture before he could do any of the Electoral Functions, there could be no Election; ſince the Vicars cannot give the Inveſtitures of this nature during the *Interregnum*, and ſo the Ordinance which the *Golden Bull* has made concerning the Election, could not be executed in any one ſingle Point. The Electors might indeed meet without the Convocation of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, but the ſame Archbiſhop could not be ſummon'd to the Election; which however he might cauſe to be declar'd vicious, for his being neglected: and the whole Order of the Election would be overthrown, ſince there would be no body to tender the Oath to the other Electors, to take their Votes, and to pronounce the Decree of the Election; becauſe the Law gives theſe Functions to the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to the Excluſion of the other two Eccleſiaſtical Electors, who are not authoriz'd by the Law for that purpoſe. And it ſignifies nothing to ſay, that the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, in taking the Oath at the beginning of the Election, are oblig'd to keep to the Form which is preſcrib'd them in the *Golden Bull*, and to ſwear *by the Oath they have taken to the Empire*; and that they take no Oath to the Emperor, but when they receive the Inveſtiture of their Temporals, and therefore that they muſt have taken it, before they can be admitted to the Election. For beſides that we can deſtroy the Force of ſuch Reaſoning, and ſhew that it makes entirely for us, becauſe the ſecular Electors are oblig'd to take the ſame Oath,

in the ſame Terms; and yet notwithſtanding that, it is certain they can aſſiſt at the Election before they have receiv'd the Inveſtiture of their Fiefs, as we ſhall ſee in the following Chapter; we ſay that the Word Oath, in the *Golden Bull*, is taken in a very extenſive Signification, for the Duty and Obligation which all the Subjects owe to the Empire; otherwiſe this Form of Speech, *I ſwear by the Oath*, would be altogether incongruous and impertinent.

To which we muſt add, That if the Archbiſhops, who have been elected by the Chapter, can do the Functions of Prince before the Inveſtiture, they may alſo do thoſe of Prince Elector. Now it is indubitable, that the Archbiſhops of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, aſſiſt at the General Diets of the Empire, in the ſame Quality that gives them Admittance into the Collegiate Diets, and even to the Elections themſelves. They there hold the Rank of Princes Electors, and as ſuch aſſiſt at the Deliberations which the Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, have amongſt themſelves. It was in this Quality that *Daniel Brendel* of *Hamburgh*, who was elected Archbiſhop of *Mayence* on *April* 18, 1555, aſſiſted the ſame Year at the Diet of *Augsburg*, and at all the Deliberations of the other Electors, before he had taken the Oath of Fidelity, and receiv'd the Inveſtiture from the Emperor. *Jacob d'Els* was elected Archbiſhop of *Triers* in the Month of *April*, 1567, and yet he was preſent the ſame Year at the Diet of *Ratisbone*, in the Quality of Elector, altho' he had not as yet obtain'd the Inveſtiture from the Emperor. But let us come to the Elections. The Emperor *Ferdinand* I. finding himſelf in Years, and being willing to ſecure the Imperial Dignity to his Houſe, reſolv'd to cauſe his Son *Maximilian* to be choſen King of the *Romans*, about the latter end of the Year 1562, in which *John Gebhard* of *Mantſfeld*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Cologn*, dying on *November* 2, the Emperor ſent Orders to the Chapter, to proceed to the Nomination of another Archbiſhop, to the end that might not retard the Election of his Son. The Chapter did ſo, and elected *Frederick* Count of *Weda*, who aſſiſted at the Election of *Maximilian* II, tho' he had neither the Pope's Confirmation, nor the Inveſtiture from the Emperor. The Emperor *Rodolphus* II. dy'd *February* 10, 1612, and during the *Interregnum*, to wit, on the 17th of the ſame Month, dy'd alſo *Erneſt* of *Bavaria*, Elector of *Cologn*. *Ferdinand* his Nephew ſucceeded him on *March* 12; ſo that the Empire being vacant, he could not receive the Inveſtiture: Yet nevertheleſs he aſſiſted at the Election of the Emperor *Matthias*, which was perform'd on *June* 13, of the ſame Year. Moreover, the ſame *Ferdinand*, who enjoy'd together with the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*, the Biſhopricks of *Liege*, *Munſter*, *Hildeſheim*, and *Paderborn*, till *September* 13, 1650, never ſo much as went about getting himſelf conſecrated; and has made it plain by his Example, That to be Elector, the ſole Poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick is ſufficient; and that the Conſecration, and the Inveſtiture, are not at all neceſſary thereto.

* The Emperor *Charles* IV, who during the whole Time of his Reign labour'd only to ruin the Empire, inſomuch that *Maximilian* I, making Reflection on the Havock and Waſte which was committed in his Time, even to the Ruin of ſome of the beſt Provinces, and of the principal Rights of the Empire, was us'd to ſay, That *Charles* had ruin'd it to enrich his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and that the Empire of *Germany*, ſince its firſt Foundation, had not had a more dangerous Prince than he. The ſame *Charles* (I ſay) who reduc'd the Empire into the State we ſee it in at this Day, had nevertheleſs the Vanity to ſurround the Emperor's Throne, with a Splendor which dazl'd the Eyes of thoſe who can be amus'd with an Exterior; and took Delight in being attended by Princes, who not only on the Score of their Birth, but alſo in Conſideration of the Electoral Dignity, ſhew ſomething more auguſt and great, than what is ſeen in all the other Courts of *Europe*. And that nothing might be wanting to this apparent Grandeur of the Emperor, he was not contented to give him for Officers all the ſecular Electors, but he likewiſe gave him Great Chancellors, whoſe Functions he diſtributed through *Germany*, *Italy*, and the *Gauls*; as if he had ſtill poſſeſs'd that vaſt Power which the Emperor *Charlemagne* had ſeen reunited in his own Perſon.

It would be of no Utility to treat here of the Origin of the Word, after what has been ſaid thereof by ſo many learned Men, and particularly by *Spelman* in his *Archæology*; and it is impoſſible to find out in Hiſtory the Beginning of this Dignity of Arch-Chancellor, and at what Time it was appropriated to the Sees of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*; at leaſt if we pretend to go beyond the Publication of the *Golden Bull*.

It is certain that the Archbiſhops of *Mayence* have taken the Quality of *Apocriſiarius*, of *Capellanus*, of *Cuſtos Palatii*, of *Archi-Capellanus*, of *Referendarius*, and of *Archi-Cancellarius*, long before the *Golden Bull* had regulated the Number, Dignity, and Functions of the Electors: As for inſtance, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, under the Emperor *Otho* I; *Willigiſe* under *Otho* III, and under *Henry* II. his Succeſſor; *Aribon* under the ſame *Henry*, and *Conrade* II; *Bardo* under the ſame *Conrade*, and under *Henry* III; *Luitpold* and *Sigfrid* under *Henry* IV; *Aldebert* I. under *Lotharius* II; and *Aldebert* II. under *Conrade* III; and *Henry* under the ſame *Conrade* III, and under *Frederick* I; and we might inſtance in a great many others, if it were neceſſary to enlarge upon this Subject. But we ſay, That it will not appear that the Archbiſhops of *Mayence* have taken the Quality of Great Chancellor of the Empire of *Germany*, excluſively of the other Parts of the Empire; or that their Functions were ſo annex'd to *Germany*, but that they alſo diſcharg'd their Office in *Italy* and elſewhere, when they were there in the Emperor's Retinue; nor that the Archbiſhops of *Triers* and of *Cologn* have taken the Quality of Great Chancellors of the *Gauls* and of *Italy*, except when they were perſonally preſent with the Emperor in *Burgundy*, or in *Italy*. On the contrary, the Archbiſhops of *Mayence* have taken the Quality of Great Chan-

* *The Offices of the Crown of the Empire, are ſo many Proofs of the Vanity of the Emperor* Charles IV.

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cellor ſimply, without limiting the Office to the Affairs of *Germany*, ſooner than to thoſe of *Italy*. And the Reaſon thereof is evident: For the Empire being hereditary and monarchical under *Charlemagne*, and indeed, in ſome Meaſure, under the Emperors of the Houſe of *Saxony*, and of *Suabia*; they were rather Chancellors of the Emperor than of the Empire: Whereas at this Day they are Chancellors of the Empire, and would not like to be call'd Chancellors of the Emperor; and for Proof thereof, *Hildebert* and *Bruno* Archbiſhops of *Cologn* have taken that Quality under *Charlemagne*, and under *Otho* I; *Heliſachar*, Abbot of *Jumieges*, under *Lewis the Debonnaire*; *Agilmar* Biſhop of *Vienna*, and *Hilduin* Abbot of St. *Denis*, under *Lotharius* I; *Luitard* Biſhop of *Verceil*, under *Charles the Groſs*, &c.

It is true alſo, that under the Emperor *Frederick* I, who often paſs'd the *Alpes*, on the Account of the Rebellion of the Towns in *Lombardy*, the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, who was with him, diſcharg'd the Office of Chancellor, even with ſome particular Propriety to the Affairs of *Italy*. But we dare not ſay that theſe Dignities were appropriated to the Archiepiſcopal Sees of *Mayence* and of *Cologn*, and ſtill leſs to that of *Triers*; ſince there is not to be found any one Act before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, where the Archbiſhop of *Triers* has ſign'd in the Quality of Great Chancellor, except the Inſcription of the Letter which the Archbiſhops of *Mayence*, of *Triers*, and of *Cologn*, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Saxony*, wrote to Pope *Bennet* XII, in the Time of the Emperor *Lewis* IV, where *Baldwin* Archbiſhop of *Triers* takes the Quality of Chancellor of the *Gauls*; which is very much ſuſpected: On the contrary, there are ſeveral where the Archbiſhops of *Vienna* have ſign'd in the Quality of Arch-Chancellors of the Kingdom of *Burgundy*. We ſhall hereafter ſpeak of the Functions of the Office of Arch-Chancellor, when we ſhall treat of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, who is he that at this Day diſcharges alone the Office of Great Chancellor, ſince the Empire is confin'd within the Bounds of *Germany*. We ſhall likewiſe have Occaſion to ſpeak of the Rank which the *Golden Bull* gives to the Eccleſiaſticks, and of the Function they diſcharge at the Ceremonies, when we ſhall treat of the Election and Coronation of the Emperor.

We have ſaid heretofore, when we ſpoke of the Dignity and Rights of the Electors, that the King, in Conſideration of the Advantages they have over all the other Princes of the Empire, was willing to diſtinguiſh them, and give them the Style of Brothers. The King has not yet done that Honour to the Elector of *Saxony*, for the Reaſons we ſhall elſewhere relate; but he does not do it at all, neither is there any likelihood that he ever will do it, to the Electors of *Mayence* and of *Triers*, who are not Princes by Birth; becauſe, for almoſt theſe hundred Years, theſe two Chapters do not admit of Princes, and by that Means lopp off from the Princes the Hope of attaining to a Dignity, which, next to the Emperor's, is the firſt in *Germany*; contenting themſelves with calling thereto Gentlemen, who can account for four Deſcents. This is the Reaſon why the Emperor, in writing to them, treats them with ſome ſort of Superiority, by giving them the Quality of Nephew inſtead of that of Unkle, which he gives to the ſecular Electors, or to thoſe among the Eccleſiaſticks, who are Princes by Birth. The ſame Difference is to be remark'd in the Letters which the ſecular Electors write to thoſe of *Mayence*, and of *Triers*. For whereas in writing to the ſecular Princes, or to the Eccleſiaſticks when they are born Princes, they give them the Quality of *Moſt Serene*, and ſtyle them *Couſins* and *Brothers*, they give the others only that of *Moſt Reverend*, and the Style of *Moſt dear and good Friend*. And ſo far are the Eccleſiaſtical Electors from being offended thereat, that they even ſuffer their Inferiors and Subjects to give them the Style of *Electoral Clemency* or *Grace*, † whereas the others do not allow any other Style to be given them than that of *Moſt Serene Highneſs*: Where we muſt obſerve, that this Quality of *Grace* and of *Clemency* is given in *Germany* to every Count, and even to ſome Barons, eſpecially when they are immediate Subjects of the Empire. It is true that Pope *Urban* VIII, in ordaining, in the Year 1628, That the Cardinals ſhould inſiſt upon the Title of *Eminence*, would have it be in common to them with the Eccleſiaſtical Princes Electors, and with the Great Maſter of the Order of *Malta*. But as at that Time the Cardinals of *Savoy* and of *Lorrain* continu'd to claim the Title of *Highneſs*; ſo the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, when they are Princes by Birth, do not ſuffer the Title of *Eminence* to be given them, but inſiſt upon that of *Moſt Serene Highneſs*: And the Proteſtant Electors, who have no great Deference to the Pope's Regulations, ſtill give to the others the ſame Titles which were given them before the Bull of *Urban* VIII. However this Cuſtom of admitting in the Chapter, none but Gentlemen of four Deſcents, is not ſo ancient, but that, ſince the Inſtitution of that Archbiſhoprick, Perſons of very mean Condition have been rais'd thereto. *Peter d'Aichſpad* was Phyſician to *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, before he was Emperor, and was born at *Triers* of very poor Parents. *Henry Gurtelknop* was the Son of a Baker of *Iſne* in *Suabia*, and was taken out of the Convent of the *Cordeliers* to be made Biſhop of *Baſil*, from whence he was call'd to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mayence*. And *Willigiſe*, Chancellor to the Emperors *Otho* III. and *Henry* II, and Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, was the Son of a Cartwright in the Village of *Schoningen*, in the Countrey of *Brunſwick*. An Example which we inſtance in, on purpoſe to make known to Poſterity the Modeſty with which this Prelate liv'd, in ſo elevated a Fortune, wherein he made the Meanneſs of his Extraction to be conſtantly before his Eyes, by the Wheels he caus'd to be painted in the Windows, and in ſo many other Places, that they gave a Beginning to the Arms of the Archbiſhoprick of *Mayence*: Which ſhews that at that Time Merit was ſtill rewarded, with what is now ap-

† *It is after this manner that Queen* Margaret *made uſe of the* German *Word* Gnade, *when ſhe ſpeaks in her Memoirs of the Biſhop of* Liege.

propriated to Birth: tho' otherwiſe there is Reaſon to wonder, that for ſo many Ages there have hardly been ſeven or eight Princes, who have ſought after this high Dignity.

* The Archbiſhop of *Mayence* is not only the firſt of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, but he is as it were Dean of the whole Electoral College. It is in this Quality, and as Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Germany*, that he takes place of all the other Electors his Collegues, that he ſummons them to the Electoral Diet; that he gives them the Oath; that he takes their Votes, and that he pronounces the Decree of the Election: which Advantages have oblig'd *Sleidan* to call him the *perpetual Conſul* of the Electors. When we ſay that he precedes all the other Electors his Collegues, we do not pretend to ſpeak of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, who almoſt always has a Place out of Rank; nor of the Elector of *Cologn*, to whom the *Golden Bull* gives the Precedency within his Dioceſe, and within the whole Extent of his *Archicancellariate*; in what nevertheleſs cannot be comprehended, the Biſhopricks which the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* poſſeſſes out of his Metropolitan.

That of *Mayence* formerly made a part of the Archbiſhoprick of *Triers*, from which the Pope *Zachary* ſeparated it, to erect it into a Metropolitan about the Year 748, in favour of *Boniface*, who is commonly call'd the Apoſtle of *Germany*, or rather of *Friſe*. The Letters the Pope writes him on this Subject, give him but five *Suffragans*; to wit *Tongres*, or *Liege*, *Cologn*, *Worms*, *Spire* and *Utrecht*: but it is certain that his Metropolitan extended its Juriſdiction over all the Churches of *Germany* on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, where at that time there was no Biſhoprick, becauſe it was ſtill in a manner all *Pagan*: but the two following Centuries have ſo peopl'd it with *Chriſtians*, that *Charlemagne*, and the Emperors his Succeſſors, were oblig'd to found ſeveral other Biſhopricks, which have for the moſt part been ſubjected to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mayence*: ſo that he has at this Day for † Suffragans the Biſhops of *Wurtzburg*, of *Worms*, of *Spires*, of *Strasburg*, of *Augsburg*, of *Coire*, of *Aichſtad*, of *Conſtance*, of *Hildeſheim*, of *Verden*, of *Paderborn*, and of *Halberſtad*.

‡ As for the Rights, Privileges and Preeminencies, that are peculiar to the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, we have already touch'd upon ſome of them, and ſhall ſpeak more amply thereof when we treat of the Election of the Emperor; where we ſhall ſee; *Firſt*, That it is he alone that has a Right to convene the Electors his Collegues for the Election; and to appoint the Day for the opening of the Electoral Diet. *Secondly*, He tenders the Oath to the other Electors. *Thirdly*, He takes the Votes, and votes laſt himſelf. *Fourthly*, He pronounces the Decree of the Election. *Fifthly*, It is his Right to crown the Emperor, when the Ceremonies are perform'd any where elſe than in the Metropolitan of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, as it was judg'd in his Favour in the Year 1653, at the Coronation of the King of the *Romans* who dy'd laſt. *Sixthly*, As Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Germany*, he is Keeper of the Seals of the Empire, and Warden and Depoſitary of all the Acts, Archives, Charters, and even of the Regiſter or Matricular Book of the Empire. It is in this Quality that he counterſigns all the Reſolutions that are taken at the Diets, or General Aſſemblies, and all the Acts that are publiſh'd in the Name of the Empire. But foraſmuch as he cannot be perſonally preſent at all that is done at the Emperor's Court, he allows the Emperor's Chancellor to ſign the Acts in his Abſence, in the Quality of Vice Chancellor, and as Vicar to the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, between whoſe Hands the ſaid Vice Chancellor is oblig'd to take the Oath of Fidelity which he owes to the Empire, and even to the Archbiſhop, who in writing to him ſtyles him *Truſty*. *Seventhly*, It is to the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* that the Embaſſadors and Deputies, which the Electors, the Princes, and the other Eſtates of the Empire, ſend to the Diets and General Aſſemblies, are oblig'd to addreſs themſelves, and to communicate their Powers and Credentials, to have them regiſter'd. In like manner, when the ſame Deputies have a mind to leave the Place of the Aſſembly before the States break up, they are oblig'd to ask his Leave. It is alſo before him, and in the Chancery of *Mayence*, that all Summonſes, Proteſtations, and all the other important Acts of the Empire are executed. *Eighthly*, It is of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, that Reviſals of the Cauſes judg'd by the Chamber of *Spires* muſt be demanded; unleſs they are demanded againſt Judgments given by the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, or that the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf demands them, or that he has otherwiſe an Intereſt in the Affair: in which Caſes Application is made to the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, who cauſes the Civil Requeſt to be diſpatch'd. *Ninthly*, Formerly the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* enjoy'd the Right which the *Golden Bull* gives to all the Electors, to judge and determin in *dernier Reſort*; with a Prohibition to all their Subjects, of what Condition or Quality ſoever, to appeal from their Sentences, either definitive or interlocutory; except in the Caſe of denial of Juſtice: but he does not enjoy that Privilege now, no more than the three Electors his Neighbours: and at this Day his Subjects appeal to the Chamber of *Spire*, if the principal Sum exceeds four hundred Florins, which make eight hundred Livres, *French* Money. *Tenthly*, It is certain that formerly the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* had the Right of crowning the King of *Bohemia*. * *Trithemius* and *Bruckſius* ſay, That it was *Henry* of *Virneuburg*, who ſucceeded in the Archbiſhoprick of *Mayence* in the Year 1328, that ſold that Right to the Church of *Prague*: but *Albertus Argentinenſis*, ſays, with a greater Appearance of Truth, That the Emperor *Charles* IV, when he erected the See of *Prague* into an Archbiſhoprick, annex'd thereto the Right of crowning the King of *Bohemia*.

† We muſt here add, That the Cathedral Church of *Mayence* has forty two Canons, comprehending in that Number the Prevoſt, the Dean, the Great Warden, the Scholaſtick and the Chaunter, of whom Four and Twenty

* *The Elector of* Mayence. † *The Suffragans of the Archbiſhops of* Mentz. ‡ *His Rights and Preeminences.*

compoſe what we call the Chapter, and have the Right of chuſing an Archbiſhop, and of giving a Prince Elector to the Empire, to the Excluſion of the other Eighteen, who are admitted into the Chapter, by the Death or Reſignation of one of the Capitularies, and that not according to the Order of their Reception, but by the Election of the Chapter.

The Electoral and Archiepiſcopal Dignity of *Mayence*, is at this Day poſſeſs'd by the Right Reverend *John Philip* of *Schonborn*; who having ſucceeded in the Biſhoprick of *Wurtzburg* to *Francis* of *Hatsfeldt*, who dy'd *July* 30, 1647, was elected Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, on *November* 19, 1642, after the Death of *Anſelm Caſimir Wambolt* of *Umbſtadt*, who had ſucceeded therein in the Year 1629. It might be ſaid of this Prince, as well as of the two other Eccleſiaſticks his Collegues, what is ſaid of moſt Prelates, to wit, That they are for enjoying their Benefices, and that they make no other uſe thereof, than for the Grandeur of their Houſe. But we know that we do not ſpeak here of an ordinary Man. He is a Prince who might very well expect from the eminent Qualities he poſſeſſes, the Rank his Dignity gives him in the Electoral College. He form'd himſelf on the great Examples of his Predeceſſors, and particularly on that of the Great *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, whoſe Memory is ſtill in Veneration in *Germany*, for having preſerv'd the Empire againſt the Diſorders with which it was threatend during the *Interregnum* after the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian* I. He is one of the wiſeſt Princes of his Time, and loves his Countrey; wherefore we muſt believe that all his Counſels will tend to the Preſervation of the Tranquillity of the Empire, and conſequently to the Execution of the Treaty of *Munſter*; tho' one may ſay, That at his Election, the Chapter did not leſs conſider the good Diſpoſition the King had for him, than the extraordinary Merit which entitl'd him to this high Dignity: and therefore that he will acknowledge the Obligations he has to *France*, eſpecially while ſhe continues to cooperate to the ſtrengthening of the Peace of *Germany*.

‡ The Archbiſhop of *Triers* precedes the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, on account of the Antiquity of his Church, which is ſaid to have been founded a few Years after the Death of our Saviour; tho' *Sulpitius Severus* ſays, That it was very late before *Chriſtianity* made any Progreſs on this ſide the *Alpes:* which hinders us from taking any notice of what has been written of its firſt Biſhops. But we ſay, That the City of *Triers*, which * *Ammian Marcellinus* calls the Habitation of Princes, and † *Solinus*, the largeſt of all the Cities on this ſide the *Alpes*, was very conſiderable in the third and fourth Century, its Dioceſe extending it ſelf over all the firſt and ſecond *Belgia*, and over all the firſt and ſecond *Germany*; theſe two laſt Provinces having remain'd under the ſpiritual Juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, till the Pope *Zachary* lopp'd from it in the eighth Century, the Cities of *Mayence*, *Cologn*, *Liege* and *Utrecht* in the ſecond *Germany*; and thoſe of *Strasburg*, *Worms* and *Spires* in the firſt, in favour of *Bonifacius*, and of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* his Succeſſors, as we ſaid before; at this Day it has only ‡ three Suffragans, which are the Biſhops of *Metz*, of *Toul* and of *Verdun*, all three Subjects to the King. So that the firſt Church of all *Germany*, which as the Mother of all the reſt, was ſirnam'd the ſecond *Rome*, and had procur'd to its Archbiſhop the Sirname of Heir to Saint *Peter*; ſees it ſelf at this Day, as it were barren and forſaken; and the leaſt of all the Metropolitans of *Germany*.

* The Archbiſhop of *Triers* does however poſſeſs, as to his own particular, ſeveral fine Rights and great Advantages, beſides thoſe which he has in common with the other Electors his Collegues. He is Great Chancellor of the Empire among the *Gauls*, and in the Kingdom of *Arles:* but foraſmuch as we have ſpoken of this Quality before, we ſhall not trifle away our our Time to examin, whether his Arch-Chancellorſhip extends it ſelf over all the *Gauls*, or only over the Kingdom of *Arles*; which formerly comprehended *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, *Savoy*, the County of *Burgundy* and the *Switzers:* and we ſhall content our ſelves to ſay, That the Archbiſhop of *Triers* has only the bare Name thereof, without any Functions; ſince his Office cannot be executed in a Countrey where the Empire of *Germany* is not at all acknowledg'd. 2. What he enjoys effectually, is the Honour to vote firſt in the Elections, purſuant to the expreſs Directions of the *Golden Bull*, which ſays, firſt he (to wit, the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*) ſhall ask the Opinion of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, who ſhall vote firſt. 3. It is he that takes the Vote of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, after all the others: And, 4. that tenders him the Oath, which the Electors are oblig'd to take before the Election. 5. He is ſeated out of Rank, and right againſt the Emperor, in all the Aſſemblies, as well Electoral as General, without any Diſtinction of Places, and without any Pretenſion of Claim to any other Seat, even in his own Metropolitan, or within the Extent of his Chancery, if it ſhould happen that any Aſſemblies ſhould be held there. 6. He can of his own Authority proſcribe, and put into the Ban of the Empire thoſe he has excommunicated, and who do not reconcile themſelves within a Year after the Excommunication has been publiſh'd: and this Proſcription has the ſame Force as if it had been made by the Chamber of *Spires*, or by the States of the Empire. 7. He can take into his own Hands, and reunite to the *Demeſne* of his Church, all the Fiefs ſituated in his Dioceſe, and that hold of the Empire, for default of Homage within the Time limited by the Ordinances. 8. All the Fiefs that hold of the See of *Triers* return to the ſame, by the ſame Means by which the Imperial Fiefs return to the Empire, and particularly for want of Iſſue Male; unleſs the Heirs can produce Proofs of their Privilege. 9. But the moſt illuſtrious of all the Advantages the Archbiſhop of *Triers* poſſeſſes, is that of the *Guard-Noble*, whereby he has the Wardſhip of all the Minors of his Metropolitan, which neither the other Electors, nor even the Emperor himſelf can pretend over their Subjects.

‡ *The Elector of* Triers. * Lib. 15. † Lib. 3. ‡ *His Suffragans.* * *His Rights.*

He that at this Day is in Poſſeſſion of the Electoral and Archiepiſcopal Dignity of *Triers* is call'd *Charles Gaſper* of *Leyen*, who is a Gentleman of the Countrey, and was choſen the after the Death of *Philip Chriſtopher* of *Soteren*, who had ſucceeded in this Dignity to *Lotharius* of *Metternich*, who dy'd *September* 7, 1623.

The Elector of *Triers* has ſome Intereſt in *France*, as well becauſe his three Suffragans, to wit, the Biſhops of *Mets*, *Toul* and *Verdun* are Subjects to the King, as becauſe he is a near Neighbour of it, and that being Chancellor of the Empire among the *Gauls*, he would be in great Conſideration, and would have great Advantages over his Collegues, if the King ſhould be call'd to the Empire. *Richard* of *Griſſenelau*, Archbiſhop of *Triers*, was very much conſider'd during the *Interregnum* after the Death of *Maximilian* I. But he ſpoke againſt the Election of *Charles* V, and for that of *Francis* I, with ſo much Vigour, that his Paſſion weaken'd the Force of his Reaſoning, and made him be ſuſpected to have been corrupted by *French* Money. Yet nevertheleſs, if his Courage had been ſeconded by thoſe who had engag'd their Words to King *Francis* I, *France* had without doubt had a good Share in that Election; at leaſt it would have prevail'd ſo far as to have had *Charles* excluded, which was what the King endeavour'd, more than to procure the Election of his own Perſon. The Elector who dy'd laſt ſacrific'd himſelf wholly to the Indignation of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, for having ſought the Protection of *France*, at a Time when that of the Emperor would not only have been of no Utility to him, but alſo very prejudicial. He was already diſſatisfy'd, becauſe in the Year 1625, the Emperor had eſpous'd the Intereſt of the Abbot of St. *Maximin* againſt him, when *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, enter'd into *Germany* in the Year 1630. The Elector ſeeing that that Prince had paſs'd through *Germany* like Lightning, and had treated as declar'd Enemies thoſe who did not declare themſelves, was forc'd to take a Side. The Emperor was too remote, too weak, and too much involv'd, to be able to ſuccour him againſt a powerful and victorious Enemy, who was near at hand; and the Elector not caring to declare for a Prince of a contrary Religion, caſt himſelf into the Arms of the late King, and put himſelf under the Protection of *France*. This Prelate was very much conſider'd, as well on the account of the Rank he held in the Electoral College and in the Empire, as of the Fortreſſes of *Hermſtein* and of *Philipsburg*, which are Places of very great Importance on the *Rhine*: But the Chapter being compos'd moſtly of Partiſans of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, hinder'd him from acting according to his good Intentions; which oblig'd the King to command the Count of *Suza* and *M. d'Arpajou* to ſecure the City of *Triers*. The *Spaniards* diſſembl'd this Affront till after the firſt Advantage which they obtain'd in the firſt Battel of *Norlingnen*, they thought they might declare themſelves, and ſeize the City of *Triers*, which the Count *d'Embden* ſurpriz'd *March* 26, 1635, and made the Elector Priſoner.

The Reſentment *France* ſhew'd hereupon, in taking from thence occaſion to declare War againſt the King of *Spain*, might prevail with his Succeſſor to follow his Example, rather than the Neceſſity he is thought under, of taking a Side on the Score of *Philipsburgh*, or the Hopes it is ſaid might be given him of the Reſtitution of that important Place; ſince it does not belong to him, but to the Demeſne of the Biſhoprick of *Spires*, which the laſt Elector poſſeſs'd, together with the Archbiſhoprick of *Triers*; but ſince his Death the Chapter of *Spires* has choſen *Lotharius Frederick* of *Metternich*, who enjoys at preſent the Propriety of the Place, and the Revenue of the Demeſne of *Philipsburgh*, in execution of the Treaty of *Munſter*; which Article however imports no more, than that the King ſhall not pretend to any thing elſe than to the Protection and Lodgment of his Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Philipſburgh*; but that the Propriety of the Place, with all its Juriſdiction and Poſſeſſion, together with all the Emoluments, Fruits, Acquiſitions, *&c.* ſhall belong, and ſhall be preſerv'd to the Chapter of *Spires*.

There is great Likelihood that he will act in Concert with the two other Eccleſiaſtical Electors in the next Election; or at leaſt that he will not come to a Rupture with thoſe two Princes, who are his Neighbours, and beyond Compariſon more powerful than himſelf. He has a great deal of Deference to the Elector of *Mayence*, who is his Relation: and he treats him with ſome kind of Reſpect, on the account of the high Reputation that Prelate has procur'd himſelf in the Empire. He has not leſs for that of *Cologn*, as well on the ſcore of his Birth, as becauſe he is Couſin German to the Elector of *Bavaria*, with whom he has a common Intereſt.

* The Archbiſhop of *Cologn* has his Place on the Emperor's left hand; and ſo he yields Precedency to that of *Mayence* every where but in his Metropolitan, and within the Extent of his Chancery. He gives place alſo in ſome reſpect to the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, who has his Seat out of Rank, as we ſaid before. The Archiepiſcopal See of *Cologn* depended formerly on the Archbiſhoprick of *Triers*, and afterwards on that of *Mayence:* but the Chriſtian Religion making great Progreſſes under *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, it was requiſite to found every Day new Biſhopricks, and to augment the Number of the Metropolitans. The Archbiſhop of *Cologn* is without doubt the moſt ancient of all *Germany*, after thoſe of *Triers* and *Mayence*; and his Church is ſo rich, eſpecially ſince it has join'd to its Demeſne the Dutchies of *Weſtphalia* and *Angaria*, which were confiſcated from *Henry the Lyon* Duke of *Saxony* and of *Bavaria*, in the Time of the Emperor *Frederick* I, that its Prelates had no great Difficulty to preſerve to it the Right of Election, and to make it be compris'd in the Number of the Electors, regulated by the *Golden Bull*. † This Church has this Peculiar to it ſelf, that it admits into its Chapter Princes by Birth, and even eight Doctors in Divinity, and the Canon Law; with this Difference however, that the Chapter which has a Right to chuſe the Arch-

* *The Elector of* Cologn.

† *The Chapter of* Cologn *is compos'd of* 50 *Canons.*

biſhop

biſhop, and is compos'd of five and twenty Canons, whom they call Capitularies, does not admit of any ignoble Perſons; but theſe eight Graduates are Supernumeraries, and do not make a part of the Number of the other five and twenty Canons, out of which as of a Seminary, they take thoſe that are to fill up the vacant Places of the Chapter. There are at this Day among the Canons, beſides *Francis* of *Lorrain* Biſhop of *Verdun*, who is Dean of the Chapter, two Princes of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, two of *Florence*, one of the Houſe of *Heſſe*, one of that of *Baden*, one of that of *Bavaria*, two of the Houſe of *Naſſau*, and one Prince of *Arnberg*: But the Capitularies who would willingly follow the Example of thoſe of *Mayence* and of *Triers*, or at leaſt communicate this high Dignity to Counts, do not willingly fill the vacant Places with Perſons of that Condition.

‡ The Suffragans of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* are the Biſhops of *Munſter*, of *Liege*, of *Minden*, and of *Osnaburg*. The Biſhop of *Utrecht* who was the fifth, was taken from it, and his See erected into an Archbiſhoprick in the Year 1559, at the Inſtance of *Philip* II, King of *Spain*. The Biſhoprick of *Minden* was converted into a Temporal Principality by the Treaty of *Munſter*, and makes part of the Equivalent which was given to the Elector of *Brandenburg*, in recompence for that part of *Pomerania* which was yielded to the Crown of *Sweden*. The ſame Treaty of *Munſter*, by making the Biſhoprick of *Oſnaburg* alternative between a Catholick Prelate, and one of the Princes of the Houſe of *Brunſwick Lunenburg*, who are Proteſtants as well as moſt of the Inhabitants, withdraws it in ſome meaſure from the Metropolitan of *Cologn*, which therefore at this Day has only two Suffragans, to wit, *Liege* and *Munſter*.

* 1. The Elector of *Cologn* is Arch-Chancellor of the Empire in *Italy*, but without any Function, as well as that of *Triers*. For altho' there are Principalities in *Italy* which ſtill acknowledge the Empire, yet they are govern'd by Lords who have the Quality of Vicars perpetual, who within their own Juriſdiction do what the Emperor could do; or elſe the Diſpatches are made at the Emperor's Court by the Vice-Chancellor, who does the Office of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*; and it is for this reaſon that the Archives which concern *Italy* are alſo kept by the ſaid Archbiſhop in his Chancery, with the other Deeds of the Empire of *Germany*. 2. He precedes the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* within the whole Extent of his Metropolitan, as alſo in *Italy* and among the *Gauls*, where he takes his Place on the Right Hand of the Emperor, leaving the Left to the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, according to the Direction of the *Golden Bull*: Which 3. aſſigns him likewiſe the ſecond Vote in the Electoral College, and requires he ſhould vote immediately after the Archbiſhop of *Triers*. 4. The ſame *Golden Bull* ſays, Chap. 4. §. 3. That the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* has the Office and Right to crown the King of the *Romans*. Where we muſt obſerve that it does not give him that Right, but only ſays that he has it: Tho' it is certain that formerly, and down to the Emperor *Henry* III, almoſt all the Emperors were crown'd by the Archbiſhops of *Mayence*. There is an illuſtrious Example thereof at the Coronation of *Otho* I; where the two Archbiſhops of *Triers* and of *Cologn* enter'd into a Conteſtation concerning this Right. The firſt pretended to it on the Score of the Antiquity of his Church; and the other, becauſe the Ceremonies were perform'd in his Dioceſe: but they both yielded it to *Hildebert* Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, who diſcharg'd that Function, notwithſtanding it was in the Dioceſe of another. Moſt of the following Emperors have been crown'd at *Aix la Chapelle*, where the Archbiſhops of *Cologn* would not ſuffer their Juriſdiction to be encroach'd upon: So that we muſt not wonder that the *Golden Bull* ſpeaks thereof as of a Right appropriated to the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*: but the Explanation that has been given to the Law, ſince the Coronation of the King of the *Romans* who dy'd laſt, makes it plain that it is his Right only when the Coronation is perform'd in his Dioceſe. The Coronations of *Matthias*, of *Ferdinand* II, and of *Ferdinand* III, were perform'd by the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, without any Oppoſition on the part of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*; but beſides that the Cities of *Francfort* and of *Ratisbone* were pitch'd upon for that purpoſe, which Cities do not belong to the Metropolitan of *Cologn*; the Archbiſhop was not *in Sacris*; and by Conſequence was not in a Condition to give the Emperor that Unction which he had not himſelf. This was the main Reaſon the Elector of *Cologn* alledg'd, together with the Text of the *Golden Bull*, for the Juſtification of his Right, at the laſt Coronation; notwithſtanding which the Emperor pronounc'd in Favour of the Elector of *Mentz*. We here make uſe of the word Unction, becauſe we properly mean here the Anointing or Conſecration, whereof the Coronation is only a part, and is perform'd by the three Archbiſhops Electors together, all three having their Hand on the Crown, when it is put on the Emperor's Head 5. The Subjects of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* cannot be ſummon'd in the firſt Inſtance before the Chamber of *Rotweil*; and they cannot appeal from his Sentences, unleſs the Sum in Diſpute exceeds that of five hundred Florins, or of a thouſand Livres *French* Money in Principal. Nay the Appeals muſt be ſued out within ſix Months after the Pronunciation of the Sentence, and the Appellant is oblig'd to give ſufficient Security for what has been adjudg'd. 6. The Archbiſhop has the Power of judging Malefactors within the City of *Cologn*, which he executes by his Officers: tho' this City be free, and ſubject immediately to the Empire, and ſo independent of the Archbiſhop, that ſhe ſuffers him to remain there but very few Days, and with a regulated Retinue.

Maximilian Henry, who at this Time poſſeſſes the Archbiſhoprick and the Electoral Dignity of *Cologn*, is the Son of *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*, who is ſtill living; and of *Mabaud* of *Lenchtemberg*. *Ferdinand* of *Bavaria*, his Unkle and Predeceſſor, caus'd him to be choſen Coadjutor on *February* 10, 1641, and left

‡ *His Suffragans.* * *The Rights of the Elector of* Cologn.

him

him the See vacant by his Death in the Year 1650. He alſo ſucceeded to his Unkle in the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, and in that of *Hildeſheim*, and in the Prevoſtſhip of *Berchteſgaden* in *Bavaria*, by virtue whereof he is alſo a Prince of the Empire: But the Chapters of *Munſter* and of *Paderborn* which the Unkle poſſeſs'd, together with the Biſhopricks we have already nam'd, have given themſelves Biſhops out of their own Body. The firſt, *Chriſtopher Bernard* of *Gaalen*; and the other, *Thierry Adolphus* of *Reck*, who are Gentlemen of the Countrey. This Prince was born *October* 8, 1621: So that at preſent he is but ſix and thirty Years of Age; however he is very ſickly, and does not promiſe a long Life, tho' this infirm Habit of Body does not hinder him from having vaſt Thoughts, and from projecting Deſigns capable of changing intirely the preſent State of Affairs in *Germany*. He has always liſten'd to the Propoſitions that have been made him againſt the Eſtabliſhment of the Grandeur of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and there is no doubt but he will follow the Sentiment of thoſe who are for removing the Imperial Dignity out of it; as well becauſe he may hope to procure it to his own, as on the account of the Reſentment he has for the Affront he thinks was offer'd him at the laſt Coronation. It is he in effect who will have it believ'd, that he declares the moſt openly againſt the Pretenſions of the King of *Hungary*, and is moſt capable of bringing about the Negotiation that is in Hand in Favour of the Duke of *Bavaria*; at leaſt if it be the Intereſt of the Empire to chuſe an Emperor elſewhere, than amongſt the Succeſſors of thoſe who have been in Poſſeſſion thereof for above theſe two hundred Years.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Secular Princes Electors in general.

BEfore we ſpeak of the new Succeſſion and Inveſtiture, by which the Secular Princes Electors acquire the Electoral Dignity, as the Eccleſiaſticks do by their Election; we ſhall ſay by the way, that whereas at the Time of the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, there were but four ſecular Electors, there are at this Day five: The States of the Empire being aſſembl'd at *Munſter* in the Year 1648, having judg'd it proper for the publick Good and Tranquillity, to create an eighth Electorate, in Conſideration of *Charles Lewis* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, as we have ſaid before. * Of theſe five Princes two, to wit, thoſe of *Bohemia* and *Bavaria* are Catholicks; the three others are Proteſtants; and of theſe three two, to wit, *Brandenburg* and the *Palatin* are of the Reform'd Religion; and the third, to wit, *Saxony*, is of the Confeſſion of *Augsburg* or *Lutheran*.

They who have a particular Knowledge of the Affairs of *Germany*, are ſenſible, that the Proſcription of the Elector *Palatin* who dy'd laſt, and the Change that enſu'd by the Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity to the Perſon of the Duke of *Bavaria*, is of the laſt Importance. For before that Time the Electoral College, for what regards the other Affairs of the Empire, which have nothing in common with thoſe of the Election, was compos'd of ſix Electors; three whereof being Proteſtants, there could be no Apprehenſion of any thing being done to the Prejudice of the Liberty of the Princes of *Germany*, or of their Allies. Wherefore it was a great Surprize to ſee the great Embaſſy enter *Germany*, which was compos'd of the Duke of *Angouleſme*, the Count *de Bethune*, and of *M. de Chaſteauneuf*, to act directly againſt the Intereſt of *France*, and to labour at the Confirmation of a Greatneſs, which it will be very hard to lower at preſent. To repair in ſome meaſure this Fault, Inſtance was made at *Munſter*, that the Number of the Electors might be augmented with an eighth, in order to ſtrengthen the Party of thoſe who could not hate *France*; wherein they ſeem not to have ſucceeded ill, at leaſt in reference to the future Election.

The Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity from one Family to another, which we have juſt inſtanc'd in, confirms what we have ſaid at the beginning of this Chapter of the new Inveſtiture. For altho' the *Golden Bull* ſeems not to ſpeak thereof in expreſs Terms, yet it is evident that an Electoral Family being ſo far extinct as not to have any Heir, and that the Principality being eſcheated to the Empire by right of Fief, the Emperor can, and ought to fill the vacant Place, by ſubſtituting therein another Prince by a new Inveſtiture. In like manner it may happen, that for want of Heirs in an Electoral Houſe, the Elector who ſees himſelf without Heirs, reſigns his States and his Dignity to the Empire; as alſo that having Heirs, he obliges them to conſent to his Alienation thereof, for the Good of his Affairs, by the Agreement of the Emperor and of the other Electors; and to his ſelling them to a Prince of another Family: And in all theſe Caſes there muſt be a new Inveſtiture, as well as when by Proſcription, or otherwiſe, the Principality with the Electoral Dignity is confiſcated. To which we muſt add, the Neceſſity of a new Inveſtiture, when by virtue of a Treaty of mutual Succeſſion, the Principality to which the Electoral Dignity is annex'd, paſſes into another Family.

We do not find that ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull* the Electoral Dignity has paſs'd from one Family to another for want of Heirs. For altho' it is enter'd into the Houſe of *Miſnia*, and into that of the Burgraves of

* *Ch.* 8. *Rem.* 4.

Nuremberg,

Nuremberg, or of *Zollern*, ſince that time; yet it cannot be ſaid that there were no Princes left of the Houſe of *Saxony*, when *Frederick* Marquiſs of *Miſnia* was inveſted therewith; ſince it is certain that thoſe of *Anhalt* and of *Saxe Lauemburg* are of the ſame Family in which the Electoral Dignity was in the Time of the Emperor *Charles* IV, and of the Publication of the *Golden Bull*. And notwithſtanding the Emperor *Sigiſmund* had no Children when he treated about the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, and the Electoral Dignity with *Frederick* Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, yet he might ſtill hope for ſome: So that it could not be acquir'd by any other Title than that of Reſignation; tho' it may be ſaid, in reference to the Dukes of *Saxony*, that the Collaterals were not compris'd in the Inveſtiture of the Electoral Dignity, when it was given to Princes, who were in effect of the ſame Houſe, but of another Branch: which is what the Electors of *Saxony* of the Houſe of *Miſnia* did not fail to alledge, in the Difference they had on that Subject with the Dukes of *Saxe Lauemburg*, whereof we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in Chap. VI. We have an Example of a new Inveſtiture by Confiſcation in the ſame Houſe of *Saxony*, and another in that of the *Palatin*: But as we ſhall ſpeak of them elſewhere, we ſhall enlarge no farther on that Subject, and ſhall paſs on to the Treaties ſeveral Princes of *Germany* make among themſelves for the mutual Succeſſion of one Family to another.

* The Emperors *Ferdinand* II. and III. promiſe in their Capitulations, that they will not for the future beſtow on private Perſons the Fiefs which ſhall become vacant to the Profit of the Empire; but that they will re-unite them to the Empire, to ſerve by the way of Demeſne to the Emperor; and that they will not give the Hopes or Reverſion thereof to any body: ſo that the Emperor could not for the time to come confirm the Treaties which the Princes Electors or others might make for a mutual Succeſſion, for want of Heirs Male in either of the Families; tho' he cannot hinder the Execution of that which ſubſiſts for theſe ſeveral Ages, between the Houſes of *Saxony* and of *Heſſe*, and was confirm'd by the Emperor *Charles* IV, and by the other Emperors his Succeſſors, even by the Treaty of *Prague* in the Year 1635.

The Foundations of the Treaty of mutual Succeſſion between *Saxony* and *Heſſe*, were laid in the Partition which *Henry the Illuſtrious*, Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, and *Henry* of *Brabant*, ſtyl'd *the Infant*, made of the Inheritance of *Henry Raſpe*, laſt Lantgrave of *Thuringia*; by which *Thuringia* being enter'd into the Houſe of *Miſnia*, and *Heſſe* falling to *Henry the Infant*, theſe Princes made in the Year 1274. a Treaty, by which it was agreed, that for want of Heirs Male in either of the two Families, the other ſhould ſucceed. It is true that at that Time the Marquiſſes of *Miſnia* were not Dukes of *Saxony*: That the Electoral Dignity was not appropriated to that Family, and that there is not any one Treaty that ſpeaks of the Electorate; ſo that it might be doubted whether the Electoral *Saxony* and the Dignity be compris'd in the Treaty of mutual Succeſſion; but foraſmuch as there is nothing reſerv'd in the Treaty, no more than in the Imperial Confirmation, which have been renew'd from time to time, and comprehend all the Eſtates, preſent and future, without any Exception, there is nothing that can hinder us from believing, that if the Princes happen'd to fail in the Houſe of *Saxony*, thoſe of *Heſſe* would ſucceed in the Electoral Dignity, as well as in all the other Eſtates which the Duke of *Saxony* is at preſent in Poſſeſſion of. And that there may be no room to doubt of the Intention of the Princes, it is requiſite to ſee the Treaty they made in the Year 1587, in which the Electoral Dignity was expreſſly compris'd: but particularly, and in much ſtronger Terms in the Treaty of Alliance and mutual Succeſſion, made at *Naumburg* in *Thuringia*, *March* 30, 1614, between *John George* and *John Sigiſmund*, Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*, and *Maurice* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, with all the other Princes of thoſe three Houſes, which imports, That the Male Line happening to fail in the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, the Princes of the two Houſes of *Saxony* and of *Heſſe* ſhall have equal Shares of all the Eſtates of the laſt Prince of *Brandenburg*, in ſuch manner, that the Electoral Dignity ſhall be compris'd in that part which ſhall fall to *Heſſe*: but if it ſhall happen that the Male Line fails in the Houſe of *Saxony*, the Elector and the Princes of *Brandenburg* ſhall have only one third part of all the Eſtates, and thoſe of the Houſe of *Heſſe* ſhall have the other two thirds, together with the Electoral Dignity.

This Alliance between theſe three Houſes ſubſiſts ſtill, tho' it is hard to ſay at what time preciſely *Brandenburg* came into the ſame; ſince all the Treaties made between *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* before the Year 1614, make mention but of one hereditary Alliance between thoſe two Families, and do not regulate the Succeſſion. Moreover the Dukes of *Saxony* made in the Year 1555, another Treaty of mutual Succeſſion with the Counts of *Henneberg*, with the Conſent of the Lantgraves of *Heſſe*: But foraſmuch as there is no Proportion between this County and the Dutchy of *Saxony*, it was ſtipulated that the Princes happening to fail in the Houſe of *Saxony*, the Counts of *Henneberg* ſhould inherit only what the Dukes of *Saxony* poſſeſs'd in *Franconia*, and has been ſince given to *John Caſimir*, Duke of *Saxony* at *Coburg*; and is at this Day poſſeſs'd by the Dukes of *Saxony* of the Branch of *Altemburg*. This Treaty with the Counts of *Henneberg* which we have juſt mention'd, has had its effect in this, that *George Erneſt*, Count and Prince of *Henneberg*, dying without Iſſue Male on *December* 22, 1583, and all the Male Line being extinct with his Perſon, the Dukes of *Saxony* have ſucceeded in the County which they ſtill enjoy. It is true that at this Day there are ſo many Princes in thoſe three Houſes, that there is not any likelihood of the Male Line failing of a long time: So that the new Inveſtiture, by which the Electoral Dignity is acquir'd for want of Heirs, being what happens very rarere, we ſhall proceed farther: tho' there is not

* Treaty of mutual Succeſſion.

any thing that one ought not to apprehend, after we have ſeen ten Princes of the Houſe of *Pomerania* dye without Iſſue, notwithſtanding they had all attain'd to Man's Eſtate. There are very few Princes of the Houſe of *Bavaria*. The Elector has no Children; his Brother is not marry'd: And of the two Sons of Duke *Albert*, the one is Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and a Prieſt; and the other is of the Church, and a Biſhop: So that there is great likelihood that the new Inveſtiture may, for want of Heirs, take Place in this Houſe ſooner than in any other: If the ſame Treaty, by which the eighth Electorate was created, had not provided in ſuch Caſe, by ordaining that for want of Male Iſſue, in the Houſe of *Bavaria*, the new Electoral Dignity ſhall remain extinct, and that of *Bavaria* be reunited to the *Palatin* Branch.

‡ The new Inveſtiture, which is given after the Confiſcation of the Electoral Dignity from a Prince proſcrib'd, is not ſo extraordinary; altho' ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, we have in all but two Examples thereof. For *Rupert*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, who was put into the Ban of the Empire by the Emperor *Maximilian* I, was only the ſecond Son of the Elector *Philip*; and *Lewis* V, his eldeſt Brother, did nevertheleſs ſucceed his Father in the Electoral Dignity. All that was irregular therein, was that after the Death of *Lewis* V, who dy'd without Iſſue, on *March* 15, 1544, *Frederick*, the third Son of *Philip*, and Brother to *Lewis*, ſucceeded in the Electoral Dignity, to the Prejudice of *Otho-Henry*, Son of the ſecond Son of the ſaid *Philip*; contrary to the expreſs Direction of the *Golden Bull*, which calls to the Succeſſion the ſecond Brother of the deceas'd, and his Children *in infinitum*, before that the third can lay any Claim thereto: But this happen'd becauſe that after the Proſcription of *Rupert*, it was neceſſary his Son ſhould be rehabilitated, which was done, but on Condition that he ſhould not poſſeſs the Electoral Dignity till after the Death of his Unkle, who had marry'd the Emperor *Charles* V's Niece, and who had no Children.

The two Proſcriptions that have given Occaſion for new Inveſtitures, are thoſe of *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, and of *Frederick* V. Elector *Palatin*. The firſt was put in the Ban of the Empire, *July* 20, 1546, by the Emperor *Charles* V; but foraſmuch as the Proſcription was executed contrary to Form, by the ſole Power of the Emperor, and without having heard the Elector, the Electoral Dignity was not diſpos'd of till after that *John Frederick* being fall'n into the Hands of the Emperor, after the Loſs of a Battel; and ſeeing himſelf at the Diſcretion of his Enemy, who had condemn'd him to dye, he was neceſſitated to redeem his Life by conſenting to a Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity to *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, his Relation, who was inveſted therewith *February* 24, 1548.

The Proſcription of the Elector *Palatin* was executed in our Time, and every body knows the Cauſe, Particulars, and Conſequences thereof; but there is in it ſomething remarkable: That whereas in the Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity from the Perſon of *John Frederick* to that of *Maurice*, it was left annex'd to the Principality, that is to ſay, to the Electoral *Saxony*, which was transferr'd alſo with the Dignity: In this laſt, on the contrary, the the Procedure was directly againſt the *Golden Bull*, which appropriates the Electoral Dignity to the *Palatinate*; which Dignity is at this Time annex'd to *Bavaria*, whereof we ſhall ſpeak more amply elſewhere.

* *Sleidan* repreſents the Ceremonies of the new Inveſtiture of *Maurice*, in ſo few Lines, that the Reader cannot be diſpleas'd to ſee them here, as a thing entirely depending on the Matter we treat of. He ſays, " That *Febru-*
" *ry* 24, the Birth-Day of *Charles* V. having
" been fix'd for this Ceremony, the Emperor,
" accompany'd by the Electors, repair'd about
" three in the Afternoon to a large Timber
" Building, which had been erected for that
" Purpoſe in the middle of the Market-Place.
" They all withdrew from it, to put on their
" Garments of Ceremony in a Houſe hard by,
" from whence they preſently return'd to take
" their Seats; the Emperor in the Throne
" which had been prepar'd for him, and the
" Electors in their uſual Places. *Maurice* was
" in the mean time on Horſeback, with a
" good Number of Princes and Lords, in a
" Street right againſt the aforeſaid Building;
" and having detach'd ſome Cavaliers, who rode
" round the Theatre upon a Gallop, he caus'd
" to advance *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Wolf-*
" *gang* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, Brother
" to the Elector, and *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*,
" who being come up on the Gallop alighted
" off their Horſes, and, having made three low
" Bows, caſt themſelves upon their Knees, and
" pray'd the Emperor to vouchſafe to grant to
" *Maurice* the Inveſtiture of the Electoral Dig-
" nity, and of the Principalities which depend
" thereon. The Emperor, after having taken
" the Advice of the Electors, made Anſwer
" by the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, That he very
" well remember'd the Promiſe he had made to
" *Maurice*, and that he was ready to admit him to
" Homage, and to give him the Inveſtiture of
" the Election, if he came in Perſon to ask it.
" Theſe three Princes having thank'd the Em-
" peror, made their Report thereof to *Maurice*,
" who thereupon immediately advanc'd with
" the reſt of his Retinue, having before him
" twelve Trumpets, two pair of Kettle-Drums,
" and ten Standards, carry'd by as many Prin-
" ces or Counts, and repreſenting the Provin-
" ces of which he demanded the Inveſtiture.
" He diſmounted at the Foot of the Theatre,
" and having aſcended the ſame, with all the
" Princes who were there preſent to do him
" Honour, and having made three low Bows,
" he caſt himſelf upon his Knees before the
" Emperor, having behind him likewiſe on
" their Knees the three Princes, (who had de-
" manded the Inveſtiture for him, and *Hoyer*
" Count of *Mansfeld*, who ask'd it for *Au-*
" *guſtus* Duke of *Saxony* his Brother) and there
" demanded in Perſon what he had before made
" ſuit for by others. The Emperor anſwer'd,
" That in Conſideration of the Services, which
" he and his Brother had done to him and to the
" holy Empire, it was requiſite to inveſt him

‡ *Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity after Confiſcation.*

* *The Ceremonies of the new Inveſtiture*, Lib. 20.

" and his Children; and for want of Male Iſ-
" ſue, the Duke *Auguſtus*, and his, with the E-
" lectoral Dignity, and the Principalities con-
" fiſcated from the Duke *John Frederick*, they
" all taking in him the Oath which the Ele-
" ctors and Princes owe to the Emperor and
" the Empire. After which the Archbiſhop
" having laid the Book on the Emperor's Knees,
" read the Oath, which *Maurice* repeated Word
" for Word: And after that, the Emperor, ha-
" ving taken the Sword from the Hands of
" the Count of *Pappenheim*, gave it to *Mau-*
" *rice*, and inveſted him by that Mean with the
" Electoral Dignity, and with the Office of
" Great Mareſchal of the Empire. The In-
" veſtiture of the Principalities was perform'd
" by the Means of the Standards which the
" Emperor took from the Princes who carry'd
" them, to give them to *Maurice* one after the
" other, the Count of *Mansfield* putting his
" Hand to all of them, for Duke *Auguſtus*.
" After that, *Maurice* took his Place among
" the Electors, and the Standards being flung
" amongſt the People, the Emperor and the
" five Electors went and chang'd their Cloaths
" at the Houſe, where they had taken them:
" But *Maurice* kept on his, and return'd back to
" his Lodgings with the ſame Noblemen who
" had accompany'd him at this Ceremony.

The Ceremonies of the Inveſtiture which was given to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, of the *Palatiz* Electoral Dignity, on *February* 25, 1623, are very different from theſe, and have this Particularity, that inſtead of the Standards which *Maurice* receiv'd from the Hand of *Charles* V, *Maximilian* only kiſs'd the Pommel of the Sword the Emperor held in his Hand. But foraſmuch as the Electoral Dignity was only conferr'd on the Perſon of *Maximilian*, who had no Children, it was perform'd almoſt like a private Action in the Emperor's Antichamber.

The Inveſtiture which we have now ſpoken of is very different from that which the Secular Electors take at the ordinary Changes, and even from that which the Eccleſiaſticks take after their Election, in this, that the new Inveſtiture gives Poſſeſſion of the Electorate; ſo that the Candidate or Nominee has no Electoral Function without it: Whereas the Heirs of the Secular Electors finding themſelves ſeiz'd of the Electoral Dignity, by the Death of the Predeceſſor, are truly Electors, and may aſſiſt at the Elections before the Inveſtiture; as well as the Eccleſiaſticks, immediately after they have been elected by the Chapter, as we have ſaid before.

*As for the Succeſſion, which is the moſt uſual Mean of acquiring the Electoral Dignity, the *Golden Bull* makes three Degrees thereof; the firſt, from the Father to the Son; the ſecond, from Brother to Brother; and the third, for Default of the one and the other, to the next Relation by the Father's Side, deſcended from Male to Male from the firſt inveſted. The Law †, in ſaying, *That any one of the Secular Electors happening to die, the Right, Vote, and Power of Electing ſhall belong, without any Difficulty or Contradiction, to his eldeſt Son, lawfully born, and a Lay Man, and in Default of him, to his eldeſt Son, alſo lawfully born, and Lay*, ‡ extends the Succeſſion in a direct Line unlimitedly, and excludes therefrom all Collaterals, as long as there is any lawful Male left of the Branch of the eldeſt Son of the deceas'd Elector, to which the *Golden Bull* appropriates the Electoral Dignity, contrary to the ancient Cuſtom, which made it common to ſeveral Princes of the ſame Family, altho' of different Branches; as we have made it appear, when we ſpoke * of the Election of *Charles* IV, at which were preſent three Princes of the *Palatin* Houſe, and two of that of *Saxony*.

The Queſtion that is here made by moſt of the Civilians, to wit, whether the ſecond Son, born of a Father who was already Elector, ought to be preferr'd to his eldeſt Brother, but born before the Father was Elector, is altogether frivolous. For beſides that it has been long ſince decided in favour of the eldeſt Son, by the *Golden Bull*, which makes no Diſtinction at all; one might ask by the ſame Reaſon, Whether a younger Son ought ſolely to inherit the Acquiſitions his Father may have made ſince the Birth of the eldeſt Son, and before that of the ſecond, which would be ridiculous. There is beſides this a particular Reaſon, and at the ſame time invincible, in favour of the eldeſt Sons of Electors, in what State ſoever they are born; becauſe they do not ſucceed as Heirs to their Fathers, but by virtue of the Inveſtiture which they receiv'd with the firſt Acquirer, which has given a Right to all his Poſterity, according to the Order of their Birth; and even entitles to the Succeſſion, and Electoral Dignity, the Nephews or † Grandſons of the Electors, altho' their Father never were in Poſſeſſion thereof. And it is impoſſible that this Order, eſtabliſh'd by the Nature of the Fief, and by the Law it ſelf, ſhould be alter'd by any teſtamentary Diſpoſition, or by any particular Statutes, which the Princes of *Germany* are accuſtom'd to make for the Preſervation of their Houſes.

‡ It ſeems however, that this Order may be chang'd by the voluntary Reſignation of the eldeſt Son, and that he may renounce a Right which is introduc'd in his Favour, after the Example of what has formerly been done in the Houſe of *Brandenburg*. *Frederick*, firſt Elector of *Brandenburg*, of the Houſe of the *Burgraves* of *Nuremburg*, had two Sons: *John* and *Frederick*; *John*, who was the eldeſt, was of a ſingular Temper, and not very fit for the Management of Affairs: *Frederick*, on the contrary, was an active and vigorous Prince, who had from his firſt Youth acquir'd ſo high a Reputation, that at the Age of one and twenty Years he was made Protector of the Council of *Baſil*. The Father, who was for preſerving in his Family that Dignity he had introduc'd therein, apprehending leſt it ſhould ſink in the Hands of *John*, who employ'd himſelf continually in ſearching into Secrets, which procur'd him the Sirname of the *Chymiſt*, was very deſirous to transfer it to the Perſon of *Frederick*. He found no great Difficulty to prevail with his eldeſt Son to give his Conſent thereto, and ſuffer his younger Brother to ſucceed in

* *The Succeſſion of the Secular Electors.* † Chap. 7. §. 2. ‡ *The direct Line.* * *Here above*, Chap. 6.
† Nepotes. ‡ *The eldeſt Son may renounce his Right.*

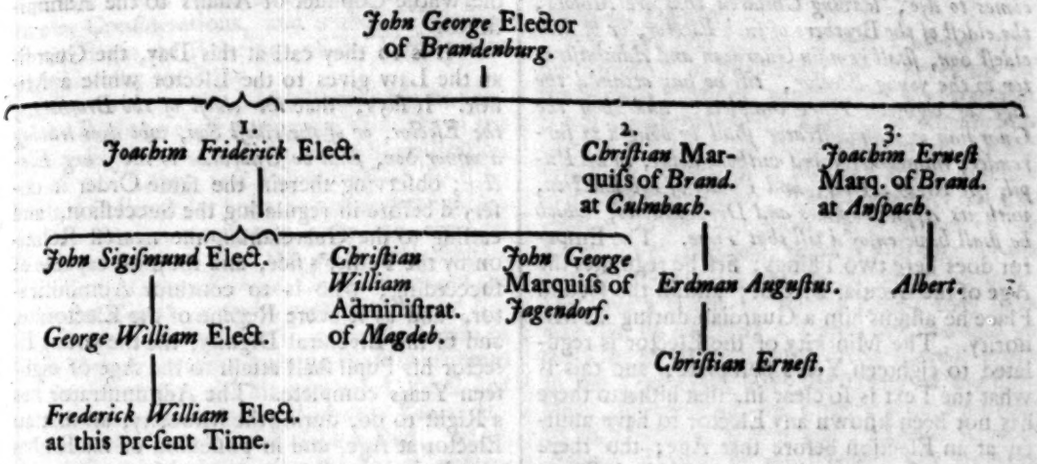
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the Electoral Dignity. But this Example is of no force againſt the Order eſtabliſh'd by the *Golden Bull*. For *John*'s Renunciation was perſonal, and could not do any Prejudice to the Right of his Sons, of whom the Eldeſt would indubitably have been lawful Elector after the Death of the Father, notwithſtanding his Renunciation, and notwithſtanding the actual Poſſeſſion of *Frederick*; but both the Brothers dy'd without any Male Iſſue: ſo that there was no Diſpute between their Heirs about the Succeſſion in the Electoral Dignity. To which we may add, That it appears by Hiſtory, that when the Renunciation of *John* took effect, which was at the Death of the Father, he had no Son, and was not in a Condition to have any, ſince he marry'd his Daughter to *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria* King of *Denmark* the very next Year following, in which *Rodolphus* his Son, who liv'd but nine Months, dy'd. So that the Example we have now alledg'd, being of no moment againſt the *General Rule*, no more than that of *Frederick* II, of which we have ſpoken in this ſame Chapter, and who was preferr'd in the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity to *Otho Henry* his Nephew, who was the Son of a proſcrib'd Father; we ſay that it admits of no Exception: That the Collaterals are never call'd to the Succeſſion while there are any Heirs qualify'd to ſucceed in the direct Line: That the Unkle cannot be preferr'd to the Nephew, under any Pretext, or for any Cauſe whatever; and that no regard is ever had therein to Age or to Proximity, but to the Order eſtabliſh'd by the Law, and Nature it ſelf. For both the one and the other hinder the younger Brother from ſucceeding, unleſs there are no Deſcendents left of the Eldeſt, and call the Brother to the Succeſſion, but only when there are no Sons left. And thus it is that we muſt underſtand the *Golden Bull*, when it ſays; * *If it happens that the eldeſt Son dyes, without leaving any male Iſſue lawfully begotten, and Lay, the Right, Vote and Power of Election ſhall belong, by virtue of this preſent Edict, to his Brother, deſcended in a direct and lawful Line, by the Father's-ſide, and after him to his eldeſt Son, Lay and lawfully begotten.* Where it formally excludes the Brother, as long as there are any Sons, that is to ſay Deſcendents; the Word *Son* being here taken in the full Extent of the Signification which the Civilians give it; and for want of Deſcendents it calls to the Succeſſion the Brother and his Sons, *in infinitum*, and in the ſame Order which it had eſtabliſh'd in the Branch of the eldeſt Son: ſo that as long as there are Deſcendents in the Branch of the ſecond, the third Brother, altho' a nearer Relation to the Eldeſt, than his Nephews or Great-Nephews born of the ſecond Brother, cannot be call'd to the Succeſſion.

But foraſmuch as the collateral Kindred do not ſucceed in the Electorate, but only by virtue of the Inveſtiture of the firſt Elector, who has acquir'd that Right to all his Poſterity; ſo that no body can take from him what the Law, the Quality of the Fief, and even Nature it ſelf give him; it follows that the Brother of the firſt inveſted, whoſe Father was not Elector, cannot ſucceed in the Electoral Dignity, even tho' his Brother ſhould dye without Children, unleſs he be compris'd in the firſt Inveſtiture. We have an Example thereof in what we have ſaid above, concerning that of *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, who caus'd his Brother *Auguſtus* to be compris'd therein, whoſe Poſterity is ſtill at this Day in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Electoral Dignity of *Saxony*, by virtue of this firſt Inveſtiture. In like manner, in the Tranſlation of the *Palatin* Electorate to the Perſon of *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, the Inveſtiture extends to *Albert* his Brother, and to his Deſcendents to perpetuity, who without that would have no part in the Electoral Dignity.

Since then this firſt Inveſtiture extends to all the Poſterity of the firſt inveſted, it is evident that the Law calls to the Succeſſion, not only the Sons and the Brothers, but alſo all the other Relations deſcended from him in the Male Line, how remote ſoever the Degree may be by which they are related to the deceaſed; having regard however to the Proximity of the Branches, and not to that of the Perſons. For Example, All the Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg* who live at this Day, are deſcended from *John George* Great-Great-Grandfather of the preſent Elector; who left amongſt other Children, *Joachim Frederick*, who ſucceeded to the Father in the Electorate; *Chriſtian* who had his *Appennage* at *Culmbach*, and *Joachim-Erneſt*, who had his at *Anſpach*. *Joachim Frederick* left *John Sigiſmund* Elector; *John George*, who had his *Apennage* or Portion at *Jagerndorf*, but who left no Iſſue; and *Chriſtian*, who was Adminiſtrator of *Magdeburg*, and is ſtill living. *John Sigiſmund* left only *George William*, Father of the preſent Elector. Altho' this Prince be in the Flower of his Age, and enjoys a perfect Health, he thought fit nevertheleſs to have the Succeſſion regulated ſome Years ago, before he had the Children God has ſince give him: but the Right of the Adminiſtrator was never call'd in queſtion, tho' he be only a Great-Unkle: and next to him (becauſe he is in a decrepit Age, and has no Children) that of *Ermand Auguſtus* Marquiſs of *Culmbach*, was ſecur'd; and in caſe of Death, to *Chriſtian Erneſt* his Son, notwithſtanding this laſt be more remote by one Degree than *Albert*, the Son of *Joachim Erneſt*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* at *Anſpach*, who acquieſc'd to this Sentiment, as to a thing that could not be diſputed in *Germany*. The Degrees of this Parentage will be better ſeen in the following Table.

* Loco ſub. cit.



* The Emperor *Charles* IV, in regulating the Order of the Succeſſion for the ſecular Electors, after the Manner we have ſaid, comprehends nominally amongſt them the King of *Bohemia:* and nevertheleſs at the End of the ſame Chapter, it ſeems as if he would except him, when he ſays, That his Intention is to preſerve to the Kingdom of *Bohemia* its *Privileges, which permit the Inhabitants to elect a King, when the Kingdom is vacant.* The Senſe of the Law, in which the Emperor explains himſelf very clearly every where elſe, is by ſo much the more obſcure in this Place, as there is a Contradiction therein, in what he ſays of the Right the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* have to chuſe themſelves a King when the Throne is vacant, and the Order of Succeſſion which he pretends to eſtabliſh in the Royal Family of *Bohemia*. The greateſt Difficulty reſides in the Word *Vacant*, and to know when the Kingdom of *Bohemia* is ſo. In hereditary Kingdoms, where *the Dead gives Seizin to the Living*, the Kingdom is not vacant but only when Heirs fail in the Royal Family; but in elective Kingdoms, the Death of the King makes the *Interregnum:* ſo that to know when the Kingdom of *Bohemia* is vacant, it is requiſite firſt to know, whether it be hereditary or elective. There are ſome who ſay it is hereditary, and that the Emperor in ſaying that the Inhabitants have a Right to give themſelves a King, means that the Kingdom is vacant for want of Heirs in the Royal Family; and that whereas in that Caſe the other Electorates eſcheat to the Empire, and the Emperor may diſpoſe thereof, as of all the other Fiefs of the Empire, the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* proceed to an Election, without deferring to the Will of the Emperor. But ſo far are they from reſolving the Difficulty, that on the contrary they give birth to a much greater; in this, That ſuppoſing the Succeſſion be hereditary in *Bohemia*, it muſt of neceſſity extend to Women; ſince they have often transferr'd the Crown to foreign Houſes, even ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull*. Which is contrary to the Intention of the Legiſlator, who will appropriate the Succeſſion of the Electoral Dignity to the Males, and to the Eldeſt thereof. To unravel therefore all theſe Difficulties, we muſt ſay, That the Kingdom of *Bohemia* has always been elective, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere in the irregular Succeſſions of its Princes, and in the Sureties they have given to the Inhabitants for the Preſervation of their Right of Election: and that the Intention of *Charles* IV, being to make it hereditary in his Family, he would needs regulate the Succeſſion thereof, and flatter nevertheleſs the *Bohemians*, in leaving them the Enjoyment of their Privileges concerning the Election, in appearance rather than in effect.

† The *Golden Bull* in calling to the Succeſſion the Eldeſt, requires he ſhould be *lawfully born*, and *Lay*; but what it adds in reference to the Age of the Elector does not relate to the Succeſſion, but to the Function of the Electoral Dignity. It is certain that Baſtards are excluded from the Succeſſion, without its being in the Power of the Prince, to correct by his Letters Patents the Defects of Birth, in any Manner whatever. Prieſts are alſo incapable of ſucceeding in the Electoral Dignity, and even thoſe Prelates who have only the minor Orders; becauſe the Law will not have the Number of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors to increaſe to the Prejudice of the Seculars: But if the Prelate reſigns his Benefices, and becomes ſecular by the Pope's Diſpenſation, it is certain he may ſucceed as being Lay. The Condition of *Proteſtant* Princes, who make no Vows, and who do not take Orders, has a great Advantage in this, over that of the *Roman Catholicks*, becauſe there is nothing that can hinder them from poſſeſſing together with the Electoral Dignity, both Abbies and Biſhopricks; ſince the Examples we have thereof in *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* teſtify that they nevertheleſs remain within the Limitations of the Law, are Lay, and have all the Qualities neceſſary to habilitate them to ſucceed. We then conclude, That as an Eccleſiaſtical Elector who changes his Religion, is oblig'd to quit his Archbiſhoprick together with the Electoral Dignity; ſo a *Catholick* Prelate that embraces the *Proteſtant* Religion, and ſo becomes Lay, is capable of ſucceeding in a Secular Electorate, if he has otherwiſe all the other Qualities neceſſary to enable him to ſucceed.

‡ As for the Age the Emperor requires in a ſecular Elector to be capable to elect, the Text ſays: *In caſe a Prince Elector, or his eldeſt Son,*

* *Whether the Order of hereditary Succeſſion takes place in* Bohemia? † *The Qualities neceſſary to the Secular Electors.* ‡ *His Age.*

comes to dye, leaving Children that are Minors, the eldeſt of the Brothers of ſuch Elector, or of ſuch eldeſt Son, ſhall remain Guardian and Adminiſtrator to the young Elector, till he has attain'd the Age of eighteen Years complete: and then the Guardian or Adminiſtrator ſhall be oblig'd to ſurrender, immediately and without delay, to his Pupil, the Right, Vote, and Power of the Election, with its Appurtenances and Dependencies, which he ſhall have enjoy'd till that Time. The Emperor does here two Things; firſt he regulates the Age of the Secular Elector; and in the ſecond Place he aſſigns him a Guardian during his Minority. The Minority of the Elector is regulated to eighteen Years complete; and this is what the Text is ſo clear in, that hitherto there has not been known any Elector to have aſſiſted at an Election before that Age; tho' there have been ſome who have govern'd their States before the Age of eighteen Years complete, but contrary to the Intention of the Law, which regulates the Time of Majority in very expreſs Terms, and annexes the Electoral Dignity to the Eſtates and Principalities of the Secular Electors inſeparably, ſo that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other. The Examples that are alledg'd of *Frederick* IV, Elector *Palatin*, and of *Joachim* I, Elector of *Brandenburg*, have this Irregularity, that both the one and the other were without a Guardian before the Time ordain'd by the *Golden Bull*; but then they have this Particular alſo, That the firſt, who was born *March* 5, 1574, being very young when *Lewis* VI. his Father dy'd, on *October* 12, 1583, remain'd under the Guardianſhip of *John Caſimir* his Unkle, who dying alſo on *January* 16, 1592, it was not thought neceſſary to appoint another Guardian or Adminiſtrator, for the remaining ſix Weeks which were wanting to the Majority of *Frederick*. The Example of the Elector of *Brandenburg* is more remarkable. He was born *February* 21, 1484, and could not yet be ſixteen Years old, when his Father dy'd in the Year 1499. The Law conferr'd the Adminiſtration of the Electorate, and of the Provinces that depend thereon, on *Frederick* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* at *Anſpach*, his Unkle, who had Moderation enough to adviſe his Pupil to ask the Opinion of the other Electors concerning the Adminiſtration. The Elector of *Mayence* made anſwer, That the Article of the *Golden Bull*, which regulates the Majority of the Secular Electors to eighteen Years complete, related to the Election only, and to what depends thereon; but that he might govern his Eſtates, and take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, without any Difficulty. One cannot very well ſay, whether this was the true Sentiment of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, or whether he had a mind to ſhew a Complaiſance to the young Prince; but it is certain that the Law, which regulates the Succeſſion of the Electors, and all that depends thereon, in very clear Terms, does not allow of that Expoſition; and that without the Eaſineſs which it found in the Mind of the Prince, whom the ſaid Law call'd to the Adminiſtration, and who could renounce his Right, there would have been an Obligation to remain within the Terms expreſs'd in the *Golden Bull*, and to leave the whole Conduct of Affairs to the Adminiſtrator.

* It is ſo they call at this Day, the Guardian the Law gives to the Elector while a Minor. It ſays, that *the eldeſt of the Brothers of the Elector, or of the eldeſt Son, who dyes leaving a minor Son, ſhall be Guardian to the young Elector*; obſerving therein the ſame Order it obſerv'd before in regulating the Succeſſion, and calling to the Guardianſhip the neareſt Relation by the Father's ſide, and the moſt capable of ſucceeding; who is to continue Adminiſtrator, and as it were Regent of the Electorate, and of the Electoral Dignity, till the young Elector his Pupil ſhall attain to the Age of eighteen Years complete. The Adminiſtrator has a Right to do, during the Minority, all that an Elector at Age, and in poſſeſſion of his Rights can do: not as Procurator or Manager for his Pupil, or as the Repreſentative of the Perſon of the young Elector, but of his own Power, and by virtue of the fundamental Law of the Empire, which gives him all the Authority, and all the Rights the Electors themſelves poſſeſs. It is in their Name that all Diſpatches are made during the Minority of the young Elector. They, and not the Pupils, are invited to the Elections; and they appear there, and take their Rank, not in a common Habit, and after all the Electors preſent, as the Embaſſadors and Plenipotentiaries of the abſent do; but in the Electoral Apparel, and in the ſame Place their Pupil would hold, if he were at Age: and thus, whereas other Guardianſhips are burthenſome and incommodious, this is honourable, and by ſo much the more profitable, as the Adminiſtrator holds the Rank of Elector, and ſupports the Dignity thereof at the Expence of his Pupil: for which Reaſon the Law regulates the Majority at eighteen Years of Age, rather than to twenty, or five and twenty, that the Adminiſtrators may not have the Leiſure ſo to habituate themſelves to this Grandeur which they enjoy as one may ſay but by the way of Loan; and that they may not get ſuch firm Footing there, by too long a Courſe of Years, as not to be liable to be diſpoſſeſs'd.

When we ſay that the Adminiſtrator enjoys theſe Advantages by virtue of the Fundamental Law of the Empire, we ſuppoſe that there is no Teſtamentary Diſpoſition that can change this Order, eſtabliſh'd for the Guardianſhip, as well as for the Succeſſion. For altho' the ſame *Frederick* IV, Elector *Palatin*, whom we before ſpoke of, had ordain'd by his Teſtament, that *Philip Lewis*, *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Newburg*, notwithſtanding he was his neareſt Relation by the Father's Side, ſhould be excluded the Adminiſtration of his Son, who at the Death of his Father was but fourteen Years old; and that in conſequence thereof *John* II, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Deuxponts*, who was a more remote Relation, and Nephew to *Philip Lewis*, was admitted; yet it cannot be inferr'd from thence, that the Direction of the Law takes Place only when there is no Teſtament: on the contrary, moſt of the other Electors, and the Emperor himſelf, declar'd that it was a manifeſt Contravention to the *Golden Bull*,

* The Guardian of the Elector in Minority.

and that it was tolerated but only out of particular Conſiderations, and without Prejudice to the Right the Relations of the Electors are intitl'd to by the Law.

Now whereas the Adminiſtrator has not only the Right to elect during the Minority of the young Elector, but alſo to the Adminiſtration of all his Eſtates and Principalities; ſo is he oblig'd to ſurrender both the one and the others to his Pupil immediately after the eighteen Years complete. And this is ſo undoubted a Truth, that when *Richard*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Zimmeren* (who pretended to the Adminiſtration of *Frederick* V, after the Death of *John Caſimir*) was for keeping the Government of the Countrey, till his pretended Pupil had attain'd the Age of five and twenty Years; explaining the Text of the *Golden Bull*, which ſays, *That immediately after the Age of eighteen Years, the Adminiſtrator ſhall ſurrender to his Pupil the Rights of the Election, with what depends thereon*, of the ſole Faculty of Electing; of the Office of the Vicarſhip; and of what depends on this Function; he was eſteem'd ridiculous, and was oblig'd to leave to the Elector, who had attain'd the Age limited by the Bull, the Government, and the Enjoyment of all his Eſtates. The Law which makes the Electoral Dignity, and the Principality to which it is annex'd, inſeparable one from the other, is expreſs enough on that Subject: But it might be doubted whether the Majority of an Elector would extend alſo to the other Provinces he poſſeſſes out of the Electorate; ſo that if together with the Electorate he poſſeſſes other Provinces which do not depend thereon, and where the Majority is regulated by the Common Law to five and twenty Years, he ſhall be deem'd a Major at eighteen. But we reſolutely affirm, that an Elector that has attain'd the Age of eighteen Years complete, is a Major every where: becauſe the Elector being capable of being preſent at the Collegiate Diets, in which the moſt important Affairs of the Empire paſs through the Hands of ſeven Electors, he may alſo, and with more Reaſon, aſſiſt at the Aſſemblies of the Princes, who only ſecond the Cares of the Electors, and who meet in ſo great a Number, that the Youth of one Prince cannot do much Damage to the Deliberations. Beſides which, it would be impertinent that an Elector who is at Age in reference to his Electorate, ſhould be under Guardianſhip with reſpect to his other Provinces. And indeed, if we except the Example of *Richard*, whom we juſt inſtanc'd in, it will not appear that ever any Adminiſtrator made any Difficulty to ſurrender to his Pupil all his Principalities, of what Nature ſoever they were, immediately after the eighteen Years complete. The Elector of *Brandenburg* that is now living was but twenty Years old when his Father dy'd in the Year 1640. And ſo it might be ſaid, that he was not yet at Age in reference to the Dutchy of *Pruſſia*, and to the Eſtates of the Succeſſion of *Cleves* and *Juliers*: but that did not hinder him from taking upon him the free Adminiſtration of the ones and the others, without ever its entring into any body's Thoughts to give him an Adminiſtrator for thoſe Provinces which do not depend on the Electoral Dignity.

We have ſaid before in this Chapter, that the Emperor in regulating the Succeſſion of the Secular Electors, proteſts that his Intention is not to prejudice the Rights the Inhabitants of *Bohemia* have to chuſe themſelves a King when the Kingdom is vacant: From whence it neceſſarily follows, That if there be an Exception for the Succeſſion, in reference to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, there is alſo one for the Guardianſhip; and that if the States of *Bohemia* have a Right to elect a King, they have alſo that of aſſigning a Tutor or Guardian to the King in his Minority. And indeed, when in the Year 1519, after the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian* I, the Empire would proceed to an Election; it was not *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, Unkle by the Father's ſide to King *Lewis*, who was then but thirteen Years old, but the Eſtates of the Kingdom that deputed to the Election. In the Year 1619, at the Election of *Ferdinand* II, the ſame States, writing to the Elector of *Mayence*, ſaid, That during the Minority of their King, the Benefit and Adminiſtration of the Electoral Rights, do not belong to the neareſt Relations, but to the Eſtates and Grandees of the Kingdom. It is true that *Ferdinand* made them this Anſwer, That the States of *Bohemia* were not call'd to the Election of *Charles* V, but the King himſelf was invited thereto, who ſent thither the Baron of *Sternburg*: and that it was he that was preſent at the Election, and not the Deputies of the States. But this Anſwer ſignifies nothing, becauſe according to the Preſcription of the Law it was requiſite that the Adminiſtrator of *Lewis* ſhould aſſiſt at the Election, and not the Embaſſador of the King, who being then a Minor had no Right to depute, ſince as he could not elect in Perſon before the Age of eighteen Years complete; ſo neither could he before that Time elect by Proxy or Embaſſador. At this Day it is no longer liable to theſe Diſputes: For the Kingdom of *Bohemia* is acknowledg'd for hereditary ſince the Peace of *Munſter*, and the King's neareſt Relation by the Father's ſide is Adminiſtrator of the Electoral Dignity in *Bohemia* as well as in *Bavaria*, in *Saxony*, in *Brandenburg*, and in the *Palatinate*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

* Now the Queſtion is, whether the ſame Elector can poſſeſs two Electorates to the Prejudice of the Diſpoſition of the Law, which fixes the Number of the Electors in ſuch manner, that it ſeems as if it could not be diminiſh'd, as it has not hitherto been augmented, but for very urgent and weighty Reaſons, and by a general Reſolution of all the States of the Empire. We ſay that the Law regulates the Number of the Suffrages or Votes, rather than that of the Electors, and that it is certain that as the ſame Prince may poſſeſs ſeveral Principalities, he may alſo acquire ſeveral Electorates. For it is evident that that might happen by the Extinction of all the Princes of the Houſes of *Saxony* or of *Brandenburg*: In which caſe, ſuppoſing alſo that there were none left neither in the Houſe of *Heſſe*, the Electoral Dignity would paſs into the ſurviving Family,

* *One Elector may poſſeſs two Electorates.*

the

the chief of which would without doubt poſſeſs two Electorates, and would re-unite them in his Perſon. And if the Arms of the laſt Elector *Palatin* had had the Succeſs in *Bohemia* which might reaſonably have been hop'd for, it is certain he had alſo had two Votes in the Electoral College.

* The ſame Reaſon that hinders the young Elector from doing the Electoral Functions before the Age of eighteen Years complete; removes from the Succeſſion him who is not *Compos Mentis*, or that ſome other natural Defect renders incapable of acting. For whereas the Law ordains Guardians to private Perſons, when they are Fools or mad, the *Golden Bull* gives Succeſſors to thoſe Princes whom the Infirmity of Mind diſables from performing thoſe Functions that are inſeparable from this high Dignity. It expreſſes it ſelf thus: † *Nevertheleſs it is our Will, that the eldeſt Son ſucceed, and that all the Demeſne and all the Right belong to him alone: unleſs he be a Fool, or has ſome ſuch other notable Defect, which abſolutely diſables him from governing. In which caſe we deprive him of the Succeſſion, to which we call the ſecond Son if there be any*, &c. The Law makes no mention of thoſe who become Fools after the Succeſſion; So that as it does not ſay, that a Prince may be depos'd for Imbecillity of Mind, it ſeems as if in ſuch caſe the Direction of the Common Law ought to be obſerv'd, and their Example follow'd, who during their Princes Folly or Diſability have given the Adminiſtration of Affairs to their neareſt Relations by the Father's ſide; in the ſame manner as the Law ordains concerning the Guardianſhip during their Minority.

‡ Notwithſtanding the Electors are true and lawful Princes Electors of the Holy Empire by virtue of their Principalities, * and that the Right, Vote, and Power of the Election belongs without any Difficulty or Conteſtation to the eldeſt Son, who ſhall be Lay and lawfully born; yet the Elector who finds himſelf ſeiz'd of the real Poſſeſſion of the Electorate by the Death of his Predeceſſor, and who effectually enjoys all its Rights by virtue of the Inveſtiture given to the firſt Acquirer, is nevertheleſs oblig'd to renew the Inveſtiture, and to receive a Confirmation thereof within a Year and a Day after his Acceſſion to his Eſtates, and to reiterate the Oath which he owes to the Empire at every Change that ſhall happen. But foraſmuch as it is, properly ſpeaking, but a mere Ceremony, ſo it is only done for Forms ſake: For whereas in the new Inveſtiture he that demands it is oblig'd to take it in Perſon, and get himſelf accompany'd by Peers of the Empire, as we have ſeen in that of *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, and in that of *Maximilian* Elector of *Bavaria*, who was accompany'd in the Year 1623. by the Archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*, and by Duke *Albert* of *Bavaria* his Brother; the Inveſtiture which is given at the Change of the Emperors, or of the Electors, may be demanded by Proxy, and it is ſufficient to have uſual Witneſſes to this Action; becauſe it is of ſo little Importance, that it gives no new Quality to the Elector, who without it does nevertheleſs aſſiſt at the Elections, and do all the other Electoral Functions.

† We ſhall ſpeak of the Offices of the Secular Electors, and of their Functions, when we treat of each Elector in particular: and we ſhall content our ſelves to ſay here, for what relates to them in general, That their Offices were for a long time ambulatory; and that they were appropriated to the Electors, but only when the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the States and Principalities, from which it is now inſeparable. Which is what is very certain, if we look back to the Time of *Charlemagne*, and of the Emperors of his Houſe, under whom the Dutchies and Counties were not as yet hereditary. The Duke was not Governor of a Province, but as the Count was Governor of a ſingle Town, and he held the Government only at the Will of the Emperor. At the Coronation of the Emperor *Otho* I, which was perform'd at *Aix la Chapelle* in the Year 936, *Giſelbert*, Duke of *Lorrain*, diſcharg'd the Office of Great Chamberlain; *Eberhard*, Duke of *Franconia*, that of High Steward; *Herman*, Duke of *Suabia* that of Great Cup-bearer, and *Arnauld* Duke of *Bavaria* that of Great Mareſchal: altho' *Sigefrid*, to whom *Wittikind* ‡ gives the Quality of *Optimus Saxonum*, that is to ſay, of the chief Nobleman of *Saxony*, is there perſonally preſent, and might have executed his Office, if at that Time it had been annex'd to his Family or Principality. No mention is made there of the King of *Bohemia*, of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, nor of the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*. * *Meſico* and *Boleſlas*, Dukes of *Bohemia*, were preſent at the Diet the Emperor *Otho* III. had conven'd at *Quedlinburg* in the Year 985. But they did not diſcharge the Office of Cup-bearer; on the contrary, the Emperor caus'd it to be executed by *Hetzelon*, Count *Palatin*; while *Henry* I. Duke of *Bavaria* diſcharg'd that of High Steward; *Conrade* Duke of *Franconia* that of Great Chamberlain, and *Bernard* Duke of *Saxony*, that of Maſter of the Horſe, or Great Mareſchal. And indeed it will not appear that the Kings of *Bohemia* have executed the Office of Great Cupbearer before the Coronation of the Emperor *William* of *Holland*, where *Wenceſlas* King of *Bohemia* officiated in the Ceremonies thereof, as *Joannes à Beka* ſays, who was a contemporary Author, and after him *Trithemius*, and other more modern Authors. The ſame may be ſaid of the three other Secular Electors, and that it is only ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, that they take the Quality of Officers of the Empire. While the Electoral Dignity of *Saxony* remain'd in the Houſe of *Anhalt*, its Princes were contented to take the Quality of Great Mareſchal of the Empire: and in the Bull publiſh'd by the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, in Favour of the King of *Bohemia* his Son-in-Law; *Rupert* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and *Rodolphus* the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Saxony*, take the Quality of Lord High Steward, and of Great Mareſchal of the Empire, and do not ſpeak at all of that of Elector, which at that Time was conſider'd as a Faculty, rather than as a particular Dignity. *Albinus*, who has

* *A Fool cannot ſucceed in the Electorate.* † *Chap.* XXV. §. 1. ‡ *Inveſtiture.* * *Chap.* VII. §. 21.
† *Of the Offices of the Secular Electors.* ‡ Lib. 2. * Ditmar. Hiſt. Sax. Lib. 4.

written the Chronicles of *Miſnia*, ſays, That *Albert* ſirnam'd the *German Achilles*, who dy'd in the Year 1486, was the firſt Prince of the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, that took the Quality of Elector in his Letters. At this Day they all aſſume the Quality of their Offices, and add thereto that of *Prince Elector of the Holy Empire:* but in the Subſcriptions they only make uſe of their Chriſtian Names, and of the Quality of Elector. Within ſome Years the Office of hereditary Great Treaſurer of the Empire has been created in Favour of the Elector *Palatin* of the *Rhine*.

The Secular Electors, as hereditary Officers of the Empire, have their Vicars, whoſe Offices are alſo perpetual and hereditary, and who do the Functions thereof, in the Abſence of the Electors. But foraſmuch as we here ſpeak only of the Electors, and that this Chapter is already but too large, we ſhall reſerve that for a particular Diſcourſe hereafter. But we ſhall here obſerve by the way the Error of thoſe who believe and teach, that the Secular Electors hold of the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg* on the account of their hereditary Offices: The Truth being, that they are not only hereditary Officers of the Crown of the Empire, of which they hold by reaſon of their Offices, as well as on the ſcore of their Principalities, and of the Electoral Dignity; but they are alſo hereditary Officers of the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg*, where they have alſo perpetual Vicars, but very different from thoſe they have in the Empire; as we ſhall ſhew in the following Chapter.

* The *Golden Bull* eſtabliſhes two different Orders for the Rank among the Secular Electors: the one as to their Seat, and the other in Proceſſions. It regulates their Seat in Chapter IV, where it ſays; *That in all the Courts, or Imperial Aſſemblies, where the Emperor and the Princes are perſonally preſent, as well in the Council as at Table, the King of* Bohemia, *as being a Crown'd Head, and Sacred, ſhall take Place immediately after that Archbiſhop who, according to the Place of the Aſſembly, ſhall be on the Emperor's Right Hand, by virtue of the preſent Ordinance: and after him on the ſame Side ſhall be ſeated the Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine. *On the Left Hand, immediately after the Archbiſhop who ſhall be on that ſide, ſhall be ſeated the Duke of* Saxony, *and after him the Marquiſs of* Brandenburg. So that at the General Aſſemblies, where the Electors place themſelves in the ſame Line with the Emperor, they form'd the following Figure.

Palatin. *Bohemia.* *Mayence.* The Emperor. *Triers.* *Cologn.* *Saxony.* *Brandenburg.*

And in the particular Aſſemblies, and at ſolemn Feaſts, this.

The Emperor.

Mayence. *Triers.* *Cologn.*

Bohemia. *Saxony.*

Palatin. *Brandenburg.*

But the ſame *Golden Bull* requires, that at Proceſſions, and in Marching, the Electors ſhall obſerve the Order which it preſcribes in Chap. XXII. to wit, *That the Duke of* Saxony, *carrying the Imperial Sword, ſhall go immediately before the Emperor, having before him the Archbiſhop of* Triers: *On his Right the Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine *carrying the Ball or Globe; and on his Left the Marquiſs of* Brandenburg, *carrying the Scepter. The King of* Bohemia *ſhall march immediately after the Emperor; which will repreſent the following Figure.*

	Cologn.	*Brandenburg.*	
Bohemia.	The Emperor.	*Saxony.*	*Triers.*
	Mayence.	*Palatin.*	

But foraſmuch as this Order cannot be obſerv'd at this Day, becauſe by the Peace of *Munſter* an eighth Elector has been created, to whom there was a Neceſſity to give a Place, the States of the Empire aſſembl'd at *Ratisbone* in the Year 1653, and 54, taking into Conſideration that at the augmenting the Number of the Electors, Care had not been taken to regulate the Rank of the eighth: For want whereof thoſe Diſorders might enſue, which the Emperor *Charles* IV. intended to prevent by his Ordinance; they deſir'd the Electoral College to make a Regulation for their Ranks and Seats, as well at the general Diets as at the particular Aſſemblies, where the Electors meet for the Affairs of the Empire, and for the Election of an Emperor, or of a King of the *Romans*. We ſhall not deviate from our Subject, and ſhall only ſpeak here of the Electoral Diets, where the Electors will have the following Order obſerv'd.

† When the Princes Electors ſhall be aſſembl'd for the Election of an Emperor, or of a King of the *Romans*, they ſhall take their Seats in ſuch manner, that *Mayence* ſhall have the firſt Place, *Triers* and *Cologn* the ſecond and third alternately, *Bohemia* alternately after the Eccleſiaſticks, *Bavaria* the fifth, *Saxony* the ſixth, *Brandenburg* the ſeventh, and the *Palatin* the eighth, all in a Line. Provided always, and be it to be underſtood, that this ſhall be obſerv'd when all the Electors ſhall be perſonally preſent at the Election, or when they

* *The Order of Precedency among the Secular Electors.*

† *The Order in which the Electors ſhall ſit when all preſent.*

ſhall all ſend thither their Deputies or Embaſſadors, and that ſo there be an Equality amongſt all that are preſent: *For if it ſhall happen that ſome ſhall come in Perſon, and the others ſend their Deputies or Embaſſadors, it is certain that all the Electors preſent ſhall precede all the Embaſſadors of the abſent.

† Formerly the Electors, in accompanying the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, to the Church, or to other publick Aſſemblies after his Election, march'd in the Order preſcrib'd by the *Golden Bull*, in the manner we have repreſented before; but there was a Neceſſity to change it intirely, on the account of the eighth Electorate: and the Electors have agreed, that at this Day *Triers* ſhall nevertheleſs march firſt, and alone as before, but that after him ſhall march *Bavaria*, carrying the Globe, having on his Right *Brandenburg* with the Scepter; and on his Left the *Palatin*, carrying the Crown: After them ſhall come the Elector of *Saxony* alone, bearing the Sword immediately before the Emperor, who ſhall have by his Sides *Mayence* and *Cologn*, and after him the King of *Bohemia* in the following manner.

	Cologn.		*Palatin.*	
The King of *Bohemia.*	The Emperor.	*Saxony.*	*Bavaria.*	*Triers.*
	Mayence.		*Brandenburg.*	

‡ But when there ſhall be only the Elector of *Saxony*, who carries the Sword before the Emperor, without the other Electors bearing the other Regalia or Ornaments of the Empire, there ſhall be ſome Alteration in their March; for the Elector of *Triers*, who before march'd at the Head of the Proceſſion, ſhall take Place after the Electors of *Bavaria*, of *Brandenburg* and *Palatin*, who ſhall march firſt, and a breaſt, and after them *Triers* alone, before *Saxony*, who ſhall march in his Rank as well as the others, thus.

	Cologn.			*Palatin.*
Bohemia.	The Emperor.	*Saxony.*	*Triers.*	*Bavaria.*
	Mayence.			*Brandenburg.*

It is true that formerly the Elector of *Triers* march'd immediately before the Emperor, betwixt him and the three Secular Electors, when they did not carry the Regalia or Imperial Ornaments, nor the Elector of *Saxony* the Sword: but foraſmuch as the Number of the Electors has been augmented, and that it was difficult to make all the four Secular Electors march a breaſt, it was agreed that for the future they ſhould march two and two; to wit, *Brandenburg* and *Palatin* firſt, after them *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, and then *Triers*, who is to march alone immediately before the Emperor. The Archbiſhops of *Mayence* and of *Cologn* ſhall be in their Places on each ſide of his Imperial Majeſty, and the King of *Bohemia* in his uſual Rank after him; ſo that they will then form the following Figure.

	Cologn.		*Saxony.*	*Palatin.*
Bohemia.	The Emperor.	*Triers.*		
	Mayence.		*Bavaria.*	*Brandenburg.*

*However if it happens that all the Electors are not all perſonally preſent at the Elections, but that ſome of them are there by their Proxies or Embaſſadors, it is certain that then all the Electors who ſhall be preſent ſhall precede the Embaſſadors of the abſent. So that if the *Palatin*, who is the laſt of all, happens to be the only of the Seculars preſent at the Election, which is not very extraordinary, becauſe the others are very remote; he ſhall without any Difficulty have the Precedency of all the Embaſſadors of the abſent, and ſhall march immediately after the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, who are oblig'd to be there in Perſon, by reaſon of the Functions of their Offices, which are perſonal. This muſt be underſtood of the Seats and the Rank the Electors hold, when they are not oblig'd to carry the Regalia or Imperial Ornaments. For when they carry them, the Embaſſadors of the abſent do not take the Place of their Maſters, ſince they rather repreſent the hereditary Officers of the Crown of the Empire on this occaſion, than the Electors; but their Vicars, to whom the Law appropriates the Function of thoſe Offices in the Abſence of the Electors; and who march in the ſame Rank the Electors would hold, if they were there preſent. We ſhall add here, that the

* *Rank of the Embaſſadors of abſent Electors.* † *Order of Marching with the Regalia, without the Regalia.* ‡ *Order of Marching* * *Rank of the Embaſſadors of the abſent Electors.*

Emperor

Emperor requires the Secular Electors ſhould cauſe their Sons and preſumptive Heirs to be inſtructed, when they are ſeven Years old, in foreign Languages, eſpecially in the *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Sclavonian*, that they may thereby become ſo much the more capable of aſſiſting the Emperor in the Government of the Empire. He names the *Latin*, as being the moſt univerſal; the *Sclavonian*, becauſe that in *Bohemia*, and the Provinces which depend thereon, it is common and familiar; and the *Italian*, becauſe ſeveral Princes of thoſe Parts ſtill acknowledge the Empire; tho' by the Word which the *German* Text of the *Golden Bull* makes uſe of, may alſo be underſtood the *French* Tongue, which was familiar, and, as it were, natural to the Emperor *Charles* IV.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Vicars of the Empire, and of the Vicars of the Electors.

THE preceding Chapter, in treating of the Secular Electors in General, not having permitted us to ſpeak of the Vicarſhip of the Empire, during the *Interregnum*, becauſe that Dignity is appropriated to the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and to the Duke of *Saxony*, to the Excluſion of the others, we find our ſelves oblig'd to beſtow a particular Chapter thereon: At the beginning of which we ſhall ſay, That notwithſtanding it ſeems as if the *Golden Bull*, when it ſays, *That* * *when the Empire ſhall become vacant, the Illuſtrious Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine, *Great Steward of the holy Empire, ſhall be Vicar of the Empire in* Suabia, &c. would infer, that the Vicarſhip of the Count *Palatin*, and of the Duke of *Saxony*, cannot take Place but only when the Empire is vacant; that is to ſay, after the Death of the Emperor, and during the *Interregnum*: Yet this muſt be underſtood to extend to the Abſence the Emperor, † who not being in a Condition to adminiſter Affairs, and to govern in his own Perſon, theſe two Electors have a Right to do their Office of Vicars, in the ſame manner as if the Empire was vacant. The Reaſon thereof is, becauſe theſe two Vicars have not a delegated or tranſitory, but an ordinary and perpetual Power, which they hold of the Law directly, without any Dependence on the Will of the Emperor, who cannot put Vicars in their Room, at his going out of the Empire, unleſs it be with their Conſent. To which refers the Conſtitution ‡ of the Emperor *Rupert* of *Bavaria*, who deſigning to paſs into *Italy* in the Year 1401, left the Vicarſhip of the Empire to *Lewis*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, his Son; becauſe, ſays he, he had a perfect Knowledge of his Fidelity and Conduct, but *Præcipuè advertentes, a Divis Romanis Imperatoribus & Regibus, Prædeceſſoribus noſtris, hactenus fuiſſe obſervatum, ac etiam de Jure Comitatus* Palatinatus Rheni *fuiſſe, & eſſe, quod cum* Romanus *Imperator, vel Rex, ultra Montes in* Italiam *ingreſſus fuerit, in ipſius abſentia Vicariatum Imperii in* Germania, Gallia, *& Regno* Arelatenſi, *ad Comitem* Palatinum Rheni *pertinuiſſe & pertinere*, &c. For altho' the ſame Emperor adds, That he makes this Nomination of his Son by the Advice of the States, and after having put the Affair in Deliberation with the Electors, Princes, and other Lords of the Empire, of his certain Knowledge and imperial Authority, which would not be neceſſary if the Right of the Vicarſhip belong'd to the *Palatin* and *Palatinate* by virtue of the Law; yet it may be ſaid, that he was oblig'd to do ſo, not only becauſe the Power which he gives him exceeds that which the *Golden Bull* gives to the Vicars, but alſo becauſe he extends it to all *Germany*, even to thoſe Provinces where the Duke of *Saxony* is indubitably entitled to it during the *Interregnum*.

It is a hard Matter to ſay preciſely, when this Right began to be annex'd to the *Palatinate*, or whether it be a Conſequence of the Juriſdiction the Count *Palatin* had formerly in the imperial Court, and which the *Golden Bull* ſays * belongs to him by a very ancient Cuſtom, in reference to the Perſon of the Emperor himſelf: But they who have ſpoken thereof, with Advantage to the *Palatin*, agree that it cannot be fetch'd higher than from the *Interregnum* between the Death of *Rodolphus* I. and the Election of *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*; tho' it be certain that from that Time, he has ſo well maintain'd himſelf in this Right, that when the Emperors have been for giving Vicars to the Empire, to adminiſter the Affairs thereof in their Abſence, they have been oblig'd to ſecure to the Elector *Palatin* the Preſervation of his Right by their Letters Patents. The Emperor *Charles* V. intending to eſtabliſh his Brother *Ferdinand* Vicar of the Empire, during his Abſence: was oblig'd to aſſure the Count *Palatin*, that that Action ſhould not prejudice him. The Conſtitutions of the Empire, of 1556, and 1569, under *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* II, of 1575, 78, 85, and of 1594, under *Rodolphus* II, and of 1612, under *Matthias*, confirm this Right to the *Palatin*: And it is only within ſome Years, and ſince the Beginning of this Century, that it has begun to be aſſerted, That this Advantage, as well as the *Palatine* Electoral Dignity, is due to the Dutchy of *Bavaria*. But this Diſpute never came out of the School, till after the Death of the late Emperor, the Elector of *Bavaria* pretended that this Right had been transferr'd to him, together with the Electoral Dignity, by the Treaty of *Munſter*, when it ſaid, † *That the Electoral Dignity, which the*

* Palatin *and* Saxony, *Vicars of the Empire.*
‡ Goldaſt. Conſti. Imp. Tom. 1. pag. 311.
† *Vicars during the Emperor's Abſence.*
* Chap. v. §. 3.
† §. *And firſt.*

Electors

Electors Palatin *have heretofore poſſeſs'd, together with all their Offices, Regalia, Precedencies, Arms and Rights, whatever they may be, depending on this Dignity, without excepting any, ſhall remain to the Lord* Maximilian, *Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine, *Duke of* Bavaria, *and to his Children*; &c.

The *Palatin*, on the contrary, maintain'd, That the Right of Vicarſhip was not annex'd to the Electoral Dignity, and ſo it could not paſs along with it to another Family: But that the Law and ancient Cuſtom appropriated that Right to the *Palatinate*, and that he was Vicar of the Empire, not as Elector, but as Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*; which Quality gave him alſo that of Judge of the Emperor. It is true that the *Golden Bull* ſays very expreſſly, That *the Count* Palatin, *Great Steward of the Empire, is Vicar of the Empire, on the Account of his Principality, or by virtue of the Privilege particularly annex'd to the* Palatinate. But the Elector of *Bavaria* anſwers, That the Emperor ſpeaks in thoſe Terms, becauſe the Electoral Dignity was alſo annex'd to the *Palatinate*, from which Dignity the Right of Vicarſhip being inſeparable, it ought to paſs with it to his Perſon and Family. And indeed, all the other Electors declar'd in favour of *Bavaria*; and the Chamber of *Spires* it ſelf ſuffer'd *Bavaria* and *Saxony* to compoſe, with their joint Arms, the Seal which it makes uſe of during the *Interregnum*; and it makes uſe of their Names to authorize the Edicts it iſſues out at preſent.

‡ The Extent of the Vicariate of the *Palatin* comprehends *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and the Courſe of the *Rhine*; that is to ſay, all *Germany*, from the Source of the *Rhine* and the *Danube* to the Low Countries, compriſing therein all that ſtill acknowledges the Empire in *Italy*, *Savoy*, and *Burgundy*. And that of *Saxony* comprehends not only the Provinces where the *Saxon* Law takes Place, but alſo all the others that are ſituate within the Circles of the Upper and Lower *Saxony*; as the Dutchies of *Brunſwick* and of *Lunenburg*, of *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, and of *Breme*, which make uſe of the Common Law.

* The Power of the Vicars is ſo great, that excepting the Inveſtiture of the Principalities, they can do all that the Emperor could do in Perſon; with this Difference nevertheleſs, that what they have done ſtands in need of the Confirmation of the Emperor, who, at his Acceſſion to the Crown, generally confirms all that the Vicars have done during the *Interregnum*; and that they who have done Homage to the Vicars, are oblig'd to renew the ſame to the Emperor's ſelf, becauſe it is a Duty that cannot be refus'd to the Perſon. They exerciſe their Power ſeparately, each in the Provinces which the Law aſſigns him; unleſs it be in the Chamber of *Spires*, the which adminiſtring Juſtice in the Name of all the Eſtates of the Empire, acknowledges both the Vicars, becauſe by excluding the one, ſhe would thereby acknowledge the other for ſole Vicar of the whole Empire. When we ſay that their Power has the ſame Extent as that of the Emperor himſelf, we conclude therefrom, That the perpetual Vicars, as the Dukes of *Savoy*, of *Mantua*, and others, who acknowledge the Authority of the Emperor, ought to acknowledge that of the Vicars during the *Interregnum*, which is what is indubitable.

The chief Advantages of the Vicars are, 1. The Right of Regalia, or to nominate to Benefices, which the *Germans* call, *Jus primariarum precum*, which belongs to the Emperor; to the Excluſion of all the other Princes. 2. To receive the Revenues of the Demeſne of the Empire, and to diſpoſe thereof for the Publick Good. 3. To receive Fealty and Homage from the Vaſſals of the Empire, unleſs the Fiefs are of the Nature of thoſe which we ſhall ſpeak of by and by. 4. To judge Cauſes in the firſt Inſtance, concerning which Recourſe may be had to the *Aulick* Council, to the Excluſion of the Chamber of *Spires*; and generally all the other Advantages which the Emperor enjoys as Emperor.

The two Caſes reſerv'd by the Law are, The Alienation of the Demeſne of the Empire, and the Inveſtiture which is given by the Standard and by the Sceptre. As for the firſt, it is not in the Power of the Emperor himſelf, to alienate or mortgage the Demeſne of the Empire without the expreſs Conſent of the Electors: And as for the other, it is not juſt that they, who are Members depending on the Empire immediately, and who enjoy all the Rights of Regalia, as well as the Vicars, ſhould do Submiſſions to any body elſe than the Emperor in Perſon, to whom they are reſerv'd by the expreſs Diſpoſition of the Law.

The Vicarſhip which begins preſently after the Death, and with the Abſence of the Emperor, ends at his Return, and by a new Election.

† The Vicars of the Electors are hereditary Officers of the Empire, ſubſtituted to the Officers of the Crown of the Empire, to diſcharge their Offices in their Abſence. The King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, who has ſucceeded in the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity, the Duke of *Saxony* and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, have each of them theirs. The King of *Bohemia*, as Great Cup-bearer of the Empire, has for Vicar the Baron of *Limburg*; and in the Office of Great Cup-bearer of the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg*, the Lord of *Auffas*. At the Time of the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, the Lord of *Norremberg* was Vicar to the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, in the Office of Great Steward of the Empire; and in that of ‡ Great Steward of the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg*, he has for Vicar the Lord *Truchſes**, of *Pommerfelden*. The Baron of *Selnick*, or of *Seldech*, did this Office at the Coronation of the Emperor *Maximilian* I, and at this Day it belongs to the Family of *Waltbourg*, which bears alſo the Name or Quality of *Truchſes*. The Count of *Pappenheim* is Vicar of the Duke of *Saxony*, as Great Mareſchal of the Empire, who in his Office of Great Mareſchal of the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg*, has for Vicar the Lord of *Ebnen*. The Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, as Great Chamberlain, has for Vicar in the Empire the Count of *Hohenzollern*, who ſucceeded in that Office

‡ *The Extent of the Vicariate.*
‡ *Vicars of the Biſhoprick of* Bamberg.
* *The Power of the Vicars.*
* *The Word ſignifies properly a Sewer, or the Office which is call'd in* Italy, Scalco.
† *Vicars of the Electors.*

to

to the Count of *Falquenſtein*, and to the Baron of *Winsberg*, whoſe Families are extinct; and in the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg*, the Lord of *Rottenhan*. The Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, as Great Treaſurer of the Emperor, has no Function nor Vicar in the Empire, no more than in the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg*.

The Secular Electors are oblig'd to do Homage to the Biſhop of *Bamberg*, for the hereditary Offices of his Church; but that is perform'd by Proxy, and without Ceremonies: The Proxy only ſaying, that he preſents himſelf there to demand the Inveſtiture, and the Biſhop making Anſwer, That he gives it according to the uſual Cuſtom. Their Vicars in the Biſhoprick diſcharge their Offices at the Entries of the new Biſhops, and do Homage for the ſame to the Electors: But the † Vicars of the Electors of the Empire, hold alſo of the Empire, which has eſtabliſh'd them in their Offices: So that if an Elector, when he ſends an Embaſſador to the Diet, or to the Election, ſhould give him an expreſs Power to do the Functions of his Office, he would not be admitted; becauſe the Vicars are the proper Officers in the Abſence of the Electors. And thus it was judg'd in the Year 1486, at the Coronation of *Maximilian* I, where the Baron of *Winsberg* was maintain'd in the Exerciſe of his Office of Chamberlain, againſt the Pretenſions of the Embaſſador of the Elector of *Brandenburg*: And for the Baron of *Limburg*, againſt the Embaſſadors of *Bohemia* at the Coronation of *Charles* V, at *Aix la Chapelle*: And even in Favour of the Count of *Pappenheim*, againſt the Pretenſions of the Prince of *Anhalt*, who was preſent at *Cologn*, at the Coronation of the ſame Emperor *Charles*, in the Name, and as Embaſſador from the Elector of *Saxony*, Great Mareſchal hereditary of the Empire: Examples, that were follow'd at the Coronations of *Maximilian* II, of *Rodolphus* II, of *Matthias*, of *Ferdinand* II, where there was not ſo much as one Secular Elector preſent; of *Ferdinand* III, where there was only the Duke of *Bavaria*; and of the King of the *Romans*, who dy'd laſt.

We muſt however obſerve, in theſe three laſt Coronations, that the Kings of *Bohemia* had not their Embaſſadors there, but were preſent, and were there choſen Emperors; ſo that there was an abſolute Neceſſity their Offices ſhould be diſcharg'd by the Vicars: And it is to what we may refer the Example of *Charles* IV, who being King of *Bohemia*, and not being able to execute the Office of Great Cup-bearer, becauſe he was choſen Emperor, he caus'd it to be perform'd by *Valram* Duke of *Brabant* and of *Luxemburg*. But at this Day the Vicars are in Poſſeſſion of diſcharging the Functions of the Offices in the Abſence of the Electors.

‡ When the Electors are perſonally preſent at the Election, or Coronation of the Emperor, they execute their Offices themſelves, in the manner we ſhall ſee hereafter, and then their Vicars have no Function at all; nay, they are not any way aſſiſting to them in the Execution of their Offices; except that they wait for the Electors at the Gate of the Town-Houſe of *Franckfort*, or of the Place where the Imperial Feaſt is prepar'd, in order to help each their Elector to get on Horſeback, and diſmount; and in Acknowledgment of this ſmall Service, the Elector gives the Horſe he rode upon, and the Plate that was employ'd in the Exerciſe of his Office, to the Vicar that is ſubſtituted to him.

* There is only Count *Pappenheim*, Vicar to the Elector of *Saxony*, in his Office of Great Mareſchal of the Empire, whoſe Function is of a greater Extent; for he performs his Office firſt at the Diets which are conven'd for the general Affairs of the Empire: Secondly, at the particular Aſſemblies the Electors have about the Election: Thirdly, at the Coronations: Fourthly, at the Journeys the Emperors formerly took into *Italy*, in order to receive the Imperial Crown at *Rome*: And fifthly, in the Armies where the Emperor commands in Perſon.

When theſe Occaſions offer, the Elector of *Saxony* ſends Word to the eldeſt of the Counts of *Pappenheim*, or elſe he writes to all the Counts of the ſame Houſe in general; that is to ſay, to thoſe who are concern'd in the Caſtle of *Pappenheim*, and have not had their Portion elſewhere; to take care that nothing may be wanting that depends on the Functions of his Office, which conſiſt chiefly, firſt, in the Diſcharge of the Functions of Maſter of the Ceremonies, to introduce the Princes and other Eſtates of the Empire to the Emperor, and into the Room where the Aſſembly is held: Secondly, to cauſe a Throne to be prepar'd for the Emperor: As alſo, thirdly, to diſpoſe the Seats and Benches for the Electors, Princes, and Deputies of the Free Towns: Fourthly, formerly, he regulated the Seats of the Princes, and took each Prince by the Arm to conduct him to his Place. But the Accident that happen'd at the Diet of *Augsburg*, under the Emperor *Frederick* III, where *Sigiſmund*, Count of *Pappenheim*, having preferr'd *Albert* Duke of *Saxony* to *George* of *Bavaria*, this laſt was ſo offended thereat, that he ſent a Challenge to the Count thereupon: The Emperor prevented the Combat, but yet this Accident gave Occaſion to change the ancient Cuſtom; and it was ordain'd that the Emperor ſhould, for the future, regulate the Order of the Seſſion among the Princes. Fifthly, it is his Care to ſignify to the Princes, and Deputies of the Towns, the Hour fix'd for the Aſſembly: Sixthly, in the particular Aſſemblies which the Princes have at the Diets, he takes the Votes, and computes the Suffrages: Seventhly, at the time of the Election he diſpoſes the Guards at the Gates of the Town, and at the Chamber where the Electors are aſſembled: And eighthly, he keeps the Key of the Door of the Place where the Electors are ſhut up during the Election.

The Count of *Pappenheim* is oblig'd to be perſonally preſent at all the Aſſemblies, where the Emperor or the Elector of *Saxony* are preſent; and in his Abſence, the Mareſchal of the Emperor's Court executes the Office, which is what he has in common with all the other Vi-

† *The Vicars, and not the Embaſſadors, do the Office of the Electors.*
* *The Office of the Count of* Pappenheim.
‡ *The Vicars have no Functions in the Preſence of the Electors.*

cars of the Electors, to whom the Officers of the Court are ſubſtituted in their Abſence, each in his reſpective Office.

The Count of *Pappenheim* has moreover this peculiar to him, that he can appoint a Lieutenant, which he can nominate of his own Authority, and ſend him to the Town where the Diet is conven'd, (when he can't go thither in Perſon) with *Credentials* from the Elector of *Saxony* to the Magiſtrate of the Place, to ſee into the Conveniency of Lodgings, and of the room where the Aſſembly is to be held; to inform himſelf of the Goodneſs of the Air, and whether the Town be not infected with any contagious Malady, or whether it be not incommoded with Soldiers, as alſo of the Price and Conveniency of Proviſions; and if he finds any Difficulty, he gives Advice thereof to the Emperor and to the Duke of *Saxony*.

Formerly the Count of *Pappenheim* did not ſettle the Lodgings, without an Aſſiſtant appointed by the Magiſtracy of the Place of the Aſſembly: but by the Agreement made between the Count and the Imperial Towns, in the Diet aſſembl'd at *Augsburg* in the Year 1614, they yielded to him the marking of them; whoſe Authority therein is ſo abſolute, that even the Embaſſadors of foreign Princes are not allow'd to cauſe Lodgings to be ſecur'd to them; nay even thoſe Princes who have Houſes in the Town where the Diet is held, cannot make uſe of them without the Count of *Pappenheim*'s Permiſſion, tho' he cannot refuſe to give them his Mark, if requir'd ſo to do. At preſent the Lodgings are prepar'd by Agreement between the Count and the Emperor's Harbingers, and thoſe of the Electors and of the other Princes of the Empire.

The chief Function of the Count of *Pappenheim*, is to carry the Sword before the Emperor in the Abſence of the Elector of *Saxony*, even to the Excluſion of his Embaſſadors, as we before obſerv'd, tho' they ſhould have the Quality of Princes; which is not impoſſible, as we ſaw juſt now in the Perſon of the Prince of *Anhalt*, who aſſiſted at the Coronation of the Emperor *Charles* V. And at the next Election, Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſaw* will be there, in the Quality of Embaſſador from the Elector of *Brandenburg*. However, if the Prince who is preſumptive Heir of the Electoral Dignity repreſents the Perſon of his Father, the Count owes him that Deference, as to ſuffer him to do the Functions of his Office on two or three Occaſions. It depend's on the Emperor to give Orders to have the Sword carry'd before him: then the Count ought to carry it naked, and himſelf uncover'd, having his right Hand on his Stomach, in ſuch manner that the Point of the Sword may appear above his Shoulder. He ought not to ſuffer the Pope's Croſs-bearer, or that of a Cardinal Legate *a Latere* to march by his ſide; even tho' the Pope, or the Cardinal Legate ſhould march on the Emperor's ſide; becauſe he ought to have a free uſe of the Sword, unleſs the other Regalia or Imperial Ornaments are alſo born, as the Globe or Golden Ball, and the Scepter: for then he may and ought to ſuffer the Bearers to march a breaſt with him. In the Church, and in the other Places of Ceremony, he holds the Sword with both Hands on his Stomach. At the Elevation of the Sacrament he grounds the Point of his Sword, having his right Hand on the Pummel of the Guard, and holds his left Hand lifted towards Heaven, with his Face always towards the Emperor.

When the Elector of *Saxony* cauſes the Sword to be carry'd before him, this Honour is alſo due to the Count of *Pappenheim*, who carries it before the Elector every where elſe but in *Saxony*, and thoſe Provinces that are annex'd thereto, where the Mareſchal of the Court performs his Functions. He that is the eldeſt of all the Counts of *Pappenheim*, provided he have a Share in the Caſtle, as we have already ſaid, may either execute this Office in Perſon, or nominate any one of his Relations of the ſame Houſe, on whom he has a mind to confer this Honour. When the Elector of *Saxony* diſcharges his Office in Perſon, the Count of *Pappenheim*, inſtead of bearing the Sword, marches at the Head of all the Proceſſion, having by his ſide the Mareſchal of the Emperor's Court, if he be there preſent; if he be not there, he marches alone, holding the commanding Staff in his Hand.

He has this in common with the other Vicars, that of the ſixty three Marks and one Quarter, Silver, which the Princes and other Lords, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, except the Electors, pay for the Inveſtiture, ten belong to him: provided he executes in Perſon the Functions of his Office; becauſe in his abſence this Right belongs to the Mareſchal of the Emperor's Court, as well as the Horſe on which the Prince who receives the Inveſtiture is mounted. However if the Elector of *Saxony* be there in Perſon the Horſe belongs to him, to the Excluſion of the others.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the King of Bohemia, *Prince Elector of the Holy Empire.*

After having treated of the Electoral Dignity, of the Rights, Advantages, Prerogatives and Preemencies of the Electors; of the three Eccleſiaſtical Electors, and of the Secular Electors in general, the Order of our Diſcourſe requires we ſhould now ſpeak of each Secular Elector in particular. We ſhall begin with the King of *Bohemia*, who is without doubt the firſt of the Secular Electors, on the Account of his Royal Dignity: And

And that we may proceed therein with ſome Order, we ſhall ſay a word or two concerning the Kingdom it ſelf, and its Princes.

* There is not any Province in all *Germany*, whoſe Etymology is more indubitable than that of *Bohemia*. The Word *Boheim* ſignifies the Habitation of the *Boij*, People amongſt the *Gauls*, who having penetrated into *Germany* under the Conduct of *Sigoveſus*, Nephew to *Ambigatus*, in the Time of *Tarquinius Priſcus* King of *Rome*, about the Year 587, before the Birth of our Saviour, drove out the *Hermunduri* and the *Nemetes* from thoſe Parts, and ſettled in that Place which the neighbouring People call'd *Bohemia*. *Marobduus* having made himſelf the Head of the *Marcomanni*, under the firſt Emperors, and having a Deſign to make himſelf King of thoſe People of old *Suabia*, he caſt his Eyes on *Bohemia*, which is a Province ſituate at the Extremity of *Germany*, and incompaſs'd with an impenetrable Foreſt; as on a Place where he ſhould be ſhelter'd from the Perſecution of the *Roman* Arms, and drove from thence the *Boij*; whom he oblig'd to retire to the Countrey, which is call'd ſtill at this Day from their Name *Bavaria*. † The *Sclavij* ſucceeded the *Marcomanni*, but their Invaſion, which happen'd about the Year 454, after the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*, did not occaſion the Name which the *Boij* had given that Province to be chang'd. Thoſe *Barbarians* were come out of *Scythia*, or from thoſe Places which are inhabitated at preſent by the *Muſcovites* and the *Tartars:* and having ſhar'd their Conqueſts amongſt them, they caſt the Foundations of the two new States, which at this Day are call'd *Poland* and *Bohemia*. The *Sclavonians*, who inhabit there ſtill, call it indeed in their Language *Cheskazeme*, that is to ſay, Countrey of the *Chez*, or of the Poſterity of *Checus:* but it is a Name unknown, and the *Sclavonians* themſelves make uſe thereof but very rarely.

When we ſay that the *Sclavij* enter'd into *Germany* in the fifth Century, we follow the Opinion of *Cromer* and of *Neugebaur*, who ſay in their Hiſtory of *Poland*, and with a great deal of Probability, that the *Sclavij*, who had quitted *Scythia* to enter into *Muſcovy* a good while before, advanc'd into *Poland*, and afterwards into *Germany* and *Bohemia*, in the Time, and under the Favour of the March of *Attila*, King of the *Huns*; tho' a great many other grave Authors refer the Tranſmigration of the *Northern* People to the Time of the Emperor *Maurice*, who began his Reign in the Year 611, and *Calviſius* puts it in the Year 645. However it be, it is certain that the Inhabitants of *Bohemia* are *Sclavonians* originally, and not *Germans*. This is alſo one of the Reaſons, on which is founded the Opinion of thoſe, who maintain that *Bohemia* does not conſtitute a part of *Germany:* That this Kingdom is no Member of the Empire, and by Conſequence that its King cannot be an Elector. It is the common Opinion of the Doctors on *C. Venerabilem. extr. de El. pot.* ſupported by Cardinal *Bellarmin*, in his Treatiſe, *De Tranſlatione Imperij*; where he ſays, that Bohemia *is not compris'd in any Circle; that its Inhabitants are Strangers; that they do not ſubmit to the Reſolution of the General Diets, and that they do not contribute to the Charges of the Empire:* ſo that to ſecure to the King of *Bohemia* his Electoral Dignity, it is neceſſary firſt to ſhew that *Bohemia* makes a part of *Germany*; and that its Kings are Princes of the Empire.

‡ Every body knows that *Bohemia* is ſituate in the Heart of *Germany*, and is encompaſs'd by the Foreſt *Hercynia*, on all ſides like a Wall, and which ſeparates it towards the *Eaſt* from *Sileſia* and *Moravia*; towards the *North* from *Miſnia* and *Luſatia*; towards the *South* from *Auſtria* and the *Upper Palatinate*; and towards the *Weſt* from *Franconia* and the *Voitland*, which are all Provinces of *Germany*. It is true its Inhabitants are *Sclavij*, and Foreigners originally, but that does not hinder *Bohemia* from making a Part of *Germany*, and of the Empire it ſelf. The People of *Lombardy* were *Germans*, and have for many Ages had Kings of their Countrey, Laws, and a particular Government; notwithſtanding which no body yet has queſtion'd whether *Lombardy* makes a Part of *Italy*. In like manner the *Normans*, who are *Danes* and *Swedes* originally, ſettl'd in *France* ſeveral Ages after the *Sclavij* came into *Bohemia:* But *Normandy* is nevertheleſs one of the moſt conſiderable Provinces of the Kingdom of *France*. The ſame *Sclavii* poſſeſs'd *Pomerania*, the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, and a good part of the Marches of *Brandenburg:* and it is certain that moſt of the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces are *Sclavij* originally, as well as thoſe of *Bohemia:* but that yet does not hinder them from making a Part of *Germany*, and from depending on the Empire.

* It is indeed true, that *Bohemia* is not compris'd under any Circle, and that the Emperor *Maximilian* I, when he regulated the Circles to Six in Number, in the Diet conven'd at *Augſburg*, in the Year 1500, did not comprehend therein *Bohemia*; no more than at the Regulation he made at *Cologn* in the Year 1512, where he augmented the Number thereof to Ten. But it is true alſo, that the Emperor *Wenceſlas*, in making the firſt Regulation for the Circles at *Merguetheim* in the Year 1387, made only Four; whereof *Bohemia*, with the Provinces which depend thereon, made the firſt; and that to be a Member of the Empire it is not neceſſary to be compris'd in any Circle; ſince it is certain that in the Time of the ſame Emperor *Maximilian*, the Great Maſter of the Order of *Pruſſia* was a Prince of the Empire; and yet he does not ſo much as mention *Pruſſia* at all in the Ordinances he made for the Circles.

But to ſpeak pertinently thereof, we muſt preſuppoſe, as a thing that cannot be conteſted, That the Princes and Kings of *Bohemia* acknowledg'd the Empire even in the Time of *Charlemagne*; that they did Homage to the Kings and Emperors of *Germany*; and that they have even had ſome Reſpect for *France*, before its Princes had attain'd to the Imperial Dignity. We ſhall bring ſome Inſtances thereof out of Hiſtory, for the better underſtanding of what we ſhall ſay hereafter.

* *The Origin of the Name.* † *The* Sclavonians *poſſeſs* Bohemia. ‡ Bohemia *makes a part of* Germany; * *And of the Empire.*

We

We read there, that about the Year 600, *Childebert* and *Dagobert*, Kings of both the *Galliæ*, that is to ſay, of the *Oriental* and *Occidental*, commanded the *Bavarians* to make War againſt the *Bohemians*, who had revolted. And *Coſmas* of *Prague* ſays, That *Pepin* King of *France*, and Father to *Charlemagne*, impos'd upon them a Tribute of ſix ſcore Oxen, and of ſix hundred Marks of Silver. The Princes of *Bohemia* have ever acknowledg'd the Emperors of *Germany* as their Sovereign Lords: In the Perſon of *Charlemagne* in the Year 806, and in that of *Lewis* the *Debonnair* his Son in the Year 830. † They did Homage to *Lewis* the *German*, King of *Germany*, Son to *Lewis* the *Debonnair*, in 848, 849, 856, 857, 869, 871, and 874: To *Charles* the *Groſs* in 880: To *Arnoul* or *Arnulfus*, who gave *Bohemia* to *Zuendebold* King of *Moravia*, in 890, 893, and 897; and to *Henry* I, in 920, 921, 922, 928, and in 930; The ſame Emperor *Henry* I, gave leave to *Wenceſlas*, a *Bohemian* Lord, to take the Quality of Prince and Duke: and granted to his Subjects the ſame Rights, Privileges and Liberties, that the *Bavarians* and *Saxons* enjoy'd at that Time. St. *Wenceſlas*, and *Boleſlas* his Brother, did Homage to the Emperor *Otho* I; and *Boleſlas* and *Meſico* to *Otho* III. The Emperor *Henry* II, took *Bohemia* from *Boleſlas* II, and inveſted therewith *Uladimar*, Marquiſs of *Miltzau*. *Uratiſlas*, and *Spitigeneus* his Son, did Homage to the Emperor *Henry* III. *Henry* IV. gave the Quality of King to *Uratiſlas* in the Year 1086; and in 1099, he gave the Inveſtiture thereof to *Borivoy*. In 1127, *Sobieſlas* did Homage for *Bohemia* to *Lotharius* II; and being preſent in 1138, at the Diet of *Bamberg*, he intreated the Emperor *Conrade* III, to give the Inveſtiture thereof to *Boleſlas* his Nephew. The ſame *Boleſlas* did Homage therefore in 1140, to *Conrade*, and in 1158, to *Frederick Barbaroſſa*, his Succeſſor in the Empire; who took away the Crown of *Bohemia* from *Sobieſlas*, and inveſted therewith *Frederick*, who reign'd till the Year 1190. *Henry* Biſhop of *Prague*, who was the Son of *Uladiſlas* I, being call'd to the Crown of *Bohemia* in 1192, was oblig'd to demand the Inveſtiture thereof from *Henry* VI, and obtain'd it by the Means of a good Sum of Money. The Emperor *Philip* of *Suabia*, having put *Primiſlas Othocarius* King of *Bohemia* in the Ban of the Empire, took *Theobald* from School, and inveſted him with the Kingdom in the Year 1212. *Primiſlas Othocarius* II, did in the Year 1277, Homage to the Emperor *Rodolfus* of *Habſpurg* for the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, at the Head of the whole Army. *Henry* VII. being at *Spires* in 1309, inveſted therewith *John* of *Luxemburg* his Son; and the ſame King *John* did Homage therefore to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who had ſucceeded his Father in the Empire. *George* of *Podiebrach*, and *Uladiſlas*, Sons to *Caſimir* King of *Poland*, did Homage for the Kingdom of *Bohemia* to *Frederick* III. And *Ferdinand* and *Matthias* Kings of *Bohemia*, paid the ſame Devoirs to the Emperors *Charles* V, and *Rodolphus* II, their Brothers. Which we think ſufficient to verify the Dependence *Bohemia* has of the Empire. We ſhall add thereto; That the Princes and Kings of *Bohemia* were oblig'd to accompany the Emperor with three hundred Lances or Spears, in the Journey he us'd to take formerly into *Italy*, in order to receive there the Imperial Crown at *Rome*: That they were proceeded againſt when they attempted to withdraw themſelves from the Obedience of the Empire, and that they were oblig'd to be preſent at the Diets.

‡ It is as Prince of the Empire, that *Boleſlas* was preſent in the Year 973, at the Diet which the Emperor *Otho* II. had conven'd at *Quedlinburg*, and that he was put in the Ban of the Empire, for having refus'd to aſſiſt at the Diet, the ſame Emperor had call'd together at *Weimar* in the Year 975. This oblig'd him to be perſonally preſent at that of *Alſtede* in *Thuringia* in 977. *Meſico* and *Boleſlas* were preſent at the Diet of *Quedlinburg*, under the Emperor *Otho* III, in the Year 985. *Boleſlas* III, appear'd in the Year 1003, at that which the Emperor *Henry* II. had conven'd at *Mersburg*. *Ulricus* at that of *Mayence* in 1025, under *Conrade* II. The ſame *Ulricus* having kill'd his Brother *Jaromir* in the Year 1028, the Emperor *Conrade* ſummon'd him before him, and put him in the Ban of the Empire. Some Years after he pardon'd him, and oblig'd him to do him Homage. *Sbetiſlas* or *Bretiſlas* was put in the Ban of the Empire by *Henry* III, who caus'd him to be try'd with Circumſtances which are very remarkable. Moreover *Preciſlas* Duke of *Bohemia*, having made Incurſions into *Poland*, from whence he had brought great Riches, the ſame Emperor *Henry* pretended, that he ought to diſpoſe thereof as Sovereign Prince of *Bohemia*: and upon *Preciſlas* his Refuſal to acknowledge the Empire on this Occaſion, *Henry* declar'd War againſt him. The *Bohemians* ſeeing themſelves threaten'd with this Storm, ſent their Deputies to meet the Emperor, to whom they ſpoke in theſe Terms; *We have always liv'd*, ſaid they, *and we ſtill live under the Empire of* Charles, (the Great) *and of his Succeſſors. This People never rebell'd, but it ever has been, and will for ever be, faithful to thee in all thy Wars, if thou wilt do us Juſtice.* *Henry* for all this advanc'd his Army; and as he was only for puniſhing the Stubbornneſs of *Preciſlas*, he compell'd him to come and lay himſelf at his Feet, and to do him thoſe Submiſſions which drew from him theſe Words; *What Triumph do you hope for from a War, which you make againſt a Countrey and a People that belong to you?* The ſame *Preciſlas* was at the Diet of *Ratisbone* in the Year 1048, at that of *Goſlar* in 1050, and at that of *Mayence* in 1051, which were all call'd by the ſame Emperor. There happen'd a thing very remarkable about the Year 1067, under *Henry* IV; *Wratiſlas* Duke of *Bohemia*, was for confirming (of his own Authority) the Election the Chapter of *Prague* had made of a Biſhop nam'd *Lanço*, a Native of *Saxony*: But *Corata*, Son to *Uſebor*, one of the *Palatins* of *Bohemia*, not being able to bear the Wrong that was done to *Jaromir*, the Son of *Bretiſlas*, oppos'd it; and ſpoke in theſe Terms: *Let the Emperor live; as thanks be to God he does yet. But thou makeſt thy ſelf Emperor, when by giving the Inveſtiture by the Ring and the Wand, thou uſurp'ſt the Right that be-*

† *The Kings of* Bohemia *do Homage to the Emperor.* ‡ *They appear at the Diets of the Empire.*

longs

longs to him. And in effect the Emperor confirm'd the Election of *Jaromir*, and inveſted him with the Biſhoprick *June* 28, 1068. The ſame Emperor gave the Title of King to *Uratiſlas*, as we ſaid before. And that it might appear that *Uratiſlas* held the Crown immediately of him, he would needs put it on his Head, and caus'd him to be anointed by *Engelbert*, Archbiſhop of *Triers*. The ſame Emperor, writing to *Uratiſlas* after he was King, ſtyles him Truſty: and it was he that in the Year 1092, gave the Biſhoprick of *Prague* to *Coſmas*, who has written the Hiſtory of *Bohemia*. In 1098, he commanded *Preciſlas* to repair to him at *Ratisbone*, where he gave him the Inveſtiture by the Standard of the Crown of *Bohemia*, for *Borivoy* his Brother. The ſame *Borivoy* having been driven out of the Countrey by *Suendebold*, complain'd thereof to *Henry* V, who ſent for *Suendebold*, and put him under Confinement in the Year 1107. *Suendebold* dying the Year following, or according to others in 1109, the Emperor gave the *Bohemians* leave to chuſe themſelves another Prince. They elected *Uladiſlas*, who had for Competitor *Borivoy:* but the Emperor having ſent for both of them, put *Borivoy* in Priſon, and caus'd the Eyes of ſome of his Partiſans to be put out. The ſame *Uladiſlas* was at the Diet of *Bamberg* in the Year 1124. *Ulricus* at that of *Merſburg* in 1127, and at that of *Ratisbone* in 1130, under *Lotharius* II. *Sobieſlas* was at that of *Magdeburg* in 1134, under the ſame *Lotharius*; and in 1138, at that of *Bamberg* under *Conrade* III. *Uladiſlas* was preſent in 1156, at the Diet of *Ratisbone* under *Frederick* I, and pronounc'd the Decree, by which the Marquiſate of *Auſtria* was erected into a Dutchy. In the Year 1157, he ſent his Brother *Theobald* to the Diet of *Arbois* in the County of *Burgundy*, and was perſonally preſent at thoſe of *Bamberg* and of *Wurtzburg* in the ſame Year; as alſo at that of *Ratisbone* in 1158; at that of *Augsburg* in 1159; at that of *Erfort* in 1160; at that of *Lodi* in *Lombardy* in 1161; at that of *Bezançon* in 1162; and at that of *Bamberg* in 1169. *Frederick* I, Emperor, gave *Bohemia* to *Frederick*, to the Prejudice of *Sobieſlas*, who was his eldeſt Son. The ſame *Frederick*, King of *Bohemia*, was preſent at the Diets of *Ratisbone* in 1179, and 1182; and at that of *Bamberg* in the ſame Year. *Wenceſlas* being driven out by *Primiſlas*, the Son of *Uladiſlas* IV, after the Death of *Frederick*, and of *Conrade* his Succeſſor, the Emperor *Henry* VI, ſummon'd him before him, as a *Perturbator* of the publick Tranquillity, and an Infringer of the Peace of the Empire. *Othocarius* was preſent at the Diet of *Mayence* in 1199, and at that of *Boppard* in the Year 1200, under the Emperor *Philip* of *Suabia*. *Primiſlas Othocarius* aſſiſted at that of *Mersburg* in 1203; and ſent his Brother *Wenceſlas* to that of *Mayence* in 1209, under *Otho* IV. In the ſame Year he was perſonally preſent at that of *Naumburg*; and in 1211, at that of *Baſil*; and in 1212, at that of *Baſil*; and in 1213, at that of *Egra*, under *Frederick* II. *Wenceſlas* was preſent at that of *Egra* in 1217; at that of *Bamberg* in 1223, and in 1235. *Othocarius* II, was in 1247, at the Diet of *Aix la Chappelle*; in 1274, at that of *Nuremberg*, and in 1275, at that of *Wurtzburg*, under *Rodolphus* I. *Wenceſlas* his Son, was at that of *Erfort* in 1280; and in 1294, at that of *Grubenheim*, under *Adolphus* of *Naſſaw*; and in 1299, at that of *Nuremberg*, under *Albert* I. *John* of *Luxemburg* King of *Bohemia*, preſided at the Diet of *Bamberg* in 1313, in the Name of *Henry* VII. his Father; which is what he could not have done, if he had not been a Prince of the Empire. He was perſonally preſent at that of *Egra* in 1318, at that of *Ratiſbone* in 1324, and at that of *Francfort* in 1328, under *Lewis* IV.

From whence we muſt conclude, that the Dukes and Kings of *Bohemia*, who have been preſent at ſo many General Aſſemblies, are Princes of the Empire; and that *Bohemia* is one of its principal Members: as the Emperor *Rodolphus* II. ſays in expreſs Terms, in the Edict for the Peace of Religion in the Empire in the Year 1609. And indeed, to ſay Elector, is to ſay Prince; becauſe it is ſo impoſſible to be the one without the other, that the *Germans* have no Word that ſimply ſignifies Elector, and that that of which all the Electors make uſe to expreſs their Quality, is that of *Prince Elector of the Holy Empire.*

* It is true, that for above theſe two hundred Years the Kings of *Bohemia* are not call'd to the General Diets, nor even to the Aſſemblies which the Electors have amongſt themſelves concerning the Affairs of the Empire, diſtinct from thoſe that are for the Election of an Emperor, or of a King of the *Romans:* but that does not hinder them from contributing to the Charges of the War againſt the *Turks*, and to the other Expences of the Empire. For by the Reſolution taken in the Year 1471, at *Ratisbone*, and concerning the War againſt the *Turks*, it was ſaid in expreſs Terms, that *Bohemia*, and the Provinces which are annex'd thereto, ſhould be tax'd as all the other States of the Empire. Which has been confirm'd by the Reſolutions taken at the Diets of *Augsburg* in the Year 1500, under the Emperor *Maximilian* I, in 1522, at *Nuremberg*; in 1541, at *Ratisbone*; in 1542, at *Spires* and *Nuremberg*; and again at *Spires* in 1544, under the Emperor *Charles* V. And if it does not appear that the Kings of *Bohemia* have ſince that Time been invited to the Diets, either general or particular, it is becauſe the Qualities of Emperor and of King of *Bohemia* meeting in the ſame Perſon, they could not invite themſelves: beſides which the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Imperial Dignity, having been for a long Courſe of Years in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is more concern'd in the Preſervation of *Hungary*, where the *Turkiſh* Arms are moſt dreaded, of all the Provinces of *Germany*, it draws from *Bohemia* beyond compariſon more Succour, than could be requir'd from it, by the Regulations made at the Diets. Tho' it nevertheleſs makes uſe of all Opportunities, that can contribute to the exempting this Kingdom from being ſubject to the Empire.

† It began to ſeparate from it in the Time of the Council of *Conſtance*, and on the account of the execution of *John Hus*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*. They were burnt contrary to the

* *Now they no longer are preſent there.*

† *Since when and for what they ſeparated from the Empire.*

Promiſe and Safe-conduct which had been given them: and the *Bohemians*, who had for the moſt part imbib'd the Doctrine of theſe two learned Men, purſu'd the Revenge of their Death with ſo much Animoſity, and ſo much Succeſs, that the Victories they gain'd over the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and the other Princes who were for intermeddling in the Quarrel, put them in a Condition not only to require a Liberty of Conſcience, but alſo to hope for that of their State. The Diſorders of thoſe Civil Wars, and the Difference in Religion, had render'd the *Bohemians* ſo odious to the *Germans*, who had already a great Averſion to them, that they were no longer ſollicitous of calling to the Diets thoſe who had already ſeparated from the Communion of their Church, and who refus'd to obey the Laws of the Empire, and the Reſolutions the *Germans* took in their General Aſſemblies.

* But as for the Electoral Dignity, the Kings of *Bohemia* have at all Times been ſo jealous thereof, that they have not been leſs careful of preſerving the Right of the Election, than they had ſhewn themſelves deſirous to get into the Number of the Electors, as ſoon as it began to be a particular Quality in the Empire. We muſt not wonder that Pope *Innocent* IV. puts the King of *Bohemia* at the Head of thoſe Princes who are not Electors, as we have ſeen elſewhere; † becauſe the Quality of Elector was not as yet annex'd to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, no more than to the other Principalities to which it is at this Day appropriated. And it is to that Time muſt be refetr'd what the Commentators *in c. venerabilem extr. de Elect. & El. pot.* and the Mirrors of the Law of *Saxony* and of *Suabia* poſitively affirm, when they ſay, that the King of *Bohemia* is Great Cupbearer of the Empire, but does not elect, becauſe he is not a *German*. But the Moderns, as Cardinal *Bellarmin*, and even ſeveral *German* Doctors, who ſtrike into the ſame Error, or who affirm, that the King of *Bohemia* is not call'd to the Elections but when there is an equality of Votes, and when a Schiſm is apprehended in the Empire, are inexcuſable. The Quality of Elector might have been diſputed with the King of *Bohemia* before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, becauſe it was not ſo well ſecur'd to him, but *Wenceſlas* II. found himſelf oblig'd to procure for that purpoſe from the Emperor *Rodolphus* I. his Father-in-Law, Letters which we ſhall inſert in this Chapter, and which would not have been neceſſary, if his Right had been above Controverſy, and inconteſtable; but at preſent it can no longer be call'd to queſtion, ſince *Charles* IV, who was Emperor and King of *Bohemia*, has render'd it inſeparable from his Kingdom. He ſays, ‡ *That it is manifeſt and notorious to all the World, and that there is no body who does not know, that the illuſtrious King of* Bohemia *has a Right, Vote, and Seat at the Election of the King of the* Romans, *future Emperor, by virtue of his Reign; and that he is reputed, and is in effect true and lawful Prince Elector of the Empire.* * *That he is the firſt of the Secular Electors, by reaſon of his Regal Dignity.* † *That he ſhall take place immediately after the Archbiſhop, who, according to the place of the Aſſembly, ſhall be on the Emperor's right Hand, and,* ‡ *That he ſhall vote after the Archbiſhop of* Cologn, *and before all the other Secular Electors.* * Which is ſo true, that even before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, and when the Electoral Dignity was not yet fix'd to certain Principalities and Families, the Kings of *Bohemia* were preſent at ſeveral Elections: whereof we have Examples in *Boleſlas*, Duke of *Bohemia*, who aſſiſted at the Election of the Emperor *Henry* II; *Ulric* at that of *Conrade the Salique*; *Sobeſlas* at that of *Conrade* III; and *Udiſlas* II. at that of *Frederick* I. *Primiſlas Othocarius* is nam'd firſt among the Secular Princes, who elected *Philip* of *Suabia*. And *Frederick* II. ſays very expreſſly, that the ſame *Primiſlas Othocarius* adher'd conſtantly to the Election of his Perſon. The ſame *Primiſlas* ſent in the Year 1222, *Bretiſlas*, Duke of *Skale*, his Relation, to the Diet of *Strasburg*, to aſſiſt at the Election of *Henry* of *Suabia*, the Son of *Frederick* II. In the Year 1248, *Othocarius* II. was preſent at the Election of *William* of *Holland*: and in 1257, he gave his Suffrage to *Alfonſus* King of *Caſtile*, againſt *Richard* of *Cornwall*. *Wenceſlas* II. refus'd the Imperial Crown which was offer'd to him, and favour'd the Election of *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*. It is true that he was not there in Perſon, but it is certain that he was ſo well acknowledg'd for Elector, that *Albert* Duke of *Saxony* order'd his Embaſſadors to give his Vote to him that ſhould be nominated by the King of *Bohemia*, who on his ſide deſir'd the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* to repreſent his Perſon in this Action; purſuant to the Cuſtom of the Times, when the abſent Princes intruſted ſome of thoſe who were preſent to act for them; and their Embaſſadors had nothing to do but to juſtify the Cauſe of the Abſence of their Maſters. The ſame *Wenceſlas* ſaid that *Albert* I. was oblig'd to him for the Imperial Dignity: and *John* of *Luxemburg* was preſent at the Election of *Lewis* of *Bavaria* and of *Charles* IV. his Succeſſor.

There is no likelihood that after the Paſſages of the *Golden Bull*, which we have quoted, and which are ſo clear and ſo expreſs on that Subject, and after ſo many Examples, any body can ſtill doubt of the Right of the King of *Bohemia*: but that no Scruple at all may remain in the moſt difficult Minds, we ſhall here relate two Teſtimonies, the Originals whereof are kept in the Archives of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and are of ſo great Authority, that it may in ſome meaſure be preferr'd to that of the *Golden Bull*. The firſt is of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, which we have tranſlated Word for Word in theſe Terms. " *Rodolphus*, by " the Grace of God, King of the *Romans*, to " all thoſe to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, " Greeting. Being willing to remove from " Poſterity all Ground of Quarrel and Con- " teſtation, in proving the Right of the Prin- " ces, we have caus'd a very exact and very " curious Search to be made of the Right which " our moſt dear Son and Prince, the illuſtrious " King of *Bohemia* and his Heirs, may have in

* *The Kings of* Bohemia *have maintain'd themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of the Electoral Dignity.* † *Chap.* VI.
‡ *Chap.* VII. §. 2. * *Chap.* IV. §. 3. † Ibid. §. 1. ‡ Ibid. §. 2. * *They aſſiſted at the Elections before the Publication of the* Golden Bull.

the

" the Empire, and in the Election of the King " of the *Romans*; and we have found by the " Depoſition, and by the Teſtimony of all the " Princes, Barons, Nobles, and Lords of the " Empire, as alſo by that of divers other aged " Perſons, that the King of *Bohemia* ought to " be, and is in effect, Cup-bearer of the Em- " pire, and that the Rights of the Office of " Cup-bearer belong to him and to his Heirs, " by right of hereditary Succeſſion. We have " alſo ſufficiently verify'd, that the King of " *Bohemia* and his Heirs ought to have a Right " and Vote in the Election of the King of the " *Romans*, future Emperor, as well, and in the " ſame Quality, as the other Electors. We " therefore ſay, that the Rights of Great Cup- " bearer, and of Elector, do not only belong " to the King of *Bohemia* and to his Heirs, but " but alſo that they did before belong to his " Predeceſſors, Father, Grand-Father, Great- " Grand-Father, and Great-Great-Grand-Fa- " ther. And therefore, deſiring to provide " that the King of *Bohemia*, or his Heirs, may " may not be diſturb'd therein for the future, " we ſay, acknowledge, and declare by theſe " Preſents, that the Rights and the Office of " Great Cup-bearer belong to the King of *Bo-* " *hemia* and to his Succeſſors, to the exclu- " ſion of all others, as well as the Vote and " Seſſion in the Election of the King of the " *Romans*, future Emperor. And to the end " that Calumny, Malice and Impoſture may " find nothing to object for the future, we " have of our full Power and Royal Authori- " ty caus'd theſe Preſents to be prepar'd, to " which we have caus'd the Seal of our Arms " to be affix'd. Given at *Erfort*, *September* 26, " 1290, and of our Reign the 17th.

The other Teſtimony is of *Rupert* Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and Prince Elector of the Holy Empire, in the Form of a Certificate, made at *Metz* in the ſame Year that the *Golden Bull* was publiſh'd by the Emperor *Charles* IV. in the following manner.

" Altho' there has never been any doubt of " the Rights which the Illuſtrious King of *Bo-* " *hemia*, our Coelector and Collegue, has in- " herited from his Predeceſſors, Father, Grand- " Father, Great-Grand-Father, and Great- " Great-Grand-Father, and that he ſtill poſ- " ſeſſes at this preſent, as well of Right, as in " effect as well as we, and the other Princes " our Coelectors, the Power of raiſing the " King of the *Romans* to the Imperial Digni- " ty, and that this is more clear than the Sun; " yet there have been Sons of Darkneſs, who " taking Pleaſure to go groping at Noon Day, " dare declare War againſt Virtue, and by a " diabolical Envy and Malice call Darkneſs " Light, and Light Darkneſs. Wherefore be- " ing willing to take care that nothing like this " may happen in reference to the moſt ſerene " Prince the King of *Bohemia*, or to his Heirs " and Succeſſors Kings of *Bohemia*: and that " we may take from the wicked all handle of " Slander, we ſay, and declare in Conſcience, " not lightly nor with Precipitation, but after " a mature Deliberation, and after a very exact " Search and Enquiry which we have made " with the other Princes, our Coelectors and " Collegues, that the moſt ſerene Princes " Kings of *Bohemia*, and their Predeceſſors, " have had from Time immemorial, and ought " to have, a Right and Vote in the Election " of the King of the *Romans* and of the Em- " peror, as well as we, and the Princes our " Coelectors, as well Seculars as Eccleſia- " ſticks: So that when the Election takes place, " the moſt ſerene Prince the King of *Bohemia* " ought to be ſolemnly invited to the Election, " and there enjoy, as well in Perſon as by his " Deputies or Embaſſadors, whom he ſhall " ſend thereto, all the Rights: that is to ſay, " of Vote and Seſſion, and of all the other " Privileges, in the ſame manner as we, and " and the other Princes our Coelectors and " Collegues, have accuſtom'd to enjoy the " ſame. We alſo verify that the moſt ſerene " Prince the King of *Bohemia* is Great Cup- " bearer of the Holy Roman Empire, and that " he is not oblig'd to execute the Office of " Great Cup-bearer under the Royal Crown " in all the Ceremonies, even in the Preſence " of the Emperor, ſtanding, ſitting or march- " ing, according to the laudable Cuſtom of the " moſt ſerene Princes the Lords Kings of *Bo-* " *hemia* his Anceſtors and Predeceſſors. In " Teſtimony whereof we have caus'd theſe " Preſents to be diſpatch'd under the Seal of " our Arms. Given at *Metz* in the Year 1356, " the *Sunday* before St. *Lucy*'s Day.

* The *Golden Bull* in giving to the King of *Bohemia* his Rank amongſt the Electors, and in ordaining that he ſhall vote immediately after the Archbiſhops of *Triers* and of *Cologn*, confounds the Error of thoſe who write that the King of *Bohemia* has no Vote, except in the Caſe of an Equality amongſt the other Electors. *Petrus de Andlo* Canon of *Colmar*, who has written a Treatiſe of the Roman Empire, of the Creation, Coronation, and Dignity of the Emperor, and has dedicated his Work to *Frederick* III, ſays, † *De Conſuetudine tamen Rex Bohemiæ ad Electionem non vocatur, niſi cum vota aliorum ſunt æqualia numero; & ſic hodie practicatur:* that is to ſay, Cuſtom requires that the King of *Bohemia* ſhould not be call'd to the Election, but when there is an equality of Votes among the others: and this is what is practis'd at this Day. But there is reaſon to wonder that a Man who underſtood the publick Law of *Germany*, who choſe it for the chief Object of his Meditations, and who alledges the Text of the *Golden Bull* in Favour of the King of *Bohemia*, ſhould ſay that he is not invited to the Elections, but only when the Votes are equally divided amongſt the other Electors. It is poſſible that by Neglect the King of *Bohemia* was not invited to the Elections of *Rupert* of *Bavaria*, of *Sigiſmund*, of *Albert* II, and of *Frederick* III, Succeſſors of *Charles* IV; becauſe there was no likelihood that *Wenceſlas*, who had been depos'd, ſhould be call'd to the Elections of *Rupert* and of *Sigiſmund*, whom he could not authorize by his Preſence but with the laſt Infamy. *Albert* II. was himſelf King of *Bohemia*, and at the time of the Election of *Frederick* III, under whom *Petrus de Andlo* wrote, *Ladiſlas* King of *Bohemia* was ſo young, that there was no thought

* *The King of* Bohemia *has the third Vote in the Electoral College.* † Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

of

of inviting him: But it will not appear that the King of *Bohemia* was ever call'd after the Election was begun, or that the Equality of the other Electors Votes has oblig'd them to wait his coming. On the contrary, since the *Golden Bull* assigns him his Rank, and regulates the Order in which he is to vote, it is impossible he should depend on an equal Division. For *Triers* voting first, *Cologn* the second, and *Bohemia* the third, there must of necessity four vote after him, to wit, the three other Secular Electors, and *Mayence:* and at this Day five, by reason of the eighth Electorate; and so it is in his Power to nominate such Prince as he shall think fit, without expecting an equal Division, or the Sentiments of his Collegues.

‡ And indeed it is not the Equality of Votes, but the Law that calls the King of *Bohemia* to the Election: So that if the Archbishop of *Mayence* fails to invite him with the other Electors, the whole Election may be declar'd faulty. We have a very illustrious Example thereof in the Election of *Maximilian* I. *Frederick* III, his Father, liv'd at great variance with *Uladislas* King of *Bohemia*, and hated him to that degree, that he could not resolve to see him at the Election of his Son, to which he nevertheless proceeded, notwithstanding he had not caus'd him to be invited. But *Uladislas* was so very much offended thereat, that he was for having the Election declar'd vicious, and ready to take to Arms for the execution of the *Golden Bull*. An Accommodation was motion'd to him, with considerable Advantages enough; but he insisted upon being discharg'd from the Obligation the Kings of *Bohemia* are under to accompany the Emperor in his Journey to *Rome* with three hundred Lances: to which the other Electors not being willing to consent, a Medium was found at last to satisfy him, by promising him that for the future there should be no Election either of Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, without the King of *Bohemia*'s being invited to be present thereat in Person, or to send his Deputies or Embassadors to the same; in default whereof all the other Electors should be oblig'd to pay him five hundred Marks of Gold each. To which if we add the Particulars of all the Elections since *Maximilian* I, to the Emperor who dy'd last, it will appear that the King of the *Bohemia* has been invited thereto with the other Electors his Collegues, and that he had therein the Vote and Rank which the Law gives him: So that his Right cannot be call'd in question.

* After all, it is almost impossible to say at what Time the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the Crown of *Bohemia:* and he that would undertake to enquire into it, would meet with as much Difficulty as we have seen Clearness in the Truth we have now establish'd. We have destroy'd elsewhere the Opinion of those who have been for making it believ'd that the King of *Bohemia*, and the other Electors his Collegues, were nominated by Pope *Gregory* V, and by the Emperor *Otho* III; and we have shewn, that he cannot have been added to the Electoral College by the Emperor *Henry* III. They who ascribe the Institution thereof to *Otho* IV, make the Electoral Dignity of the Kings of *Bohemia* begin from that Time. And *Dubravius* Bishop of *Olmutz* in *Moravia*, an exact Author, and very zealous for the Interest of his Princes, says, That the Kings of *Bohemia* hold the Electoral Dignity from the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, who secur'd it to the King of *Bohemia* in the Person of *Wenceslas* II, who had marry'd his Daughter, and in Consideration of this Alliance. There are others who maintain, that the Kings of *Bohemia* had no Share in the Election before the Publication of the *Golden Bull:* but this is what is directly contrary to the Truth of History, the Particulars whereof we have seen in this Chapter. The Letters Patents of the Emperor *Rodolphus*, and the Declaration of *Rupert* Count *Palatin*, say very expressly, that the Kings of *Bohemia* are Electors, and that even in the thirteenth Century they held the Faculty of electing from their Predecessors Great-Grand-Fathers and Great-Great-Grand-Fathers: And the *Golden Bull* it self founds the Right of the King of *Bohemia*, as well as that of the other Electors, on ancient Custom. And notwithstanding it seems as if what we now say were directly contrary to what we have establish'd elsewhere, to wit, That the Institution of the Electoral College is not so ancient as the Acts of *Rodolphus* and of *Rupert*, and even the *Golden Bull*, would make us believe; yet if we give our selves but the Trouble of comparing their Words, with the Circumstances of the History, it will be very easy to reconcile them. For it is certain that the Kings of *Bohemia* had a Right to elect, and did effectually elect several Emperors and Kings of the *Romans* even in the twelfth Century and before, yet not as Electors; because this Quality only began to be known, and was still new in the Time of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, but as Princes of the Empire. From whence it follows, that the Intention of *Rodolphus* was to secure this new Quality to *Wenceslas* and his Kingdom, and not to confer on him the Right of Electing, which the Kings of *Bohemia*, as Princes of the Empire, possess'd already by virtue of their Quality of Prince. And it is thus we must understand the Words of the Emperor *Charles* IV, when he says, That the King of *Bohemia*, the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquiss of *Brandenburg* have always been in Possession of the Right of Election; because he will not speak of the Quality of Elector, which was not known before *Frederick* II, but of the Right they had as Princes of the Empire to be present at the Elections with the rest; that it might not be thought he would advance to this Dignity Princes who had no Share therein before, to the exclusion of many others who assisted thereat before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*. Wherefore we are not afraid to say of the Kings of *Bohemia*, what we have said of all the other Electors in general; to wit, That as Princes of the Empire they have always elected with the others, and that they have made themselves very considerable in *Germany*, as well on the account of their Quality of King, as by the great extent of their States; particularly during

‡ *He is invited to the Election with the other Electors.*
† *Chap.* IV.
* *When the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the Crown of* Bohemia.

the

the Schiſms with which the Empire was afflicted after the Death of *Frederick* II. They were capable of taking a Rank among thoſe to whom Cuſtom, confirm'd by the *Golden Bull*, had by Degrees appropriated the Electoral Dignity to the Excluſion of the others.

* The Emperor *Charles* IV. having appropriated the Electoral Dignity to the Princes he names in the *Golden Bull*, requires that the ſaid Princes ſhould have a more particular Care of the Affairs of the Empire than the reſt; and that in order thereto, † *They meet once a Year in one of the Imperial Towns, within a Month after* Eaſter, *to the End that having there made a Report of what is wanting, and of the Diſorders they ſhall have obſerv'd at home, and in their Neighbourhood, they may remedy the ſame by their common Advice, and ordain by their Prudence and their Counſels the neceſſary Reformation.* At this Day the Aſſemblies the Electors hold in particular for the Affairs of the Empire, are call'd *Collegiate Diets*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Electoral*, where they only treat of the Election. The Emperor *Charles* IV, as well as all the Electors, Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, aſſiſted indifferently at both. But at this Day, and for above theſe two hundred Years, the Kings of *Bohemia* are excluded the firſt. *Goldaſte*, who has written a large Volume of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, ſays, That they are injur'd, and that ſuch Procedure is contrary to the Diſpoſition of the fundamental Law of the Empire, which calls thereto the Kings of *Bohemia*, as well as the other Electors; which is indubitable. But it is alſo true that the ſame Law removes Strangers from the Knowledge of the Affairs of the Empire, and that the Kings of *Bohemia* having ſtudy'd to ſeparate themſelves from its Intereſt, they ought alſo to bear with their being removed from the Deliberations which are had concerning Affairs, in which they have no Concern. They have endeavour'd to be admitted, and the Cardinal *Cleſel*, whom the Arch-Duke *Matthias* had ſent to the Electors aſſembled at *Nuremberg*, in the Year 1611, made preſſing Inſtance to be receiv'd in the Electoral College, and to be admitted at the Deliberations, in the Name of his Maſter who was King of *Bohemia*; but he could obtain nothing, no more than *Matthias* himſelf, when he urg'd it to the Electors aſſembled at *Franckfort* in the Year 1612. They permitted him nevertheleſs at the laſt Seſſion to take his Place in the College, which communicated to him the Reſolutions which had been taken there, and allow'd him to give his Opinion thereupon: but without any other Suffrage, or Vote deciſive, or deliberative, wherewith he was forc'd to be contented. *Ferdinand* II, Emperor and King of *Bohemia*, met with the ſame Difficulties at the College of Electors, aſſembl'd at *Franckfort* in the Year 1609, who would not admit him, altho' he was more intereſſed than the others on the Account of the Diſturbances in his Kingdom, for which this Aſſembly had been chiefly call'd; and at this Day the ſame Refuſal is made to the Prince of *Lobkowits*, whom the King of *Bohemia* had ſent to *Franckfort*, becauſe the Diet that has been call'd for the Election is not yet open, and that the King of *Bohemia* has no Share in the Deliberations which are had for the other Affairs of the Empire.

‡ The King of *Bohemia* is Great Cup-bearer hereditary of the Empire, and his Function conſiſts in preſenting to the King of the *Romans*, or to the Emperor, a Silver Cup, weighing twelve Ounces, cover'd, and full of Wine and Water, the firſt time he asks to drink; * and he may do this *devoir* to the Emperor having his Regal Crown on his Head, or without it; the Law leaving it to his Choice to do therein as he himſelf ſhall think fit; † and not obliging him to this Function, but when the Emperor eats in publick, and in Ceremony; which at this Day is only practis'd immediately after the Coronation. We have ſaid in Chap. XI, That the Offices of the Crown of the Empire were appropriated to the Princes who poſſeſs them at this Day, at the ſame time that the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the Principalities. And foraſmuch as we have ſpoken of that of the King of *Bohemia* in particular, we ſhall only add, that, as Great Cup-bearer, he has for Arms Gules, a Lyon Argent, crown'd, arm'd and langued Or, the Tail forked, having on his Breaſt a Gold Cup.

The Advantages the King of *Bohemia* has above the other Electors his Collegues, are,

1. That he has the Quality of King; that he is anointed and crown'd, and has the Style of Majeſty, tho' the Electors give him only the Quality; or, as they term it, the predicate of the Royal Dignity. *Bohemia* was formerly, in part, ſubject to the Kingdom of *Moravia*, and its Princes for a long time were contented with the Quality of Duke. The Emperor *Otho* I. offer'd that of King to *S. Wenceſlas*, but he refus'd it: And it was *Henry* IV. who gave it firſt to *Uratiſlas*, the Son of *Bretiſlas*, in the Diet conven'd at *Mayence*, in the Year 1086. His Succeſſors deſpis'd it, till *Uladiſlas* II. got a Confirmation thereof from the Emperor *Frederick* I, in the Diet of *Ratisbone*, *An.* 1158. But it was *Primiſlas Othocarius* who annex'd the Royal Dignity to his Succeſſors and Kingdom, under the Emperor *Philip* of *Suabia*, about the Year 1198. And it is from that time that they enjoy it, till now.

2. It is on the Account of his Regal Dignity, that he takes Place immediately after the Archbiſhop, who is on the Emperor's Right.

3. That he marches out of Rank, and alone, immediately after the Emperor. The *Golden Bull* ordains it in very expreſs Terms, ‡ and it is at this Day obſerv'd without any Difficulty, notwithſtanding what the ſame *Golden Bull* ſays, Chap. XXVI, That the Empreſs is to march immediately after the Emperor; from whence ſome have been for proving that there was a Contradiction in the Law: But it is ſo only in the Imagination of ſome fickly Minds, who might reſolve the Difficulty they form to themſelves by the Law it ſelf, which ſays that the Empreſs ought to follow the Emperor immediately, but at ſome Paces diſtance. And it is in this diſtant Interval, that not only the King of *Bohemia* takes his Place, but where likewiſe are the domeſtick Officers of the Electors, who

* *The King of* Bohemia *is not call'd to the Collegiate Diets.* † Chap. xii. ‡ *The particular Right of the King of* Bohemia.
* *Golden Bull*, Chap. xxvii. §. 5. † Chap. iv. §. 4. ‡ Chap. xii.

cannot be far from their Maſters, and even thoſe of the Empreſs, whereof there are ſeveral that precede her.

4. That he has the fourth Vote in the Election.

5. That he takes Place of all the other Kings and Princes of *Chriſtendom*, not only in the Diets, where the other Electors have the ſame Advantage, but alſo every where elſe within the Empire.

6. By the particular Privilege granted by the Emperor *Frederick* II. to the King of *Bohemia*, he is not oblig'd to take the Inveſtiture of his Kingdom, unleſs the Emperor advances as far as *Nuremberg* or *Bamberg*, or ſome other Town near his Frontiers. The Letters of this Privilege are dated at *Baſil*, in the Year 1212, and have been confirm'd by the Letters of the Emperor *Frederick* III, given at *Neuſtad* in *Auſtria*, *An.* 1462.

7. The Emperor is oblig'd to give to the King of *Bohemia*, when he comes to receive the Inveſtiture, a Guard and Safe-conduct, as well going as coming.

8. Whereas, at the Inveſtiture of other Princes, the Standards and Banners that repreſent the Arms of the Provinces for which they do Homage, are torn to pieces, and flung to the People, thoſe of the King of *Bohemia* are preſerv'd, who has them born before him at the Return of his Cavalcade to the Emperor's Palace.

9. Formerly, and before that *Bohemia* was hereditary in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the King and Elector of *Bohemia*, who had not attain'd the Age of eighteen Years complete, had no Adminiſtrator, as the other Princes, the ſecular Electors, have, during their Minority, but the States of the Kingdom had Care of the Education of the Prince, and took upon them the Adminiſtration of Affairs during his Minority.

10. The Kingdom of *Bohemia* had alſo this Advantage, That whereas the Emperor diſpos'd of the Fiefs eſcheated to the Empire for want of Heirs Male, by Confiſcation, or otherwiſe, the Kingdom of *Bohemia* being vacant, it belong'd to the States to proceed to an Election, and to call to the Crown him they judg'd beſt qualify'd for the ſame.

* On which Occaſion we make no Difficulty to ſay, That whatever the Emperor *Charles* IV. has ordain'd relating to the Succeſſion of the ſecular Electors, even in reference to the King of *Bohemia*, this Kingdom was formerly elective. And foraſmuch as for the Deciſion of Queſtions about Fact, there can be nothing ſtronger than authentick Teſtimonies, we ſhall employ for the Support of the Truth of our Theſis, but only Examples which we have taken out of Hiſtory, the Truth whereof was never conteſted by thoſe who have eſtabliſh'd an hereditary Succeſſion in that Kingdom, by the ſole Succeſs of their Arms, confirm'd by the laſt Treaty of *Munſter*. But ſo far was the Kingdom from being hereditary, before it enter'd into the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that, on the contrary, there never was ſeen in it a very regular Succeſſion. *Uratiſlas*, who dy'd in the Year 1093, left five Sons; notwithſtanding which, the States proceeded to an Election, and call'd to the Succeſſion *Conrade* Duke of *Moravia*, his Brother. The ſame *Conrade* being dead a few Months after his Election, the States, without having any Regard to his Sons, elected *Bretiſlas*, the Son of *Uratiſlas*. *Dubravius* ſays that *Ulric*, the Son of *Conrade*, made his Complaints thereof to the Emperor, and prevail'd with him to declare in his Favour; but that it was on Condition that the *Bohemians* ſhould have the Liberty to chuſe him they ſhould judge moſt capable, and the beſt qualify'd for the Government. In like manner when *Suendebold*, the Son of *Otho* Duke of *Olmutz*, uſurp'd the Kingdom from *Borivoy* Brother to *Bretiſlas*, the Great Men of the Kingdom counſell'd him to have Recourſe to the Emperor, and to remonſtrate to him, that the Complaints *Borivoy* would have prevented him with, were very ill grounded, becauſe the States of the Countrey, who have a Right to call to the Crown whom they pleaſe, had caſt their Eyes on him, and had preferr'd him to *Borivoy*. And indeed he procur'd himſelf to be maintain'd by the Emperor, in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, in which the Election had eſtabliſh'd him. *Uladiſlas*, the Brother of *Borivoy* and of *Bretiſlas*, was preferr'd by the ſame States of the Kingdom to *Otho*, Brother and preſumptive Heir to *Suendebold*, who was only Couſin-German to *Uladiſlas*. To this muſt be referr'd the Anſwer which the ſame *Uladiſlas* made to thoſe, who demanded of him the Reſtitution of the Crown, on the Part of *Borivoy* his eldeſt Brother, who had been driven out by *Suendebold*; to wit, that it was not of him they ought to ask it, but of the States of the Kingdom, who alone had a Right to diſpoſe thereof. The ſame *Uladiſlas* left when he dy'd three Sons, and yet he had for Succeſſor *Sobieſlas*, his Brother. At that Time *Otho*, Brother to *Suendebold*, had made himſelf Maſter of the Caſtle of *Viſſegard*, and would not ſurrender it till he firſt knew the Declaration the States of the Kingdom had, by one common Conſent, made in Favour of *Sobieſlas*; who had alſo for Succeſſor *Uladiſlas* II, his Nephew, notwithſtanding he had left Children capable of the Government. *Uladiſlas* II, being willing to reſign the Kingdom to his Son *Frederick*, addreſs'd himſelf for that Purpoſe to the Emperor *Frederick* I, to obtain his Leave for the ſame; but the Emperor ſignify'd to him, That he ſhould either govern the Kingdom himſelf, or leave the free Election to the States. And indeed the ſame *Uladiſlas*, who had both Sons and Brothers, had for Succeſſor *Sobieſlas*, his Couſin-German. The Elections of *Henry* Biſhop of *Prague*, during the Detention of his Brother *Wenceſlas*, and that of *Uladiſlas*, Son to *Uladiſlas* II, admit of no Contradiction, no more than that of *Henry* Duke of *Carinthia*, after the Death of *Wenceſlas* IV. To which one might add ſeveral Letters Patents, by which the Kings of *Bohemia*, even the laſt of them, have ſecur'd the Right of Election to the States of the Kingdom, if it were not certain, that ſince the Houſe of *Auſtria* is in Poſſeſſion thereof, in a manner by Right of Conqueſt, it has chang'd its Condition, and is become merely hereditary.

* *The Kingdom of* Bohemia *was formerly elective.*

‡ It

‡ It is in this Quality it is at this Day poſſeſs'd, by *Leopold Ignatius* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, the eldeſt Son of the laſt Emperor, and of *Mary* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to *Philip* III, King of *Spain*, who is at preſent King and Elector of *Bohemia*. But foraſmuch as his is born but ſince *June* 8, 1640, and ſo has not attain'd eighteen Years complete, to which Age the *Golden Bull* regulates the Majority of the Princes Electors, it is certain that he cannot diſcharge the Functions thereof, if the Election be made before *June* 9, of the current Year; and that even the College cannot admit the Embaſſador he might ſend in his Name; becauſe the Law calls to the Guardianſhip of the Elector in his minority, † and to the Functions of the Electorate, the neareſt Relation by the Father's ſide, without its being in the Power of the Pupil to fruſtrate him, or to do any thing to his Prejudice. His neareſt Relation and Unkle on the Father's ſide, is *Leopold William* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, ‡ the only Brother of the late Emperor: and it is he whom the Law would without doubt call to the Adminiſtration, if there did not meet in his Perſon a Difficulty that abſolutely excludes him. The *Golden Bull* gives the Guardianſhip of the minor Elector, and the Adminiſtration of the Electorate, to the neareſt Relation of the deceas'd, provided he have all the Qualities requiſite to ſucceed, if the deceas'd has left no Children; that is to ſay, provided he be lawfully born, eighteen Years old complete, and Lay. The Arch-Duke has without doubt the two firſt Qualities, but then he has not the laſt; for he is Eccleſiaſtick, and poſſeſſes ſeveral Biſhopricks, which hinder him from taking the Quality of Adminiſtrator of the Electorate, during the Minority of his Nephew. He would augment the Number of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, which the *Golden Bull* has limited to Three, and conſequently would diſturb the whole OEconomy of the Election; ſo that to ſupply his Place, there would be a Neceſſity to conſider the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand Charles*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* at *Inſpruck*, who is Couſin Germain to the deceaſed Emperor; unleſs the Election be put off till the Majority of the King of *Bohemia*, or that his Age be diſpens'd with by the Electoral College, as it is the Repreſentative of the Sovereignty of the Empire: or elſe that the Friends of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, eſteeming themſelves ſtrong enough in the Diet to compaſs the Election of the King of *Bohemia* without the Aſſiſtance of his Suffrage, think fit to proceed therein without him; becauſe his voluntary Abſence cannot render the Election vicious.

* What we have here ſaid concerning the active Vote of the King of *Bohemia*, is indubitable; but let us ſee whether he can have the paſſive in the next Election: That is to ſay, Whether altho' he cannot elect by reaſon of his Minority, he can nevertheleſs be elected, notwithſtanding the Defect of his Age. If all that the *Golden Bull* ſays of the Electors were to extend to the Emperors, and if all the Qualities it requires in the ones, were likewiſe neceſſary in the others, it is moſt certain that the King of *Bohemia* could not aſpire to the Empire, till he were eighteen Years old complete; becauſe there is not leſs Capacity requiſite to reign than to elect. But there is no neceſſary Conſequence from the one to the other; and the Law not regulating the Age of the Emperor, no body whatever can aſſume the Authority to regulate it. It ſpeaks only of the Age of the Electors, and leaves to their Diſcretion, the Judgment of the Capacity of him they are to elect, according to the Condition the Affairs of the Empire are in, at the Time of the Election: And this has at all Times been the Practice of *Germany*, when it has been judg'd more adviſeable to elect an Infant, than to leave the Empire without a Head, thereby to prevent the Ambition of thoſe, who taking advantage of the *Interregnum*, might diſturb and ruffle its Tranquillity and Repoſe, and attempt to encroach upon its Liberty. There are Examples thereof in *Otho* II, and in *Otho* III, who was ſo young when he ſucceeded to his Father, that he was from thence ſirnam'd the Infant. *Henry* III. was but twelve Years old when he was appointed Emperor. *Henry* IV. was but five, and was not as yet baptiz'd, when he was nominated Emperor. *Henry* VI. was very young, and *Frederick* II, his Son, was ſtill in the Cradle when he was choſen. *Henry* and *Conrade*, both Sons of *Frederick* II, were not thirteen Years of Age, when their Father caus'd them to be nominated Kings of the *Romans*, ſucceſſively one after the other. So that if there is no other Defect in the Perſon of the King of *Bohemia*, we muſt not think it can be ſufficient to hinder his Election, ſince he is actually in an Age, at which the King who now reigns, had already exceeded five Years of majority.

† And accordingly it is certain, that he is one of the Subjects that will be moſt conſider'd at the next Election. There are very great ones, and a great many of them among the *Proteſtant* Princes of *Germany*, but among the *Roman Catholicks*, there is hardly two or three that could be pitch'd upon; becauſe that altho' the others have all the neceſſary Qualities for the Adminiſtration of the Government, they have not wherewith to ſupply the Expences requiſite to ſupport the Imperial Dignity. But as we acknowledge that the *Proteſtant* Princes are abſolutely excluded by their Religion, ſince there is no likelihood that the five *Roman Catholick* Electors will chuſe a Prince of a contrary Religion: ſo we believe that the King of *Bohemia* will receive a great Advantage from his; not ſo much on the Account of the Profeſſion he makes of the *Catholick*, as becauſe moſt of the *Roman Catholicks* of *Germany* are prepoſſeſs'd of this Opinion, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* is as it were the Aſylum and Preſervatrix thereof.

He has again this Advantage, that his Friends and Partiſans have found the Means to perſuade the *Catholicks* of *Germany*, that the Imperial Dignity cannot be remov'd from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, without ruining the Religion, by ſetting the *Catholicks* at variance among themſelves; and without endangering the Repoſe of

‡ *The preſent King and Elector of* Bohemia. † *Is a Minor.* ‡ *Whether the Arch-Duke can be Adminiſtrator?*
* *The King of* Bohemia *being a minor may be elected.* † *Will be conſider'd at the next Election.*

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the Empire, becauſe the King of *Bohemia* having a powerful Army on foot, would be apt to reſent the Neglect might be had of his Perſon.

Beſides the Kingdom of *Hungary*, which ſerves as a Bullwark to *Germany* againſt the *Turk*, he poſſeſſes that of *Bohemia* with the Provinces that depend thereon, as *Sileſia* and *Moravia*, *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Croatia*, *Carniola*, &c. having for his Neighbours in the Empire the Electors of *Bavaria*, of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*, the Archbiſhop of *Saltsburg*, and the Arch-Duke of *Tirol*: and out of *Germany*, the Emperor of the *Turks*, the King of *Poland*, and the Republick of *Venice*. Hitherto he has liv'd in a perfect good Underſtanding with the Elector of *Bavaria*, who is his Couſin German, and who without doubt will procure him the Empire, if he does not aſpire thereto himſelf; becauſe he will not ſuffer the Imperial Dignity to be remov'd from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, to be introduc'd into another, with which he would not have that Union of Intereſt and Parentage which he has with the firſt. The Elector of *Saxony* has given his whole Affection to the King of *Bohemia*, as well on the Account of the Obligation his Houſe has to that of *Auſtria*, as by reaſon of the little Commerce he has with thoſe, who might thwart the Negotiation that is on foot for the Election of his Perſon. The Elector of *Brandenburg*, in treating with the King of *Sweden*, ſeem'd to have engag'd in a contrary Intereſt to that of the Houſe of *Auſtria*: But the Treaty he has lately concluded with the King of *Poland*, plainly diſcovers that he paſſionately deſires a Peace, and affords ground to think, that he will follow the Sentiments of thoſe who labour to reſtore Tranquillity to the Empire.

The King of *Bohemia* is very well with *Poland*, and the Republick has always had a great Reſpect for the Houſe of *Auſtria*. It is true that the *Turk* appears in Arms on the Frontiers of its Eſtates, but it is not her he threatens: and provided the King of *Bohemia* will abandon the common Intereſts of *Chriſtendom*, the other will not break with him.

It is alſo true, that as the great Eſtates he poſſeſſes will afford him wherewith to ſupport the Imperial Dignity, in caſe he ſhould be call'd thereto; ſo likewiſe it might be fear'd, leſt he ſhould make uſe thereof, after the Example of ſome of his Predeceſſors, to oppreſs the Liberty of the Princes of *Germany*: And it may happen, that as the good Qualities of Body and Mind which meet in his Perſon will contribute very much to his Election, they may be alſo judg'd more proper to a Monarch, than to the Head of a Free-State; and that the ſame Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that will make him be conſider'd in the approaching Election, may alſo prove an Obſtacle to him, on the Account of the Umbrage it gives to all thoſe who have reaſon to apprehend it. But it may be ſaid, that what would have ruin'd his Pretenſions at another Time, will forward his Election in the preſent Occaſion. He has alone more Troops than all the other Princes together; but his Friends have had the Intereſt and Addreſs to perſuade, that he cannot do a more important Service to the State, than to ſubſiſt at his own Expence, and within his hereditary Countries, an Army able to oppoſe the *Turk*'s Paſſage, and to preſerve Peace in the Empire: That the Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which had formerly made it ſelf formidable to all *Europe*, is at preſent become a neceſſary Remedy againſt the Evils the Empire has reaſon to be apprehenſive of from that of Foreigners, whoſe Grandeur is much better eſtabliſh'd than that of *Spain*: and whereas ſo long a Series of Emperors, as the Houſe of *Auſtria* has given to *Germany* within theſe two hundred Years, ought to terrifie; they have been able to perſuade, that the Merit of ſo many Predeceſſors has acquir'd Obligations on the Empire, which all Poſterity ought to acknowledge: and ſo, without the laſt Ingratitude towards the Memory of ſo many great Princes, an Emperor cannot be ſought for, out of the Houſe of *Auſtria* in the *German* Branch, whereof the King of *Bohemia* is at this Day the Chief.

It is certain that ſome of the Eccleſiaſtical Electors have the ſame Sentiments, and that *France* it ſelf will contribute its Wiſhes for the Election of a Prince, who is the Queen's Nephew, Couſin German to the King, and much of the ſame Age, and adorn'd with the ſame fine Qualities that ſhine ſo brightly in his Majeſty: and which might promiſe to the one and the other, at another Time, and without ſo ſtrong a Competition, the Empire of the whole World.

* The Crown of *Bohemia* remain'd in the Poſterity of *Primiſlas*, firſt Duke of *Bohemia*, down to *Wenceſlas* III, who being kill'd on *Auguſt* 3, 1306, as he was going to take poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Poland*, the States of the Kingdom call'd thereto *Henry* Duke of *Carinthia*, who had marry'd *Anne*, the eldeſt Siſter of *Wenceſlas* III. But the Emperor *Albert* I, who pretended a Right thereto, as well by virtue of the Treaty made between the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, and *Wenceſlas* II. King of *Bohemia*, by which it had been ſaid, That *Wenceſlas*, or his Son, happening to dye without male Iſſue, his Son *Rodolphus*, who had marry'd *Agnes*, the Siſter of *Wenceſlas*, or his Heirs, ſhould ſucceed in *Bohemia*, to the Excluſion of all others that might pretend thereto; as becauſe he conſider'd that Kingdom as a Fief eſcheated to the Empire, for want of Males in the Royal Family, carry'd thither his Son *Rodolphus*; and the better to ſecure him abſolutely of the Crown, he made him marry *Elizabeth* of *Poland*, *Wenceſlas*'s Widdow: But *Rodolphus* did not reign there a Year, and dy'd *June* 28, 1308. After his Death *Henry* of *Carinthia* return'd to *Bohemia*, where he reign'd till ſuch time as *Henry* of *Luxemburg*, having attain'd to the Empire, confiſcated *Bohemia* from him for default of Homage, and receiving the Inveſtiture from the Emperor. He ſubſtituted in his room *John* of *Luxemburg* his Son, who marry'd *Elizabeth*, younger Siſter of *Wenceſlas* III, and caus'd him to be crown'd on *Candlemas* Day, 1310. Queen *Elizabeth* dying *September* 28, 1339, he marry'd in *December* 1344, *Beatrix*, Daughter to *Lewis* I, Duke of *Bour-*

* *How* Bohemia *came into the Houſe of* Auſtria.

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bon, and of *Mary* of *Hainault*. Towards the latter end of his Days he became blind: but neither his Age nor Affliction hinder'd him from being present at the Battel which *Philip* of *Valois*, King of *France*, gave to *Edward* King of *England* near *Cressy* in *Picardy*, where he was kill'd *August* 26, 1346. He had by his first Wife,

Wenceslas, since call'd *Charles*, Emperor and King of *Bohemia*.

Primislas, who was born *November* 22, 1318, and dy'd *April* 20, 1320.

John Henry, Duke of *Moravia*.

Bona, who was betroth'd to *Frederick the Severe*, Marquiss of *Misnia*: but she marry'd *John* Duke of *Normandy*, who succeeded *Philip* his Father in the Kingdom of *France*.

Margaret, the Wife of *Henry*, who was the Son of *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, and of *Elizabeth* of *Hungary*.

Anne, a Twin with *Elizabeth*, marry'd *Otho the Beau*, Duke of *Austria*, Son to the Emperor *Albert* I.

Elizabeth her Sister, dy'd young.

By the second Wife he had,

Wenceslas, who had for his Share the Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, and succeeded since in *Brabant*. He is said to have had another Son, nam'd *Nicholas*, who was made Patriarch of *Aquileia* in the Month of *October* 1350, and held that See seven Years and nine Months; but he that has made Remarks on the History of *Luxemburg* by *Vignier*, says, that he cannot learn whether *Nicholas* was by the first or second *Venter*: and *Ferdinand Ughelli*, who has some Years since publish'd *Italia Sacra*, says, that he was a Bastard.

Wenceslas, who at his Confirmation was nam'd *Charles* by *Charles the Bel* King of *France*, was the eldest Son of *John* of *Luxemburg* and of *Elizabeth* of *Bohemia*, and was born *May* 14, 1316. He was chosen Emperor during the Life of his Father, in opposition to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who dying in the Year 1387, he took Possession of the Imperial Dignity. He marry'd for first Wife *Blanche*, the Daughter of *Charles* Count of *Valois*, and of *Mahaud de Chastillon*, by whom he had no Children, no more than by *Agnes* of *Bavaria*, the Daughter of *Rodolphus* II, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, his second Wife. He had for third Wife, *Anne* Daughter to *Henry* II, Duke of *Jaur*, who was Brother to *Boleslas* II, Duke of *Sueinits*: and his fourth Wife was *Elizabeth* Daughter to *Roguslas* V, Duke of *Pomerania*, and of *Elizabeth* of *Poland*. He dy'd *March* 27, 1378. The Particulars of his Reign make a part of the General History, for which reason we shall say nothing of them here; except that it is he that is the *Author of the Golden Bull*, and that he had by his third Wife,

Wenceslas, who succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Bohemia* and in the Empire. He marry'd for first Wife *Jean* of *Bavaria*, Daughter of *Albert*, Count of *Hainault* and of *Holland*: and for second, *Sophia*, the Daughter of *John* Duke of *Bavaria* at *Munich*, and of *Elizabeth* of *Gorlitz*: but he had no Children by either, and dy'd of an Apoplexy *August* 10, 1419.

Catherine, who marry'd *Rodolphus the Magnanimous*, Duke of *Austria*, eldest Son of the Emperor *Albert* II.

He had by his fourth Wife,

Sigismund, who succeeded in *Bohemia* and in the Empire.

John, Count of *Gorlitz*.

Elizabeth, Wife to *Albert* III, Duke of *Austria*.

Margaret, the Wife of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*.

Elizabeth, Wife to *John Galeaz Visconti* Duke of *Milan*: and of this Marriage was born *Valentine*, who was Wife to *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, Grand-Father to *Lewis* XII, and Great-Grand-Father to *Francis* I, Kings of *France*.

Margaret, the Wife of *John* II, Burgrave of *Nuremberg*.

Anna, Wife to *Otho* of *Bavaria*, Marquiss of *Brandenburg*, Son to the Emperor *Lewis* IV.

Helen, who was marry'd to *Richard* II, King of *England*. *Polydore Virgil* says her Name was *Anne*, that she was Daughter to *Wenceslas*, and that the Marriage was solemniz'd in the Year 1387: but that cannot be, because *Wenceslas* was then but 26 Years old, and could not have a Daughter at Age to be marry'd.

Agnes, who was betroth'd to *William the Ambitious*, Duke of *Austria* and *Carinthia*.

Margaret, second Wife to *Amadeus le Vert*, Count of *Savoy*.

Sigismund, Son to the Emperor *Charles* IV, and *Elizabeth* of *Pomerania*, his fourth Wife, succeeded his Brother *Wenceslas* in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*: But the *Bohemians* being incens'd at the Death of *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, hinder'd him from taking peaceable Possession of the Kingdom. He marry'd for first Wife *Mary* the Daughter of *Lewis* King of *Hungary*; and for second *Barbe*, Daughter to *Herman* Count of *Cilley*, and dy'd *December* 9, 1437, leaving by his first Wife,

Elizabeth, who was marry'd in 1422, to *Albert*, the Son of *Albert* IV, Duke of *Austria*, and of *Jean* of *Bavaria*, who succeeded his Father-in-Law in the Kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, notwithstanding the Opposition of the *Taborites*, who had call'd to the Crown of *Bohemia Casimir* King of *Poland*. He succeeded also to *Sigismund* in the Empire: but he did not long enjoy all these Dignities, and dy'd *October* 28, 1439. He had by *Elizabeth* of *Luxemburg*,

Gregory, who dy'd *February* 16, 1435, being very young.

Anna, the Wife of *William*, who was Son to *Frederick the Warrior*, first Elector of *Saxony*, of the House of *Misnia*.

Elizabeth, marry'd to *Casimir* IV, King of *Poland*, and

Ladislas, whose Infancy fill'd *Bohemia* with Troubles and Disorders (which are inseparable from the Minority of Princes) till such time as the Administration of Affairs was given to *George de Podiebrach*, a Gentleman of the Countrey, who acquitted himself thereof with all the Fidelity he ow'd to his native Countrey. *Ladislas* was crown'd at *Prague*, *October* 28, 1453, and was betroth'd to *Magdalen* Daughter to *Charles* VII, King of *France*: but he dy'd before the Marriage was solemniz'd of a Sickness which lasted but 36 Hours.

After the Death of *Ladislas*, the Emperor *Frederick* III. was for disposing of *Bohemia* as of a Fief escheated to the Empire, because

Ladiſlas had neglected to do Homage for the ſame. *William* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Caſimir* King of *Poland* pretended thereto in Right of their Wives, who were Siſters to the deceaſed. *Sigiſmund* and *Albert*, Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*, demanded it in Execution of the Treaty made between the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, and *Wenceſlas* II, King of *Bohemia*, which we ſpoke of before: and *Charles* VII, King of *France*, ſaid, that *Bohemia* belong'd to him by virtue of the Marriage Contract made between *Ladiſlas* and his Daughter *Magdalen:* But the States of the Kingdom maintain'd, that the Election ought to take place, and call'd to the Crown the ſame *George Podiebrach*, who had given ſo many Proofs of his Conduct during the Regency. He dy'd *March* 22, 1471; his Poſterity did not ſucceed in *Bohemia*, but it poſſeſs'd a long time the Dutchies of *Munſterberg* and of *Ols* in *Sileſia*.

The Emperor *Frederick* III, *Caſimir* King of *Poland*, and *Matthias* King of *Hungary* made Intereſt for the Crown of *Bohemia* after the Death of *George Podiebrach*. Some were for calling thereto *Albert* Duke of *Saxony*, Son-in-Law to *George:* But *Caſimir* carry'd it for his Son *Uladiſlas*, who was Grandſon to the Emperor *Albert* II, and *Elizabeth* of *Luxemburg*, Daughter and Heireſs to the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. *Uladiſlas* was but fifteen Years old when he was choſen King of *Bohemia*, *May* 25, 1471. *Matthias* King of *Hungary* dying in the Year 1490, *Beatrix* his Widow, imagining that if ſhe could obtain the Crown of *Hungary* for *Uladiſlas*, he would make no Difficulty to marry her, labour'd ſo ſucceſsfully therein, that ſhe procur'd him to be elected; but he marry'd *Anne*, the Daughter of *Gaſton* IV, Count *de Foix*, and of *Catherine* of *Candale*, and dy'd at *Buda* in *Hungary*, *March* 12, 1516, leaving

Lewis and *Anne*.

Lewis, the Son of *Uladiſlas*, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and of *Anne de Foix*, was born *July* 1, 1506, and was crown'd at *Prague*, *March* 11, 1509, while his Father was ſtill living, to whom he ſucceeded in the Kingdom of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, *An.* 1516. He marry'd *Mary*, Daughter to *Philip* of *Auſtria* Duke of *Burgundy*, and of *Jean* of *Spain*. He was found ſtifl'd in a Moraſs, after the Battel he loſt againſt the *Turks* near *Mohatz*, *Auguſt* 29, 1526, and left no Children.

Anne, Siſter to *Lewis*, marry'd *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, Brother to the Emperor *Charles* V, who was crown'd King of *Bohemia* in the Year 1527, and ſo the Crown of *Bohemia* return'd again to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, where it ſtill remains at this Day. *Maximilian* II, Son to *Ferdinand* I, *Rodolphus* II, *Matthias*, *Ferdinand* II, *Ferdinand* III, and *Leopold Ignatius* having ſucceeded therein without Interruption, and even without Conteſtation, excepting that which was the occaſion of the laſt War in *Germany*.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Duke of Bavaria *Prince Elector of the Holy Empire.*

THE Emperor *Maximilian* I. was us'd to ſay, he had this Advantage over all the other Monarchs of *Europe*, That he reign'd over Kings. He, of whom we have juſt treated in the foregoing Chapter, has both the Character and Quality thereof, and thoſe we are going to ſpeak of at preſent, have the Rights and Power thereunto belonging. The firſt that preſents himſelf to us is the Duke of *Bavaria*, who has taken the Place of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, whom the *Golden Bull* cauſes to march immediately after the King of *Bohemia*. This Change, which is without doubt the moſt remarkable that has happen'd in the Empire ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, by reaſon it unlinks the Electoral Dignity from the County *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, to which it was inſeparably annex'd; obliges us to aſcend to the firſt Cauſe of this Tranſlation of the Electorate from the *Palatin* Branch to that of *Bavaria*, of which we ſhall ſpeak in this Chapter.

The Treaty made at *Paſſaw* in the Year 1555, between the Emperor *Charles* V. and *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans* his Brother on the one part; and the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* on the other, permitted the Members immediately ſubject to the Empire, to eſtabliſh within their Juriſdiction ſuch Practice of Religion as they ſhould judge moſt conducive to the Repoſe of their Subjects. The Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the Provinces thereon depending, as principal Members of the Empire, were for making their Advantage thereof, and ſettling ſome Regulations in Favour of thoſe who are call'd in thoſe Parts, *ſub utraque*, becauſe they receive the Communion under both Species. But the Council of *Vienna* oppos'd it, and ſaid, that *Bohemia* being a Province hereditary in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Emperor might eſtabliſh there the Catholick Religion, even by virtue of the Treaty of *Paſſaw*; provided he left the Proteſtants within the Limitations of the Treaties they had made with the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, and the Kings of *Bohemia* his Predeceſſors. However the Proteſtants being numerous enough to enable them to hope from their Strength, what was refus'd to their Intreaties; and *Rodolphus* II, who reign'd then, apprehending leſt they ſhould ſide with his Brother *Matthias*, who had taken Arms againſt him, he gave them Leave by his Letters Patents of *July* 9, 1609, to build Temples, Church-yards, Hoſpitals and Schools on their own Lands, and at their own Expences, in what Juriſdiction ſoever they were ſituated: and that even without the Permiſſion of the Lord of the Fief, or of the Chief Juſticiary.

In

In all the reſt of the Empire the Proteſtants complain'd of the ill Treatment they ſaid was ſhewn them: and in order to procure to themſelves Satisfaction, ſome of them enter'd into a ſtrict Alliance, to which they gave the Name of *Union*, and to thoſe Princes who engag'd therein, that of *Correſpondents*. The firſt Foundations of this Alliance were laid in the Aſſembly of *Ahauſen*, *May* 4, 1608. But it was not concluded till the Year 1609, at *Hall* in *Suabia*, where it choſe for its Head the Elector *Palatin*. The Catholicks on their ſide oppos'd thereto another Alliance, which they made, as they ſaid, for the Preſervation of the Roman Catholick Religion, and gave it the Name of the *Catholick League*, and for Head, *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*: But Affairs remain'd in this Condition on both ſides, without proceeding to any greater Extremities, till the beginning of the *Bohemian* War in the Year 1618, under the Reign of *Matthias*. The Subject or Pretext of theſe Troubles was, that the Archbiſhop of *Prague* had caus'd a Temple to be demoliſh'd, which the Proteſtants had built in a place call'd *Cloſtergrab*, and had ſhut up another at *Brunan*. They complain'd thereof at *Vienna*, but they were anſwer'd, that nothing had been done againſt the Privileges of the Countrey, nor contrary to the Emperor's Edicts. Upon this Anſwer the States of the Kingdom were conven'd; whereof the Emperor being inform'd he forbad their Proceeding any farther. But the matter was reſolv'd upon, and the Opening of the States being perform'd *May* 21, 1618, two Days after, ſeveral Lords and Deputies of the Towns went to the Council, where they made their Remonſtrances, and demanded Juſtice; but with ſomewhat leſs Reſpect than was becoming Suppliants. For ſeeing that the Lord of *Scabata*, Preſident of the Council, the Sieur *Martinitz*, and the Secretary of State did not receive their Petitions, with that favourable Diſpoſition as they had promis'd themſelves from the Equity of their Cauſe, they flung them out at the Windows from two Stories high. The States ſent immediately Commiſſions for the raiſing of Men throughout the whole Kingdom, that they might thereby be in a Condition to maintain an Action of that Conſequence. And in order to juſtify what they had done, they publiſh'd a *Manifeſto*, in which they gave to underſtand that in the aforeſaid Execution they had follow'd the good and laudable ancient Cuſtom, which allows of ſuch Procedure againſt Traitors of the Countrey, and Diſturbers of the publick Quiet. The Emperor who was diſarm'd, expreſs'd at firſt no other Reſentment thereat, except that he caus'd the *Manifeſto* to be anſwer'd, tho' he was fully reſolv'd to chaſtiſe this Rebellion, and to ſend a conſiderable Army into *Bohemia*, under the Conduct of the Count of *Bucquoy*, who had under him the Counts of *Dampierre*, of *Bougheim*, and of *Collalto*. The *Bohemians* gave the Command of their Army to *Erneſt* of *Manſfeldt*, who was juſt come out of the Service of the Duke of *Savoy*, againſt the King *Spain*, and who brought them a good Number of Officers, that were broken ſince the Concluſion of a Peace between thoſe two Princes in *Italy*. The Count *de Bucquoy* being enter'd into *Bohemia*, ſuffer'd his Soldiers to exerciſe ſuch Cruelties and Inſolencies, which not only made an end of exaſperating the Minds, but even ſtirr'd up Pity in the neighbouring States. *Sileſia* was the firſt that declar'd for the *Bohemians*, and the united Princes being aſſembl'd at *Ratemburg* on the *Tauber*, ſent to intreat the Emperor to conſider, that ſuch was the Importance of this Affair, as not only to relate to *Bohemia*, but alſo to all the Proteſtants of *Germany*; and pray'd him to recal his Army, and remove by that means the Umbrage all *Germany* took at ſo violent a Procedure. The Affair was put into Negotiation, and the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, the Electors *Palatin* and of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Bavaria* were nominated to labour at an Accommodation; which was hinder'd by Delays, which are but too common in matters of this nature: but chiefly by the Death of the Emperor *Matthias*, who dy'd *March* 20, 1619.

The Averſion the *Bohemians* had conceiv'd againſt the Government of the laſt Emperors, did not end with the Life of *Matthias*; on the contrary, the Troubles which began during his Life, continu'd with much more Vehemence after his Death. For the States of the Kingdom being inform'd that *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* had been invited to the Election as King of *Bohemia*; they wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, and repreſented by their Deputies to the Electoral College, That *Ferdinand* not being in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, he could not have any hand in the Election. But the Electors, without having any regard to theſe Remonſtrances, admitted him nevertheleſs to all the Deliberations they held for the Election: nay they even choſe him Emperor *Auguſt* 27, 1619, almoſt at the ſame time as the *Bohemians* invited the Elector *Palatin*, *Frederick* V, to wear their Crown. This laſt Election preceded that of *Ferdinand* by only one Day, and ſo alarm'd all *Germany*, that the very firſt Accounts were had thereof ſerv'd as the firſt Sound of the Trumpet to thoſe who were engag'd in one of the two Parties. The new King of *Bohemia*, knowing that the Partiſans of the Houſe of *Auſtria* would not fail to take to their Arms, for the Preſervation of what it poſſeſs'd in the Empire, which depended intirely on the Iſſue of this War, arm'd powerfully, and endeavour'd to bring into the Quarrel as well the united Princes, of whom he was the Head, as all his Relations and Allies, who were of the moſt powerful of *Europe*. The Catholicks, who on their ſide conſider'd, that if the Proteſtants acquir'd by this mean a fourth Vote in the Electoral College, they would not fail in time to place the Imperial Crown on the Head of a Prince of their Party, could not diſſemble their Apprehenſion, and caus'd Levies to be made throughout the whole Extent of their Juriſdiction. But the Emperor, who had a mind to make a publick Matter of a particular Quarrel, altho' the Elector *Palatin* had taken Arms againſt *Ferdinand*, when he was ſtill but Arch-Duke of *Auſtria* and King of *Bohemia*, and before he had attain'd to the Empire; ſtyl'd him Rebel, and put him into the Ban of the Empire, as guilty of High Treaſon, without

without any Form of Proceſs, contrary to the Laws of the State, and contrary to the Capitulation the Electors had made with him at his Acceſſion to the Crown. The Execution of this Proſcription was committed to *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, Head of the Catholick League, and to the Marquiſs of *Spinola*, who commanded the *Spaniſh* Troops which the Arch-Duke *Albert* had ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the Emperor. The Duke of *Bavaria* had ſupply'd *Ferdinand* with a good Sum of Money, which, together with the Intereſt thereof, amounted to ſeveral Millions of Gold; for the Repayment of which he had a Mortgage on the *Upper Auſtria*, beſides the Emperor's Word, who had promis'd him at the beginning of the War to beſtow on him the Spoils of the Elector *Palatin*. And in effect on *February* 25, 1623, he gave him the Inveſtiture of the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity. But forasmuch as the Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg* found fault with this precipitate and irregular Procedure, as being directly contrary to the Diſpoſition of the *Golden Bull*, which annexes the Electoral Dignity to the *Palatinate* inſeparably; it was given out at firſt, that it was intended only to the Perſon of *Maximilian*; who being already advanc'd in Years, and having no Children, there was room to hope that no Wrong would be done to thoſe of the *Palatin*, who having had no hand in the pretended Crime of their Father, could not have any neither in his Diſgrace. *Maximilian* himſelf publiſh'd that he receiv'd this Dignity for his Perſon only, and gave Aſſurance thereof to the Emperor in Writing: But as ſoon as he ſaw the Affairs of *Germany* in ſuch a State, that the Proteſtants could no longer make themſelves fear'd, he declar'd himſelf; by making it known that the Electoral Dignity ſtanding him in ſtead of a very conſiderable Reimburſement, he pretended to have purchas'd it for himſelf, and all his Houſe. And that he might intereſt *France* in the Preſervation of this fine Conqueſt, he engag'd in ſeveral Treaties with it; which tho' they produc'd no effect, but only that of Confuſion and Trouble to thoſe who were concern'd therein; yet they were in part the Cauſe, that by the Peace of *Munſter* was confirm'd to him, and to all the Princes of his Houſe, deſcended from *William* Duke of *Bavaria*, his Father, the Electoral Dignity, which was before poſſeſs'd by the Counts *Palatins* of the *Rhine*. The Article of the Treaty of *Munſter* ſpeaks thus; *And firſt, as for what relates to the Houſe of* Bavaria, *the Electoral Dignity which the Electors* Palatins *have hitherto poſſeſs'd, with all its Rights, Regalia, Offices, Precedencies, Arms,* &c. *whatever, belonging to that Dignity, without any manner of exception: as alſo all the* Upper Palatinate, *and the Earldom of* Cham, *with all their Appurtenances and Dependences, Rights, and Regalia, ſhall remain for the time to come to the Lord* Maximilian, *Count Palatin of the* Rhine, *Duke of* Bavaria, *and to his Children, and to all the Line of* William, *ſo long as there ſhall be any Male Iſſue therein. In Conſideration whereof the Lord Elector of* Bavaria *ſhall renounce intirely for himſelf, his Heirs and Succeſſors, to the Debt of thirteen Millions, and to all the Pretenſions he can have to the* Upper Auſtria, *&c.* And a little after; *That if it ſhall happen that all the Branch of* William, *as to the Males, comes to fail, and be wholly extinct (the* Palatin *Branch ſtill ſubſiſting) not only the* Upper Palatinate, *but alſo the Electoral Dignity, which now belongs to the Duke of* Bavaria, *ſhall return to the* Palatins *who ſhall be then living: And in the mean time they ſhall enjoy, as well as the Dukes of* Bavaria, *the effect of the pretended Inveſtiture.*

* Before the Treaty of *Munſter* had thus regulated the Right of theſe two Princes, the Duke of *Bavaria*, conſidering that this Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity from one Branch to the other, was defective and faulty in all its Circumſtances: and having Reaſon to fear leſt one Day Poſterity might declare it ſo, ſuffer'd ſome Civilians to undertake to perſuade the World, That the Dukes of *Bavaria* were the Electors, and that the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to *Bavaria*, and not to the *Palatinate*. They who have written on this Subject, ſtrengthen their Opinion with Reaſons ſo plauſible and ſpecious, that it is difficult to diſcover the Weakneſs thereof, unleſs they are confronted with the Truth of Hiſtory.

It is certain that not only the Dukes of *Bavaria* have aſſiſted at ſeveral Elections before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, but that they have alſo diſcharg'd the Office of Great Steward of the Empire, which is inſeparable from the Electoral Dignity: And we even ſay with the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, that the Duke of *Bavaria* was an Elector on the account of his Dutchy. But we ſay alſo that the Election does not make the Elector; for if it did, the Adminiſtrators of the Electors during their Minority, who aſſiſt at the Elections by virtue of the fundamental Law, in their own Right, and not as Guardians of their Pupils, would be Electors; but that it is the real Poſſeſſion of the Principality, to which the Electoral Dignity is annex'd, that gives this Quality; ſo that to prove, that the Duke of *Bavaria* was an Elector, it muſt be known whether the Dutchy was an Electorate ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull*.

When the Emperor *Rodolphus* I. ſays that the Duke of *Bavaria* is an Elector on the Score of his Dutchy, he ſpeaks of a Time in which the Number of the Electors was not regulated, nor the Electoral Dignity annex'd to particular Principalities, as it was afterwards by the *Golden Bull*. Moreover to comprehend the Intention of *Rodolphus*, it is requiſite to know that the Difference was between *Othocarius* King of *Bohemia* (who had uſurp'd the Dutchy of *Auſtria*) and *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*. *Othocarius* pretended he had a Right to two Votes, the one on the Account of his Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the other on the Score of *Auſtria*; but *Henry* maintain'd, that, as Duke of *Auſtria*, he had no Right to elect; and that it belong'd to himſelf on the Account of *Bavaria*, of which *Auſtria* was formerly but a part; and that if *Henry*, who ſucceeded his Brother *Leo-*

* *The Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the* Palatinate *by the* Golden Bull, *and not to* Bavaria.

pold,

pold, in *Auſtria* and in *Bavaria*, was preſent at the Election of the Emperor *Frederick* I, it was in the Quality of Duke of *Bavaria*, rather than as Marquiſs of *Auſtria*. It is true, that ſince *Auſtria* has been erected into a Dutchy by the ſaid Emperor *Frederick* I, its Princes have aſſiſted at the Elections of ſeveral Emperors; as at thoſe of *Henry* VI, of *Philip* of *Suabia*, of *Otho* IV, of *Frederick* II, and of ſeveral others. But for all that, when the Number of the Electors (which was very confus'd and uncertain in the Time of *Frederick* I, and of the Emperors his Succeſſors) was reduc'd to a ſmaller, and more regular, the Duke of *Bavaria* (who was one of the moſt powerful Princes of *Germany*) was preferr'd to that of *Auſtria*, who did not begin to be known under that Quality, but in the Time of the ſaid Emperor. But this does not hinder the Counts *Palatins* of the *Rhine*, who were Vicars of the Empire during the *Interregnum*, ſole Judges of the Emperor's Perſon, and conſequently the firſt Princes of the Empire, from having had a Right to elect, as well as the Dukes of *Bavaria*.

Moreover, even if what theſe Doctors preſuppoſe was true, to wit, That the Electoral College was inſtituted by the Emperor *Otho* III, and that from that Time the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to certain Principalities; the Counts *Palatins* would nevertheleſs be Electors. Becauſe, as the eldeſt of the Family, they inherited thoſe Provinces to which the Dignity was appropriated; and it was in this Quality that *Rodolphus*, Son to *Lewis the Severe*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, ſucceeded in the *Palatinate*, and in the Electoral Dignity, leaving *Bavaria* to *Lewis* his younger Brother. The ſame *Lewis* having attain'd to the Empire, and having proſcrib'd his Brother *Rodolphus* for having ſided with *Frederick* Duke of *Auſtria* againſt him, did not dare to diſpoſſeſs his Nephews of the Electoral Dignity, even after the Proſcription; but all the Advantage he reap'd from the Diſgrace of *Rodolphus*, and the Misfortunes of his Children, was, that by the Treaty which he made with them at *Pavia*, in the Year 1329, he oblig'd them to conſent that the Electoral Dignity ſhould be in common to both Branches, and that the Functions thereof ſhould be executed by both alternately; with which the Emperor, who had the Power in his own Hands, and who had confiſcated all his Brother's Eſtate, would not have been contented, if he had believ'd that the Electoral Dignity had been annex'd to *Bavaria*, and not to the *Palatinate*. But let us ſee what Right the Dukes of *Bavaria* can claim from this Tranſaction, and whether by virtue of this Conſent they were call'd or invited to the Elections. There is no body ſo ignorant, as not to know that this ſort of Contracts, made between the Guardian and the Pupil, or between a Man who is arm'd with Power, and him who has juſt Reaſon to fear, is of no Effect; eſpecially when the Wrong is ſo outragious, that the Law does not refuſe to reſtore the Party aggriev'd to the State he was in before the Contract, and conſequently that ſuch Tranſaction is null; admitting that it were not directly contrary to the fundamental Law of the Empire, as it really is. For whether the Inſtitution of the Electoral College be aſcrib'd to *Otho* III, in which Caſe the Parties could not derogate from the Law; or to *Charles* IV; and then it muſt be own'd that this Tranſaction was annull'd by a poſterior Law; which annexes the Electoral Dignity, and the Office of Great Steward of the Empire, to the *Palatinat*, in ſuch expreſs Terms, and ſo often repeated, that it plainly appears that it excludes therefrom *Bavaria* and all its Princes. In Chap. VII. §. 2. it ſays, *Certainly it is manifeſt, and notorious to all the World, and there is not any body who does not know, that the Illuſtrious Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine *has a Right, Vote, and Seat at the Election of a King of the* Romans *future Emperor, by virtue of his Principality.* Chap. I. §. 13. *The Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine, *Great Steward of the Empire, ſhall be conducted by the Archbiſhop of* Mayence, *Chap.* IV. §. 1. *The King of* Bohemia *ſhall take place*, &c. and after him, on the ſame ſide, *ſhall ſit the Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine. And in the ſame Chap. §. 3. *In the fourth place ſhall vote the Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine. Chap. V. §. 1. *When the Empire ſhall become vacant, the Illuſtrious Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine, *Great Steward of the holy Empire, ſhall be Vicar of the Empire in* Suabia, *in* Franconia, *and on the* Rhine, *on the Account of his Principality, or by virtue of the Privilege annex'd to the* Palatinate. Chap. VI. §. 3. *By a very ancient Cuſtom, the King of the* Romans, *or the Emperor, ſhall be impleadable, and oblig'd to anſwer before the Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine, *Great Steward, and Prince Elector of the holy Empire.* Chap. II. §. 3. *Which Conſtitution we extend by this Imperial Law, to the Illuſtrious Count* Palatin *of the* Rhine, *&c.* And ſo afterwards, in *Chap.* XXII, XXV, §. 1. XXVII, §. 4. and *Chap.* XXX. §. 2. where it ſpeaks always of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and never of the Duke of *Bavaria*. There are Letters of the ſaid Emperor *Charles* IV, dated before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, *June* 1, 1354, at *Keyſersberg*, in which he quotes ſome Letters of *John* King of *Bohemia*, his Father, dated at *Franckfort* the *Friday* before *Palm-Sunday*, *An.* 1339, which ſay very expreſſly, That even at that Time *Rodolphus*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, was true and lawful Elector, and that he enjoy'd the Right of Electing, on the account of the *Palatinate*. The ſame Emperor, ſpeaking of the Count *Palatin Rupert*, in his Letters given at *Nuremberg* in the ſame Year that the *Golden Bull* was publiſh'd, ſays, *Becauſe he is in Poſſeſſion of a Vote in the Election of the King of the* Romans, *as alſo in Poſſeſſion of the* Palatin *Principality, and of the Office of Great Steward, of the Juriſdiction, Vaſſallages, Appurtenances and Dependencies, on which the Right and the Suffrage of the Electors is founded.* And afterwards, *We find that the Vote, the Right, and the Election are ſo founded on the* Palatinate, *and in the Office of Great Steward, that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other.* In the ſame Year all the Electors iſſu'd out their Letters Patents, by which they ſecure and confirm the Electoral Dignity to one another; and, among the reſt, *Lewis the Roman*, Marquiſs and Elector of *Brandenburg*, notwithſtanding he was of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, and Son to the Emperor *Lewis* IV, does nevertheleſs acknowledge the Count *Palatin* for Elector, without making a-

ny mention of the pretended Right of the Duke of *Bavaria*. But there is nothing more expreſs on this Subject, than what the Emperor *Sigiſmund* ſays, in his Letters Patents of the Year 1418, where he expreſſes himſelf thus, in §. 2. *Sane cum alias per Literas omnium Principum Electorum, nominatim divæ Recordationis, ſereniſſimi Principis ac Domini, Domini* Caroli IV. Romanorum *Imperatoris*, & Bohemiæ *Regis*, *genitoris noſtri cariſſimi, velut* Bohemiæ *Regis*, *venerabilium* Gerlaci Moguntini, *per* Alemaniam; Boemundi Trevirenſis, *per* Galliam, *ac Regnum* Arelatenſe; Wilhelmi Colonienſis, *per* Italiam *ſacri* Romani *Imperii Archicancellariorum, Archiepiſcoporum*; Rudolphi *Ducis* Saxoniæ, *ſacri* Romani *Imperii Archimareſchalli*; & Ludovici, *dicti* Romer, *quondam Imperatoris* Ludovici *filii*, *Marchionis* Brandeburgenſis, *ſacri* Romani *Imperii Archicamerarii: Ac etiam Principibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Nobilibus, Proceribus, & multis aliis noſtris &* Sacri Imperii *fidelibus, informationem certiſſimam, & Luce Teſtimonia clariora, noſtra ſuſcepit Imperialis Celſitudo; qualiter felicis memoriæ* Rupertus *præſenior, quondam Comes* Palatinus Rheni, *S. R. I. Archidapifer, &* Bavariæ *Dux, Patruus illuſtris* Ludovici, *Comitis* Palatini Rheni, *S. R. I. Archidapiferi, Principis Electoris, nec non* Bavariæ *Ducis, Avunculi noſtri cariſſimi; & poſt prædictum* Rupertum *præſeniorem*, Rupertus *ſenior, Avus jam dicti Avunculi noſtri* Ludovici; *& poſt eundem* Rupertum *ſeniorem*, Rupertus *Pater jam dicti Avunculi noſtri* Ludovici, *ſucceſſivè tanquam Archidapiferi ejuſdem Imperii, & veri Principes Electores, ab omnibus aliis eorum Coelectoribus ſemper habiti & reputati fuerunt: ac etiam voluntate, conſenſu & votis aliorum ſuorum Coelectorum Principum unanimiter accedentibus, claræ memoriæ ſereniſſimos quondam* Romanorum *Reges prædeceſſores noſtros, temporibus ſuis, & rationaliter, juxta Sacri* Romani *Imperii obſervantiam, in* Romanorum *Reges elegerunt, ad Imperatoriam Celſitudinem promovendos. Ac ſubſequenter idem modernus* Ludovicus, *cum aliis Coelectoribus ſuis modernis, retroactis temporibus, nos in* Romanorum *Regem elegit; qui diſponente eo, a quo bona cuncta procedunt Rege Regum, & Domino Dominorum, Coronam Imperialem ſuſcepimus.* " *Quodque prædicti* Rupertus *præſenior*, " *Patruus*; *ac* Rupertus, *Pater dicti* Ludovici, " *quondam Comites* Palatini Rheni, *diuturna* " *temporum præſcriptione inconcuſsè habuerunt &* " *poſſederunt, prout etiam ipſe* Ludovicus *impræ-* " *ſentiarum, ad inſtar illorum, ex ſucceſſione pa-* " *terna & hæreditaria, dignoſcitur juſto Titulo* " *poſſidere jus, vocem, dignitatem, & poteſtatem* " *Eligendi* Romanorum *Regem, in Imperatorem* " *promovendum*; *quemadmodum in noſtris Lite-* " *ris declaratoriis, ſub Regali* Romanorum *Ti-* " *tulo deſuper editis ac promulgatis plenius conti-* " *netur. Et quod longinquitate ſæpe fit Tempo-* " *ris, quòd res Clara præſentibus, redditur per* " *oblivionem obſcura*, &c.

If any one would maliciouſly ſhut his Eyes againſt the Clearneſs of this Truth, which is much brighter than that of the Sun at Noon-Day, we could render it palpable in the Succeſſion of ſo great a Number of Electors, continu'd for above three hundred Years in the *Palatin* Houſe, without its being interrupted by any Conteſt or Proteſtation on the part of the Dukes of *Bavaria*; excepting that which *William* Duke of *Bavaria* made, in the Year 1544, when he oppos'd the Inveſtiture of *Frederick* II. But the Emperor *Charles* V. had no Regard thereto, but gave it notwithſtanding. *William* founded his Pretenſions on this, That *Rupert*, the eldeſt Son of *Philip* Elector *Palatin*, had been put in the Ban of the Empire. He had marry'd *Iſabella*, the only Daughter of *George the Rich*, Duke of *Bavaria* at *Landſhut*, and pretended that all the Inheritance of the Father-in-Law belong'd to him; as well by virtue of the Teſtament of the deceas'd, as by his Contract of Marriage: But *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria* at *Munichen*, who had marry'd the Siſter of the Emperor *Maximilian* I, oppos'd it; and making uſe of the Advantage of this Alliance, he procur'd *Rupert* to be put in the Ban of the Empire. This Diſgrace ſerv'd for a Foundation to the Hopes which the Dukes of *Bavaria* began to have from that Time, that they might contrive to have the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity transferr'd to their Family; but they vaniſh'd immediately, by the Peace which *Lewis* and *Frederick*, Brothers to *Rupert*, made with the Emperor. *William*, the Son of *Albert*, ſeeing his Hopes driven ſo far backward, had Recourſe to Artifice; and under the Pretext of renewing a mutual Friendſhip between the two Branches, by means whereof the Princes of the *Palatin* Branch might retrieve their Affairs: he engag'd the two Brothers to make a Treaty with him, into which this Article was ſlipp'd, That, by that Treaty, all the former Treaties made between the Princes of the two Branches, ſhould remain confirm'd. And it is upon this Article that he grounded his Pretenſions; as if thoſe two Princes had, by Words ſo general, particularly confirm'd the Treaty of *Pavia*, made between the Emperor *Lewis* IV. and the Sons of the Elector *Palatin*, *Rodolphus* his Nephews, by which the Electoral Dignity had been render'd alternative to the two Branches; tho' he knew that it was not in their Power to make an Alteration of that Nature in the Electoral College, contrary to the expreſs Direction of the fundamental Law of the Empire; which, by calling to the Succeſſion of the Electoral Dignity, the eldeſt of Families to the Excluſion of the younger, annexes it to the Counts *Palatins*, who are the eldeſt of the Houſe; and excluded therefrom the Dukes of *Bavaria*, who are a younger Branch.

But foraſmuch as the Plenipotentiaries of the Electors, and of the other Princes of *Germany* aſſembled at *Munſter*, and repreſenting the Sovereignty of the Empire, thought fit to change the Order eſtabliſh'd by the *Golden Bull*: And to convey the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity to the *Bavarian* Branch, we ſhall finiſh this Chapter with ſpeaking of the Dutchy of *Bavaria*, and of its Princes, as being at this Day Electors of the holy Empire.

* We have ſaid, in the foregoing Chapter, that the *Boij*, a People of the *Gauls*, enter'd into *Germany* under the Conduct of *Sigoveſus*, at the ſame Time that another part of the ſame People march'd into *Italy* under *Belloveſus*, in the Reign of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, King of the *Romans*; and that they there took Poſſeſſion of that Country, which at preſent is call'd from

* *The Origin of the Word* Bavaria.

their

their Name, *Bohemia*; and remain'd there till the *Marcomans* forc'd them to ſeek another Habitation elſewhere; and to retire into that Part of the ancient *Noricum*, which is at preſent call'd *Bavaria*. For as the neighbouring People had call'd the firſt *Boyenheim*, that is to ſay, Habitation of the *Boij*, ſo they nam'd the laſt *Boyenland*, that is to ſay, the Countrey or Land of *Boij*; and in proceſs of Time, *Boyeren*, or *Bayeren*, which has been chang'd to *Bajoaria*, *Bavvaria*, and afterwards into *Bavaria*. The Name of the Province has been known but ſince the latter end of the ſixth Century, when *Garibald*, King of *Bavaria*, gave his Daughter *Theodelinda* in Marriage to *Antharis*, King of *Lombardy*; and that of *Bavaria* is hardly to be met with in Hiſtory, before the Time of the Emperor *Frederick* II.

* It has for its Neighbours on the *North* ſide, *Franconia* and the *Upper Palatinate*, towards the *Eaſt*, *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*, to the *Southward* the *Alps* of *Tirol*, and towards the *Weſt*, *Suabia*. The River *Leck*, which riſes out of the ſame *Alps*, and after having waſh'd the Walls of *Fueſſen*, of *Schonga* and of *Augsburg*, diſcharges its Waters into the *Danube* near *Rain*, below *Donawert*, divides it into the Upper and Lower *Bavaria*. The principal Towns of the Upper are *Munichen*, where for the moſt part its Princes reſide; *Ingolſtadt* a ſtrong Town, and honour'd with an Univerſity which is famous enough; and *Friſingen*, an Epiſcopal City. Thoſe of the Lower are *Ratisbone*, an Imperial City; *Paſſaw*, a Biſhop's See; *Lantſhut* and *Straubingen*; and ſome others of leſs note, which make in all about five and thirty, beſides fourſcore and fourteen Burroughs enclos'd with Walls. It makes alone one of the Circles of the Empire, and comprehends its Elector, the Archbiſhop of *Saltsburg*, the Biſhops of *Ratisbone*, of *Friſingen* and of *Paſſaw*: The Abbots of *Waltſaſſen*, of St. *Emeran* at *Ratisbone*, and of *Keizerſheim*: The Abbeſſes of the Upper and Lower *Mouſtier* of *Ratisbone*, the Prevoſt of *Berchteligaden*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Counts *Palatins* of the *Rhine* at *Neuburg* and at *Sultsbach*, the Lantgrave of *Leuchtemberg*, the Prince *d'Eggenberg*, Duke of *Crumaut*, the Prince of *Lobkowitz*, the Counts of *Ottemburg*, ſome Barons, immediate Subjects of the Empire, and the Town of *Ratisbone*. *Andreas Ratiſponenſis* ſays, That *Bavaria* receiv'd the *Chriſtian* Religion about the Year 182, after the Birth of *Jeſus Chriſt*: but it is certain that it was ſtill *Pagan*, when *Childebert* King of *France*, drove the *Huns* and the *Sclavi* out of it, above four hundred Years after that Time. † It had then its particular Kings, but *Childebert* reduc'd it into a Province, and made *Taſſilon* Governor thereof, in the Quality of Duke. After him govern'd *Tendo*, and after him *Theodebert*, *Theudo* II, and *Odilon*. After him *Odilon* II, who marry'd *Snanahilde*, Daughter or Niece to *Charles Martel*, Mayor of the Palace in *France*; and who was driven out by *Pepin* and *Carloman*, the Sons of *Charles Martel*. Theſe Princes gave *Bavaria* to *Taſſilon* II, who having revolted againſt *Charlemagne*, in favour of *Didier* King of the *Lombards*, his Father-in-law, was depriv'd of his Eſtates, and ſhut up with his Son in the Convent of *Lauriſheim*: by which means *Bavaria* was again reunited to the Crown of *France*.

It remain'd annex'd to it till it was again ſeparated from it by the Partition which was made between the Sons of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, in the Year 843, by which it fell to *Lewis* ſirnam'd the *German*, his ſecond Son. ‡ *Carloman*, the Son of *Lewis*, had it after the Death of his Father, and left it to *Arnoul* his natural Son, who having attain'd to the Empire, gave the Government of *Bavaria*, under the Title of a Dutchy, to *Leopold*, who was kill'd by the *Hungarians* in the Year 907. He left two Sons, *Arnoul*, call'd the *Bad*, and *Bertold*. The firſt ſucceeded in the Dutchy of *Bavaria*, but he took up Arms againſt the Emperor *Conrade* I, who compell'd him to retire into *Hungary*. After the Death of *Arnoul*, *Bertold* his Brother ſucceeded in *Bavaria*; and after him *Henry*, Brother to the Emperor *Otho* I, who had marry'd the Daughter of *Arnoul*. * *Bavaria* continu'd in the *Saxon* Houſe, till the Emperor *Henry*, Grandſon to *Henry* I, gave it to *Henry* or *Hetzel*, Brother to the Empereſs *Cunegonde*, who held the Dutchy till he dy'd. The Emperor *Conrade* II, gave it to his Son *Henry*, who at his Acceſſion to the Crown reunited it to the Empire, and gave it afterwards to *Conrade* his younger Son; who dying in the Year 1056, the Emperor *Henry* IV, gave it to *Agnes* his Mother, who govern'd the Dutchy in Perſon, till the Year 1061. Then ſhe gave it to *Otho*, Count of *Northeim*, of the Houſe of *Saxony*, as being deſcended in a direct and male Line from *Bruno*, the third Son of *Henry*, firſt Duke of *Bavaria*, of that Family. This Prince having taken Arms againſt the Emperor with the other rebellious *Saxons*, *Henry* gave *Bavaria* to *Guelfe* IV, the Son of *Azzon*, Marquiſs of *Eſte*. *Guelfe* IV, had marry'd for firſt Wife *Ethelinda*, the Daughter of *Otho*, Count of *Northeim*, Duke of *Bavaria*: but he divorc'd her out of Complaiſance to the Emperor, and marry'd for ſecond Wife *Judith*, Daughter to *Baudoüin*, ſirnam'd from *Liſle*, Count of *Flanders*, which *Judith* was the Widow of *Toſte*, or *Toſtique*, Son to *Godwin*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and eldeſt Brother to *Herold*, King of *England*; and of this Marriage was born *Guelfe* V, and *Henry* the *Black*, Dukes of *Bavaria*. This laſt marry'd *Wulfilda*, the Daughter of *Magnus* Duke of *Saxony*; and had by her amongſt other Children, *Henry* the *Proud*, who ſucceeded in the Dutchy of *Bavaria*, and in part of *Saxony*, in Conſideration of his Marriage with *Gertrude*, Daughter to the Emperor *Lotharius* II. He oppos'd the Election of the Emperor *Conrade* III, after the Death of *Lotharius*, with ſo much Obſtinacy, that he thereby loſt his Eſtates, and even his Life. *Conrade* gave *Bavaria* to *Leopold* Marquiſs of *Auſtria*, his Brother by the Mother's ſide; and after his Death to *Henry* his Brother, who marry'd *Gertrude*, the Widow of *Henry* the *Proud*. † But *Frederick* I, ſirnam'd *Red-beard*, having attain'd to the Empire, accommodated the Difference between the two *Henrys*, ſo that *Bavaria* was

* *The Frontiers of* Bavaria. † *Its Princes before* Charlemagne. ‡ *Under the Succeſſors of* Charlemagne.
* *Under the Emperors of the* Saxon *Houſe.* † *The Emperor* Frederick I. *lops off* Auſtria *from it.*

reſtor'd to *Henry* the *Lyon*, the Son of *Henry* the *Proud*, except that part of the Dutchy, which is between the Rivers *In* and *Ens*, which was annex'd to *Auſtria*, which was likewiſe erected into a Dutchy: and by that Means withdrawn from the Subjection and Juriſdiction of the Dukes of *Bavaria*.

‡ *Henry* the *Lyon*, Duke of *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, marry'd for firſt Wife *Clementia*, the Daughter of *Conrade* Duke of *Zeringen*, whom he divorc'd under the Pretext of Parentage; and had by her only one Daughter nam'd *Clementia*, who was marry'd to *Frederick* of *Suabia*, Son to the Emperor *Conrade* III, and after his Death to *Canutus*, Son to *Volmar* I, King of *Denmark*. He had for ſecond Wife *Mahault* or *Mathilda*, Daughter to *Henry* II, King of *England*, of whom he had ſeveral Children; and among the reſt *Otho* IV, Emperor, and *William*, from whom ſprung the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and of *Lunenburg*, who are now living. *Henry*'s haughty Temper, and the Power he had in *Germany*, where his Eſtates extended from the *Baltick* as far as *Italy*, carry'd him beyond the Bounds of his Duty towards the Emperor, who caus'd him to be put in the Ban of the Empire, and confiſcated all his Eſtates: and among the reſt *Bavaria*, which he gave in the Year 1080, to *Otho*, * Count *Palatin* of *Wittelſpach*, Father to *Lewis* I, from whom ſprung all the Counts *Palatins* and Dukes of *Bavaria*, whom we ſhall treat of at preſent.

† Both the ones and the others deſcend from *Otho*, Count of *Schiren*, Son to *Brabon*, Count *d'Abenſperg*, who liv'd about the Year 1048, and preſented to the Emperor *Henry* III, two and thirty Sons at Mans Eſtate. *Otho* III, Grandſon to *Otho* I, Count of *Schiren*, built the Caſtle of *Wittelſpach*, which began from that Time to change the Name of the Family, and left *Otho* IV, Father of *Otho* V, who introduc'd *Bavaria* into this Houſe. *Lewis* his Son left *Otho* VI, ſirnam'd the *Illuſtrious*, who marry'd *Agnes*, Daughter to *Henry* of *Saxony*, who was Son to *Henry* the *Lyon*: and by this Marriage he brought the *Palatinate* into the Houſe of *Bavaria*. He left two Sons, *Henry*, whoſe Poſterity fail'd in the Perſon of *Otho*, Son to *Stephen*, who dy'd in the Year 1335, and *Lewis*, ſirnam'd the *Severe*, for having too haſtily executed his Wife for a falſe Suſpicion of Adultery. *Lewis* marry'd for third Wife *Mahault*, Daughter of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, and had by her *Rodolphus*, common Father to all the Electors, and Princes *Palatins*; and *Lewis*, who was elected Emperor, *October* 18, 1314. The Emperor *Lewis* had by *Beatrix* of *Glogau* his firſt Wife, *Lewis*, Father to *Menard*, Count of *Tirol*, who dy'd without Children; and *Stephen*. By *Marguerit*, Heireſs of the Counties of *Hainault*, and of *Holland*, he had ſeveral Children: and amongſt others *Albert*, Father to *William*, who left only one Daughter nam'd *Jaqueline*, who yielded up her Eſtates of *Hainault*, and of *Holland*, to *Philip* the *Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and left no Poſterity.

Stephen, the ſecond Son of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and of *Beatrix* of *Glogau*, his firſt Wife, had by *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Lewis* II, King of *Hungary* and *Naples*, *Stephen* I; who left, by *Thadea Viſconti*, *Iſabella* Queen of *France*, Wife to *Charles* VI; and *Lewis*, Father to *Lewis* the *Hunch-back'd*; who dy'd without Children in the Year 1445. 2. *Frederick*, and 3. *John*.

2. *Frederick*, ſecond Son to *Stephen*, and *Elizabeth* of *Hungary*, had by *Marguerit* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to *Albert* IV, *Henry*, who had for his Portion *Lantſhut* and *Ingolſtadt*; and was Father to *George* the *Rich*, who left only one Daughter nam'd *Elizabeth*, who was marry'd to *Rupert*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*.

3. *John*, the third Son of *Stephen* the eldeſt Brother, and of *Elizabeth* of *Hungary*, had for his Share *Munichen*, and dy'd *Auguſt* 8, 1397; leaving *Erneſtus*, who had by *Elizabeth Viſconti*, *Albert*, who had by *Anne* of *Brunſwick*, *Albert* the *Wiſe*. This laſt was born *December* 15, 1440, and marry'd in 1487, *Cunegunda* of *Auſtria*, Daughter of the Emperor *Frederick* III, and of *Leonora* of *Portugal*. It was he that conteſted with *Rupert*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, the Inheritance of *George* the *Rich*; and finding himſelf ſupported by the Arms and Authority of the Emperor *Maximilian* I, his Brother-in-law, he had no great Difficulty to triumph over his Enemies, and to reunite all *Bavaria* in his Perſon; except what the *Palatins* of *Newburg* poſſeſs on the *Danube*. He dy'd *March* 18, 1508, leaving *Lewis*, who had no Iſſue, and *William*. *William*, the Son of *Albert* the *Wiſe*, and of *Cunegunda* of *Auſtria*, made Inſtance after the Death of *Philip*, Elector *Palatin*, that the Electoral Dignity might be conferr'd on himſelf, by virtue of the Treaty of *Pavia*; made between the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and the Children of *Rodolphus*, Elector *Palatin*; but the Emperor *Charles* V, would not hearken thereto. He alſo with the Elector of *Saxony* oppos'd the Election of *Ferdinand* I; and left, by *Mary Jacob*, the Daughter of *Philip*, Marquiſs of *Baden*, *Albert*, who was born *February* 28, 1528; and marry'd on *July* 4, 1546, *Anne*, Daughter to the Emperor *Ferdinand* I, and of *Anne* of *Hungary*; and dy'd *October* 24, 1579, leaving beſides *Charles*, *Frederick* and *Mary Maximiliana*, who dy'd young; *William Ferdinand*, who never marry'd, but left a natural Son nam'd *Francis William*, who is at this Day Biſhop of *Oſnaburg*; *Erneſt* Archbiſhop and Elector of *Cologn*, Biſhop of *Liege*, *Hildeſheim* and *Friſingen*, who dy'd *February* 17, 1612; and *Mary*, the Wife of *Charles* of *Auſtria*, and conſequently Grandmother to the Emperor who dy'd laſt, to *Philip* IV, King of *Spain*, and to the Queen, Mother of *Lewis* XIV.

William, the eldeſt Son of *Albert*, and of *Anne* of *Auſtria*, was born *September* 29, 1548; and marry'd on *February* 22, 1565, *Renée*, the Daughter of *Francis* Duke of *Lorrain*, and of *Chriſtian* of *Denmark*. He reſign'd the Government of the Dutchy to his Son *Maximilian*, and retir'd into the Charter-Houſe at *Ratisbone*, where he dy'd *May* 23, 1626, being 78 Years of Age. His Children are, *Chriſtopher*, who dy'd young; *Maximilian Philip*, Cardinal and Biſhop of *Ratisbone*; *Ferdinand*, who ſucceeded in the Year 1612, to *Erneſt* his Unkle in the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*, and to the Biſhop-

‡ *It is confiſcated from* Henry *the* Lyon.

* *It enters into the Houſe of* Schiren.

† *The Origin of theſe Princes.*

ricks

ricks of *Liege* and of *Hildesheim*, and dy'd *September* 13, 1650, having poſſeſs'd thoſe Biſhopricks, together with thoſe of *Munſter*, and of *Paderborn* thirty eight Years, without being a Prieſt. *Charles*, who dy'd young. *Albert*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and by, and ſeveral Daughters; among the reſt, *Anne-Mary*, firſt Wife of the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, and Mother to *Ferdinand* III. And *Magdalen* Wife to *Wolfgang William* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Newburg*.

Maximilian, the eldeſt Son of *William* and of *Renée* of *Lorrain*, was born *April* 17, 1575, and marry'd in *February* 1595, for firſt Wife *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Charles* III, Duke of *Lorrain*, and of *Claudia* of *France*: who dying without Children in the Year 1634, he marry'd on *July* 15, 1635, *Anne-Mary* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the Emperor *Ferdinand* II, and *Anne-Mary* of *Bavaria* his Siſter. It is he that procur'd the Electoral Dignity to be transferr'd from the *Palatin* Branch to that of *Bavaria* in the Year 1623. He dy'd *Auguſt* 27, 1651, and has left *Ferdinand-Mary-Francis-Ignatius-Wolfgang*, born *October* 21, 1636, who has ſucceeded his Father in the Dignity which he ſtill enjoys at this Day, and marry'd on *January* 12, 1652, *Adelaide*, Daughter to *Victor Amadeus*, Duke of *Savoy*, and *Chriſtina* of *France*; and *Philip-Maximilian-Hieroſme*, born *September* 30, 1638.

Albert, the ſecond Son of *William*, and *Renée* of *Lorrain*, was born *April* 13, 1584, and marry'd on *February* 26, 1612, *Mahault*, Daughter to *George Lewis*, Lantgrave of *Leuchtemberg*, and of *Mary-Salome* of *Baden*, by whom he had ſeveral Children; but thoſe who are ſtill living are *Maximilian Henry*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Cologn*, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere, and *Albert Sigiſmund*, who is Biſhop of *Friſingen*; but he is not yet conſecrated, and has ſome Thoughts of Matrimony; becauſe the Elector of *Bavaria* has no Children, and ſo there is of the whole Houſe only himſelf and the Elector left to keep up the *Wilhelmin* Line, to which the Electoral Dignity is annex'd.

*As for the Rights, Privileges, Prerogatives, and Preeminences which the Duke of *Bavaria* enjoys as Elector, and which cannot be conteſted with him, ſince the Electoral Dignity of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* has been transferr'd to him; They are, firſt, That he is the fifth in the Electoral College, and the ſecond among the Seculars: but in voting he is the fourth, and ſpeaks his Opinion immediately after the King of *Bohemia*, after whom he alſo takes Place in publick Aſſemblies: tho' in marching he ſometimes goes between *Brandenburg* and the *Palatin*, and ſometimes on the Right of the *Saxon*; as we have ſeen in Chap. XI. 2. At thoſe Ceremonies where the Electors carry the Regalia or Ornaments of the Empire, the Elector of *Bavaria* carries the *Golden Ball*, which repreſents the World, and which he alſo bears in his Arms; which are quarterly; in the firſt and fourth, which are Sable a Lyon crown'd *Or*, langued and arm'd Gules; in the ſecond and third Bendy Argent and Azure of one and twenty Pieces; and over the whole, Gules a Globe *Or*. But of all the Dukes of *Bavaria*, none but he of the Family that is honour'd with the Electoral Dignity, bears over the whole the Golden Globe, as the Elector of *Bohemia* does the Cup, the Elector of *Saxony* the two-handed Sword, the Elector of *Brandenburg* the Scepter, and the Elector *Palatin* the Crown. *Frederick* II, Elector *Palatin*, was the firſt that bore it in his Arms, in the Time, and with the Permiſſion of the Emperor *Charles* V. 3. He is Great Steward hereditary of the Empire, and in this Quality he officiates at the Imperial Feaſts after the Coronation. The only Function of this Office is, that the Elector of *Bavaria* goes into the Emperor's Kitchin, and there takes Meat in four Silver Diſhes of the Weight of three Marks each, which he carries on Horſeback to the Gate of the Imperial Palace, where he alights: and going up to the Room prepar'd for the Feaſt, he ſets them on the Table before the Emperor. He is aſſiſted in this Function by the Baron of *Waltbourg*, his Vicar in the Office of Great Steward, who lends him his Hand when he mounts on Horſeback, and when he alights; and in Conſideration of this Service, the Silver Diſhes and the Horſe on which the Elector rode belong to him. He is alſo Great Steward of the Biſhoprick of *Bamberg*, and on the account of this Office he holds in Fee the Caſtle of *Hohenſtein*, and the Bailiwicks of *Harſpruck*, of *Vilſeck*, of *Aurſpach*, of *Pagents*, and of *Velden*. The Lord *Truchſes* of *Pommerſelden* is his Vicar in the Biſhoprick. The Advantage the Elector of *Bavaria* has over the King of *Bohemia* (the Office of Great Steward being beyond Compariſon more honourable than that of Great Cup-bearer) makes known that theſe Offices were not inſtituted, nor annex'd to the Principalities at the ſame time: but that that of Great Steward was in the Houſe of *Bavaria*, of which the *Palatins* are the eldeſt Branch, before the King of *Bohemia* was provided with that of Great Cup-bearer; becauſe without doubt the moſt honourable Office would have been appropriated to the Regal Dignity. 4. At the beginning of the preſent *Interregnum*, the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Palatin* had a Conteſt about the Quality of Vicar, which the *Golden Bull* ſeems to annex to the *Palatinate* inſeparably, rather than to the Electoral Dignity, when it ſays, † "That when "the Empire ſhall become vacant, the illu- "ſtrious Count *Palatin*, Great Steward of the "Holy Empire, ſhall be Vicar of the Empire "in *Suabia*, in *Franconia*, and on the *Rhine*, *on* "*the account of his Principality*, or by virtue of "*the Privilege annex'd to the* Palatinate. But the Elector of *Bavaria* maintain'd, that the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity having paſs'd into his Houſe, with all its Appurtenances and Dependencies, the Quality and Functions of Vicar ought to be compris'd therein. And thus the other Electors, and the Imperial Chamber of *Spires* have explain'd that Article of the Treaty of *Munſter*, that ſpeaks of this Tranſlation.

The *Golden Bull*, in ſaying ‡ That the King of the *Romans*, or the Emperor, is impleadable, and oblig'd to anſwer before the Count *Palatin* by a very ancient Cuſtom, ſhews that the Count *Palatin* was the Emperor's Judge, be-

* *The Rights of the Elector of* Bavaria. † *Chap.* 5. §. 1. ‡ *Chap.* 5. §. 3.

fore the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the *Palatinate*. And indeed, the Term of Count *Palatin* ſignifies nothing elſe but Judge of the Palace, of which the Emperor makes the principal part: So that one may doubt, whether this Quality paſs'd into the Houſe of *Bavaria* with the Electoral Dignity, as one of its Dependencies, as well as the other particular Advantages which the Counts *Palatins* enjoy'd, and of which we ſhall ſpeak in Chapter XVII. For ſince the Electoral College has not as yet determin'd the matter, ſo neither ſhall we; but we ſhall content our ſelves with ſaying, that as they are not Rights inſeparable from the Electoral Dignity; if nevertheleſs it be thought fit to gratify the Elector of *Bavaria* therewith, it might be ſo order'd that they might be in common to him and to the Elector *Palatin*: but this laſt cannot be abſolutely depriv'd thereof, without ſome ſort of Injuſtice.

* Let us now ſee how the Elector will be conſider'd in the next Diet, and whether there be any Likelihood that the Negotiation which is on foot for the Election of his Perſon will ſucceed. The Advantages he has are, 1. That of his Age, having paſs'd the one and twentieth Year thereof, and not yet attain'd to that of two and twenty. 2. The Qualities of Body and Mind, with which he is endow'd. 3. His Birth, which is without doubt amongſt the moſt Illuſtrious of all *Germany*, as coming from a Houſe that has given a great many Electors to the Empire, and which gave it formerly for Head, the great *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who preſerv'd the Rights thereof againſt the Attempts of Foreigners, with a Vigour that has no Example in all Hiſtory. 4. His Eſtates and Wealth, which are capable of ſupporting the Imperial Dignity, as they have preſerv'd it in the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by the Loan which *Maximilian* made of ſo many Millions to the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. 5. His Relations and Allies; being Chief of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, Couſin German to the King of *Bohemia*, and to the Elector of *Cologn*, who ſhews a greater Inclination for him than for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, a very near Relation of that of *Lorrain*, and Brother-in-law to the Duke of *Savoy*. 6. His Religion, which has made the Houſe of *Bavaria* be conſider'd as the Head of the Catholick Party in *Germany*, if the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould fail. 7. He will likewiſe have the Intereſt of *France*, and that of all its Friends in the Empire, who will without doubt make an utmoſt Effort to bring about his Election.

As ſoon as the Deſign was form'd there of removing the Imperial Dignity out of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it preſently caſt its Eyes on *Bavaria*, as on the ſole Support of the Roman Catholick Religion in thoſe Parts: and there is no body but knows, that at the ſame Time the King of *Sweden* was brought into *Germany*, the Elector of *Bavaria* was treated with, and had thoſe Hopes given him then, which might now produce their Effects, if the Affairs of *Germany* were but duly diſpos'd. But all the Endeavours that have hitherto been us'd to win him, have had no Effect, and as yet it has been impoſſible to alienate the Elector of *Bavaria* from the Intereſt of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Neither is there any Probability of ſucceeding therein at preſent, ſince there is not any of his attaining to the Empire. At the Age he is now in, he might very well have Ambition enough to aſpire to it; and it is likely enough that in the Electoral College there are Princes who wiſh it him; but they are neither powerful enough, nor enow in Number to be able to ſurmount all the Obſtacles they might meet therein. Moſt of the Electors believe, or would have it believ'd, that the Imperial Dignity cannot be remov'd from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, without kindling the War afreſh in *Germany*. Some of them are entirely perſuaded thereof, and thoſe that are in the Intereſt of that Houſe make uſe of the Pretext of the publick Good, and of the Affection they have for the Repoſe of the Empire, to cover that which they really have for the Party; ſo that both the ones and the others would be ſure to oppoſe the Election of *Bavaria*, and proceed directly to that of the King of *Bohemia*. They who declare for him, and who liſten'd to the Propoſitions which were made in Favour of *Bavaria*, before the Queen of *Spain* was brought to bed of a Prince, are at preſent skreen'd from the juſt Reproach that might have been made them, had they call'd to the Imperial Crown a Prince who might in all Appearance join to it that of *Spain*: and have no longer occaſion to fear being accus'd of having betray'd the Liberty of their Countrey.

The great Qualities of the Elector of *Bavaria* might be conſider'd, at a time when they were not to be found in a more eminent Degree in the Perſon of his Competitor. His Houſe is Illuſtrious, but that of *Auſtria* is inferior to it in nothing: And if he reckons one or two Emperors among his Anceſtors, the King of *Bohemia* can count twelve amongſt his Predeceſſors. His Riches, and the Extent of his Eſtates, cannot be compar'd with thoſe of a Prince who poſſeſſes two Kingdoms, and ſeveral other very large and very conſiderable Provinces. If the Relations of the one and the other are to be conſider'd, we ſhall find that the King of *Bohemia* has for Couſin German, and for Unkle, the two firſt Kings of *Chriſtendom*, and is ally'd to moſt of the Sovereigns of *Europe*.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has without doubt a very great Advantage, to ſee three Princes of his Houſe in the Electoral College; ſo that to bring about his Election, there would want but two more to be brought over as might be thought: and we are willing to believe, that he may hope for the Suffrage of the Elector of *Cologn*, who is his Couſin German; tho' there is no very good Underſtanding between them. But as for the Elector *Palatin*, who is of the ſame Houſe, and the eldeſt Branch thereof, we muſt look back as far as the thirteenth Century to find out the beginning of the Relation. Beſides which there is an inveterate Averſion between the Princes of the two Branches, ſince the time that *Rodolphus* (the Stock from whence the Electors *Palatins* deſcend) elected *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, preferably to *Lewis* of *Bavaria* his Brother; who did not ſpare him in his turn, but drove him out of the Countrey, and com-

* *Whether he can aſpire to the Empire.*

pell'd him to retire into *England*, where he dy'd in Exile. And this Hatred is become irreconcileable since the last Wars in *Germany*, by the Translation of the Electoral Dignity. Some are of Opinion that a Reconciliation might be wrought by restoring Affairs to the same State they were in before the Troubles of *Bohemia*. But besides that there is no likelihood that the Elector of *Bavaria* would purchase at that rate an imaginary Honour, and which would only pass through his House; it is not in his Power to dispose of the Electoral Dignity, nor of the *Upper Palatinate*, with their Appurtenances and Dependencies, without the Consent of all the Princes of *Bavaria* of the Posterity of *William*; which will be far from renouncing a Right that belongs to it as well as to the Elector, who is only the Depositary thereof. The same Religion from whence he might reap very great Advantages, will be what will do him the greatest Prejudice; because the Catholick Party having preserv'd it self during the last Wars in *Germany*, but by a good Understanding between the Princes who make Profession of that Religion, there is no room to doubt but it would be ruin'd entirely, if the same Princes should come to a Rupture amongst themselves: and the Roman Catholick Religion would find its Grave, where it thought to seek for an *Asylum*. It is true that the King has great and powerful Friends in *Germany*, and particularly among the Protestants. He may even have some in the Electoral College, who would side with his Interest there; but then it is to be presum'd that the King of *Bohemia*, who is a *German* Prince, whose Predecessors have had Leisure to establish themselves, and to acquire Friends in the Empire, will find there a greater Number, who will all oppose the Election of the Duke of *Bavaria*.

* But supposing the Elector of *Bavaria* to be able to aspire to the Imperial Dignity, let us see whether he ought to accept of it, even tho' it were offer'd him. The *Italian* Letter which was sent hither from *Rome*, fill'd with bad Prognosticks for the future Election, says, That his Mother, and his first Minister, would hinder him from taking any strong Resolution on this Subject, because they are in the Interest of the House of *Austria*. But as we easily believe with the Author of this Letter, that the Relations and Ministers of the Elector of *Bavaria* would not advise him to charge himself with so burthensome a Dignity; so we cannot be perswaded that their Counsel is grounded on the Reason which he adds. The Electoress Dowager of *Bavaria* is of the House of *Austria*, and Sister of the late Emperor, it is true; but is she unnatural enough to prefer the Interest of her Nephew to that of her Son? Or is it a greater Advantage to her to have the Quality of Mother of a Prince Elector, than to be consider'd as the Emperor's Mother? The Queen Mother of King *Lewis* XIV. is of the same House, and Sister to the King of *Spain*: but that did not hinder her from sacrificing her Brother's Interest to the Glory of the King her Son, and to the Advantage of the Crown of *France*. It cannot be deny'd that Count *Curtz* has some Affection for the Court of *Vienna*, and we are willing to believe that his Counsels are not altogether disinterested; but we also say, that there is no Minister whose Imprudence and Meanness, or as the *Italians* say with more Emphasis, the *Dapoccagine* is great enough to make him neglect the Grandeur of his Prince, when he finds an Opportunity to establish it, and raise his own Fortune under the Shade of his Master's. So that we must believe that Count *Curtz*, who is in the Dependence of a foreign and predominate Court, would endeavour to withdraw himself from it, and make himself the Arbitrator of Affairs, if he judg'd it to be for the Advantage of his Prince. But the Counsel which he gives him, as well as the Princess his Mother, to shut his Ears to the Propositions might be made him concerning the Exaltation of his Person, is founded, in their Opinion, upon Considerations very prudent, and of a refin'd Policy, which will not suffer the Elector of *Bavaria* to introduce into his House a Dignity which he cannot acquire but with a great deal of Difficulty, and which he could not support without an Expence that would ruin him: even tho' he had no reason to apprehend the effect of the just Resentment of the King of *Bohemia*, who finding himself put back from a Dignity, which he looks upon to be due to the Merit of his Predecessors, and to which the State of Affairs seem'd to call him (were it not for the Intrigues that should be carry'd on in Favour of *Bavaria*) and being powerfully arm'd, might dispute with him the Possession of that Empire, which he esteem'd to be wrested from his House by unjust and illegal Means.

† We have now to see in the Close of this Chapter to whom the Elector of *Bavaria* will in all likelihood give his Vote, if he cannot hope to bring about his own Election, or does not think it proper to have it endeavour'd. It is certain that in the Electoral College there is only himself and the King of *Bohemia*, on whom it can cast its Eyes; because the six others are either Ecclesiasticks or Protestants. Out of the College, and in the Empire there are none but who are either Protestants, or out of a Condition to support the Imperial Dignity: and the Electors will never think of seeking an Emperor in *France* or in *Italy*, as long as they shall have in *Germany* Persons adorn'd with all the Qualities necessary to fill worthily the Throne of the Empire: So that there is no room to doubt that *Bavaria* will give his Vote to the King of *Bohemia*, who is his Neighbour, his nearest Relation, and the Head of a Family, that has introduc'd into his own all the Grandeur it is in Possession of.

* *Whether he would aspire to it if he could?*

† *To whom he will give his Vote.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Duke of Saxony *Prince Elector of the Holy Empire.*

* THE Origin of the Word *Saxony* is by ſo much the harder to find, as it cannot be ſaid whether it be *German*, *Sclavonian*, or *Gothick*. *Wittikind*, Abbot of *Corbie* on the *Weſer*, will have it that the *Saxons* deſcend from certain *Macedonians*, who having remain'd in *Aſia* after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, embark'd with a Deſign to return home, but were by tempeſtuous Weather caſt on the Coaſt of *Germany*, where they gave themſelves the Name of *Saxons* from the Place of their Imbarkation; and by that means the Word would be *Aſiatick*, or corrupted *Greek*. This is a ridiculous Notion, but it has for all that been ſo well receiv'd in the Cloiſters, where they take Delight to canonize Tales of this nature, that there is hardly any Author who has written before the ſixth Century, that does not begin the Hiſtory of *Saxony* by this Fable, as they do that of *France* by the pretended Princes of *Troy*. Of the ſame kind is again the Invention of thoſe who derive this Word from a certain Prince, whoſe Name was *Saxo*, who they ſay was the Son of *Nugnon*, and Brother to *Vandalus*. There are ſome who would have it believ'd that even in the eighth Century the Uſe of the *Latin* Tongue was well eſtabliſh'd in the extreme Parts of *Germany* to the Northward, and that theſe People were call'd *Saxons* from the Word *Saxum*, by reaſon of their Invincible Temper: as if they would thereby intimate that theſe People were as hard and as untractable as a Rock. Others ſeek for the Etymology of the Word in a certain kind of Arms, which theſe People us'd, and alledge for that theſe Verſes:

Quippe brevis Gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur:
Unde ſibi nomen Saxo traxiſſe putatur.

And this Invention is ſo very agreeable to *Pontanus*, in his Treatiſe of the Origin of the *French*, that he does not ſcruple to ſay, † That the Swords that are in the Arms of *Saxony*, ſerve as an infallible Proof of the Truth of this Etymology. But it is but reaſonable to forgive this great Man one Overſight, who very rarely makes any: and who might without a Crime be ignorant that the Swords croſs-wiſe in the Arms of *Saxony* are a Token of the Dignity of hereditary Great Marſhal of the Empire; and that they particularly belong to the Arms of the Elector, who alone makes uſe of them, to the Excluſion of all the other Princes of the ſame Houſe. It might be ſaid with ſome greater Appearance of Reaſon, that whereas the ancient *Saxony* comprehended only the *Lower Saxony* and *Weſtphalia*, where the Pronunciation is not ſo ſtrong as in *Thuringia* and *Miſnia*, which at this time make the greateſt part of the *Upper Saxony*; the true Name of theſe People was formerly *Saſſen*, and that they had given themſelves this Name, becauſe their Habitation was fix'd and determin'd: whereas the *Vandals*, *Sclavonians*, *Lombards*, and *Burgundians* chang'd theirs from time to time, after the Example of the Inhabitants of the moſt Northern Parts of *Aſia*, from whence they came. But to ſpeak ingenuouſly, it muſt be own'd that this People is ſo ancient, that there is not any Author that ſpeaks of its Origin; and that it is impoſſible to give with any Truth the Etymology of its Name; tho' we will not condemn *Cambden*'s Opinion, who ſays, That the *Saxons* have their Name and Origin from the *Sacæ*, a People of *Aſia*, who leaving by little and little *Scythia* and *Sarmatia* in *Aſia*, paſs'd into *Europe* with the *Suevi*, *Maſſagetæ*, and *Dacæ*; ſince it is obſervable that thoſe People did for a long time preſerve among themſelves in *Europe*, the ſame Neighbourhood they had before in *Aſia*. *Ptolomæus Alexandrinus*, who liv'd in the Time of the Emperor *Trajan*, is the firſt that ſpeaks of them; but he does but barely name them.

Their firſt Habitation was in the *Peninſula*, which the Ancients call'd *Cimbrica Cherſoneſus*, where are *Jutland*, the Dutchies of *Sleſwick* and of *Holſtein*, *Stormaria* and the *Ditmark*; from whence they by degrees gain'd Ground upon the *Suevi* and the *French*, as the ones retir'd towards the *Upper Germany*, and the others paſs'd the *Rhine*, to poſſeſs themſelves of *Gaul*. They made themſelves at firſt known by the Incurſions and Pyracies they committed on the Coaſts of the *Gauls*, which made them ſo conſiderable, that in the Year 428, in the time of the Emperor *Theodoſius* the younger, the *Britons* call'd them to their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Picts*. ‡ The *Saxons* aſſiſted them ſo well, that they drove out both their Friends and their Enemies, and remain'd Maſters of that part of the Iſland of *Britain*, which is ſtill at this Day call'd *England*, on the account of the *Engliſh*, a *Saxon* People, who went thither under their Generals *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, Brothers and Companions in their Fortune.

In the Year 451, the *Saxons* gave Proofs of their Valour, in the Battel in which *Attila* was defeated by *Ætius*. In 524. they aſſiſted *Thierry* King of *Auſtraſia*, againſt *Ermenfroy* King of *Thuringia*; and in 630, *Bertold* their Prince was kill'd in the Battel the *French* gave them under the Conduct of *Dagobert* King of *Metz*. After this Loſs they began to pay Tribute to *France*, but they were not entirely ſubdu'd but under * *Charlemagne*, who made an end of reducing them after a War of thirty three Years. † It is only from that time that we have any Knowledge of the Inhabitants and of the Countrey of *Saxony*: which had then for its Frontiers towards the Eaſt the *Elbe* and the *Sala*;

* *The Etymology of its Name.*
* Charlemagne *ſubdues them.*
† *Lib.* II. *Chap.* II.
† *The Frontiers of ancient* Saxony.
‡ *The* Saxons *poſſeſs themſelves of* England.

and

and for Neighbours on that ſide the *Henedes* or *Vinides*, and the *Sorabs*; towards the *South*, the Mountains which ſeparate it from *Thuringia* and *Heſſe*; towards the *Weſt*, the *Rhine* from its Mouth to *Duits*, over againſt *Cologn*; and towards the *North*, the Ocean from the ſaid Mouth of the *Rhine* to the River *Eider*, in the Dutchy of *Holſtein*.

‡ Its Inhabitants were divided into *Oſtphalians*, *Weſtphalians*, and *Angarians*. The *Oſtphalians* poſſeſs'd the Countrey, where are at preſent the Dutchies of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, between the *Elbe* and the *Weſer*, from the Sea to the Foreſt *Hercynia*. The *Weſtphalians* and *Angarians* remain'd on this ſide the *Weſer*; the firſt, as being the moſt *Weſtern* of all the *Saxons*, towards the *Rhine*, where are the Dutchy of *Berg*, the County of *Merc*, the Imperial Town of *Dortmont*, part of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, the Counties of *Benthem* and of *Tecklenburg*, the Biſhoprick of *Munſter* and *Tranſiſulania*; and the others in the Place where are the Towns of *Wildeſhuſen*, *Minden*, and *Hervorden*, near which is the Town of *Engueren*, famous for the Tomb of *Wittikind the Great*, Prince of *Saxony*, and for having given a Name to this People; thoſe of *Lemgon*, *Oſnaburg*, and of *Soeſt*; the Counties of *Diepholt*, of *Waldec*, and of *Arnsberg*, and the Countrey of *Surland*.

The Modern *Saxony* is beyond Compariſon larger, and if we compriſe *Weſtphalia* therein, it makes without doubt above one third of *Germany*; ſince without this Province it forms two of the largeſt Circles of the Empire, which are thoſe of the *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*. The Circle of the *Upper Saxony* comprehends the two Electorates of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*; the Biſhopricks of *Meiſſen*, *Mersburg*, *Nauburg*, *Brandenburg*, *Havelberg*, of *Lubus*, and of *Camin*; the Dutchy of *Pomerania*, the Abbeys of *Quedlinburg*, and of *Gerenrode*, whoſe Abbeſſes are Princeſſes of the Empire; the Marquiſate of *Miſnia*, and the Lantgraviate of *Thuringia*; the Principality of *Anhalt*, the Abbeys of *Walkenried* and *Salfeld*; the Counties of *Startzenburg*, of *Mantsfelt*, of *Stolberg*, and of *Barby*, and ſeveral other Counties and Lordſhips which are fall'n to other Families. In the Circle of the *Lower Saxony* are comprehended the King of *Denmark* as Duke of *Holſtein* and Lord of *Stormaria*, and of *Ditmark*, the other Dukes of *Holſtein*, the Archbiſhops of *Magdeburg* and of *Bremen*, the Biſhops of *Halberſtad*, *Hildeſheim*, *Lubeck*, *Suerin*, and *Ratzeburg*; the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and of *Lunenburg*, of *Mecklenburg* and *Saxe-Lauemburg*; and the Towns of *Lubeck*, *Mulhauſen*, *Goſlar* and *Northauſen*.

We ſhall in this Chapter ſpeak only of the *Upper Saxony*, or rather of what the Elector of *Saxony* poſſeſſes there; and we ſhall reſerve, for the following Chapter, what relates to the Elector of *Braxdenburg*, who has his Marquiſate in the ſame Circle.

By the Frontiers we have juſt given to ancient *Saxony*, it appears that the *Upper* was not compris'd therein. And indeed the Poſſeſſors of the Electoral *Saxony* did not make themſelves known under the Quality of Dukes of *Saxony*, but ſince the Princes of the Houſe of *Anhalt* have join'd thereto the *Lower Saxony*, after it had been confiſcated from *Henry the Lion*. It is of that part chiefly that *Ludolphus* was Duke or Governor, who is ſaid to have been Nephew to *Wittikind the Great*, and who dy'd in the Year 869, leaving *Bruno* and *Tanquard*, who built the Town of *Brunſwick*; and *Otho* Father to *Henry*, who ſucceeded *An.* 918. to *Conrade* I. in the Empire, and dy'd *July* 2, 936. He left *Otho*; *Bruno*, who was Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, and Arch-Duke of *Lorrain*; and *Henry*, who had *Bavaria* for his Share, and left *Henry* and *Bruno*. The firſt ſucceeded in *Bavaria*, and was Father of the Emperor *Henry* II, who dy'd without Iſſue, *July* 13, 1024. *Bruno* had his Portion in *Saxony*, and the Quality of Marquiſs. *Bruno* II, his Son, was Father to *Lutolphus*, who left *Bruno* III, the Father of *Hetzel* or *Henry* Biſhop of *Hildeſheim*; *Herman*, *Palatin* of *Saxony*, who dy'd without Children; and *Otho*, who had his Portion on the River *Weſer*, and was Count of *Northeim* and of *Gottinguen*. The Emperor *Henry* IV. gave him, in the Year 1061, the Dutchy of *Bavaria*, but he loſt it, together with his Life, in the Battel he was engag'd in againſt the ſaid Emperor, *June* 9, 1075. Of the four Sons he left, there were only two that had Children: But *Henry*, ſirnam'd the *Fat*, who was the eldeſt, had only Daughters; and *Egbert*, his younger Brother, one Son of the ſame Name, who dy'd without Iſſue in the Year 1090. *Gertrude*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Henry the Fat*, was marry'd to *Conrade*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and the other, whoſe Name was *Rixa*, marry'd *Lotharius*, the Son of *Gebhard* Count of *Supplinburg*, who ſucceeded in the Year 1100, in that Part of the *Lower Saxony*, which the Poſterity of *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, Brother to the Emperor *Otho* I, had poſſeſs'd, to which he re-united ſince all the Inheritance of the Princes of the Houſe of *Billinguen*, in the manner we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Otho ſucceeded to his Father in the Empire, and erected a new Dutchy of *Saxony*, in favour of *Herman* of *Billinguen*, Lord of *Stibikeſhorn*, to whom he gave that part of *Saxony* which had been conquer'd from the *Nortalbinguians*, and from the *Sclavi*, towards the Countrey of *Holſtein*, and where is at preſent that of the Dukes of *Saxe-Lauembourg*. He was a Gentleman who had rais'd himſelf to this Dignity by his Merit, tho' it was at firſt only a Government, which the Emperor did not give him in Fief till the Year 966. We ſhall ſpeak of his Poſterity, when we ſhall have firſt acquainted the Reader, that *Otho* marry'd for firſt Wife *Judith*, or *Edgith*, Daughter to *Edward* I. King of *England*; and for ſecond *Adelheida*, the Daughter to *Rodolphus* II. King of *Burgundy*, and Widow of *Lotharius* King of *Italy*. He had by this ſecond Match *Otho* II, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, and who left when he dy'd, *December* 10, 985, *Otho* III, Emperor, and laſt Duke of *Saxony* of this Branch, who dy'd without Children, *January* 24, 1002. *Lutolphus*, the eldeſt Son of the Emperor *Otho* I, and of *Edgid* of *England*, dy'd before the Father, *September* 6, 957, leaving *Otho*, who was Duke of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, and Father to *Bruno*, who was Pope under the Name of *Gregory* V,

‡ *Its Inhabitants.*

to *William* Biſhop of *Strasburg*, and to *Henry* and *Conrade*; the firſt of which had a Son nam'd *Conrade*, who was choſen Emperor after the Death of *Henry* II, and his Poſterity ended but in *Henry* V, who dy'd without Children, *May* 23, 1123. This we ſay with *Wippo*, a contemporary Author, and Chaplain to the Emperor *Conrade* II, in Oppoſition to the Opinion of thoſe who make him come of the Houſe of *Franconia*; and who, contrary to the Truth of Hiſtory, ſpeak of *Henry* II, as of the laſt Emperor of the Houſe of *Saxony*.

Herman of *Billinguen*, who gave beginning to another Family, as we ſaid before, join'd to that part of *Saxony* which he poſſeſs'd with the Title of a Dutchy, the Countrey which is at preſent the Dutchy of *Lunenburg*, and ſeveral other Lands and Rights on this ſide the *Elbe*, and dy'd *April* 1, 973, leaving for Iſſue *Benno*, the Father of *Bernard*, who dy'd in the Year 1062, and left amongſt others *Ortulphus* or *Otho*, Father to *Magnus*, who marry'd *Sophia*, Daughter to *Geiſe* King of *Hungary*, and had by her *Heilike*, who was was marry'd to *Otho* of *Ballenſtad*, Count of *Anhalt*; and *Wulfild*, who marry'd *Henry the Black*, Duke of *Bavaria*.

* *Magnus* dying in the Year 1106, without leaving any Male-Iſſue, the Emperor *Henry* V, who pretended that the Dutchy was eſcheated to the Empire, and who otherwiſe had no great Reaſon to be ſatisfy'd with the deceas'd, gave the *Lower Saxony* to *Lotharius* of *Supplinburg*, who was already in Poſſeſſion of part thereof, as we ſaid before. † *Lotharius* was call'd to the Empire after the Death of *Henry* V, and gave *Gertrude*, his only Daughter, in Marriage, with *Saxony*, to *Henry the Proud*, Duke of *Bavaria*, who by that Means re-united theſe two great Eſtates in his Perſon, in which he maintain'd himſelf peaceably under the Protection of the Emperor his Father-in-Law. But *Lotharius* dying, *December* 6, 1137, and *Henry* having pretended to the Empire, *Albert the Bear*, Prince of *Anhalt*, Son to *Otho* of *Ballenſtad*, and ſo Grandſon to *Magnus* the laſt Duke of *Saxony*, of the Male Poſterity of *Herman* of *Billinguen*, as well as *Henry*, deſir'd a Partition; and made ſo good an Uſe of the Jealouſy the Emperor *Conrade* III. had conceiv'd of his Competitor, that he found a mean to ſeize the *Lower Saxony*. *Henry* retook it from him, but finding himſelf diſgrac'd by the Emperor, driven out of *Bavaria*, and in Danger of loſing *Saxony* again, he dy'd with Grief, *September* 19, 1139. The Emperor *Frederick* I, who ſucceeded *Conrade* III. his Unkle, *March* 4, 1152, began his Reign with reſtoring Tranquillity to the Empire, by the Accommodation he made between *Henry the Lion*, Son to *Henry the Proud*, on the one part; and *Henry* of *Auſtria*, and *Albert the Bear* on the other. He caus'd *Bavaria* and *Saxony* to be reſtor'd to the firſt, having firſt lopp'd off *Auſtria* from the one, as we ſaid in the foregoing Chapter, and from the other the Countrey of *Brandenburg*, which he erected into an hereditary Marquiſate, in favour of *Albert the Bear*. *Henry*, inſtead of acknowledging the Bounty the Emperor had ſhewn him, abandon'd him at the Siege he had laid before *Alexandria*, in the Year 1175, and thereby oblig'd him to reſent his Ingratitude, at the Inſtances of moſt of the Princes of *Germany*, who complain'd of his Violence; whereupon he was ſummon'd to appear, found guilty of Contumacy, and put in the Ban of the Empire, and had all his Eſtate confiſcated. All his Neighbours benefited by his Diſgrace. *Otho* of *Wittelſpach* had *Bavaria*, ‡ and *Bernard* Prince of *Anhalt*, Son to *Albert the Bear*, had *Saxony*, to which he then join'd the Town of *Wittemberg*, with the Countrey which at this Day makes the Electorate of *Saxony*. The Archbiſhop of *Cologn* annex'd to his Croſier what his Succeſſors ſtill poſſeſs in *Weſtphalia*; thoſe of *Magdeburg*, and of *Bremen*, took what lay convenient for them in the Neighbourhood.

Henry indeed made his Peace after ſome Years, by the Mediation of the King of *England* his Father-in-Law; but he obtain'd only the Reſtitution of that Countrey which is known at this Day under the Name of the Dutchies of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*; the Title of Duke of *Saxony* remaining to the Princes of the Houſe of *Anhalt*, altho of all this rich Spoil there remain'd to them but a very ſmall Portion of *Saxony* on the other ſide of the *Elbe*, which became the Share of a younger Brother of the ſame Houſe. *Bernard* was ſo, and had left, by the Partition which had been made of his Father's Inheritance, the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* to *Otho* his eldeſt Brother, of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in the following Chapter. He had by *Judith*, the Daughter of *Canutus* Duke of *Sleſwic*, who was the Son of *Canutus* IV. King of *Denmark*, *Albert* and *Henry*, being Common Father to the Princes of *Anhalt*. *Albert*, the eldeſt Son of *Bernard*, marry'd *Helen*, Daughter to *Otho the Infant*, firſt Duke of *Brunſwick*, and had by her *Albert* II; *John*, of whom are deſcended the Dukes of the *Lower Saxony*, who are generally known by the Title of *Saxe-Lauenburg*; *Rodolphus*, (who had amongſt other Children *Albert*, Great Maſter of *Rhodes*) and *Frederick* Biſhop of *Merſburg*.

Albert II. had, by *Agnes* of *Habſpurg*, Daughter to the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, *Rodolphus*, who had by *Judith*, Daughter to *Otho the Tall*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, *Otho*; and by *Agnes* of *Rupin*, his third Wife, *Wenceſlas*. *Otho* left *Albert* the third, who was kill'd by a Stone from a Sling, at the Siege of the Caſtle of *Richlinguen*, *June* 28, 1385, and left but one Daughter, nam'd *Helen*, who marry'd *Girard* Count of *Hoye*.

Wenceſlas had by *Cecilia* of *Carrara*, Daughter to *Francis* Prince of *Padua*, amongſt others, *Wenceſlas* Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*; *Rodolphus* III, who ſaw all his Children die before him, of whom two, *viz.* *Wenceſlas* and *Sigiſmund*, were bury'd under the Ruins of a Tower in the Town of *Suenitz*, *An.* 1406; and *Albert* IV, who had none at all, and dy'd in the Year 1422.

The Succeſſion being open by his Death, *Frederick*, Marquiſs and Elector of *Brandenburg*, took Poſſeſſion of the *Upper Saxony*, in

* Saxony *enters into the Houſe of* Supplinburg. † *It goes out of it to enter into that of the* Guelfs.
‡ Saxony *enters into the Houſe of* Anhalt.

the Name of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, to the Prejudice of the Right of *Eric* V, Duke of *Saxe-Lauenburg*; who being deſcended in a direct Male-Line from *John*, the younger Son of *Albert* I, and Brother to *Albert* II, Dukes of *Saxony*, pretended that the Electoral Dutchy of *Saxony* belong'd to him, as to the neareſt Male Heir of the deceaſed. But the Emperor, taking into Conſideration that the Countrey ſtood in need of a powerful Prince, who could defend it againſt the Incurſions of the *Bohemians*, who had taken Arms for Religion; and having withal a Mind to acknowledge the Services *Frederick the Warrior*, Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, had done him againſt thoſe very Enemies, he gave him the Inveſtiture of the Electoral *Saxony*, *January* 6, 1423. *Eric* oppos'd it, receiv'd the Inveſtiture of the Office of hereditary Mareſchal of the Biſhop of *Bamberg*, and went in Perſon to the Emperor who was then in *Hungary*, to try to obtain the Electoral Dignity and the Dutchy of *Saxony*; and to repreſent to him his Right, founded on the *Golden Bull*, and acknowledg'd by the Letters Patents, by which the Emperor had aſſur'd him of the Succeſſion from the Year 1414. All the Comfort he receiv'd, was, that the Emperor told him, That he had believ'd he might diſpoſe of the Electorate of *Saxony*, as of a Fief eſcheated to the Empire; but if he could be made ſenſible that the Fief was not eſcheatable, he would ſecure him his Right, and would do him Juſtice, when he ſhould have made out his Pretenſions to the Electoral College, to whom he referr'd the Cognizance of the Matter. In the mean time he confirm'd the Inveſtiture he had given to *Frederick* of *Miſnia*, by other Letters dated on St. *Peter*'s Day, 1425. The Electors heard the Reaſons of the Parties, tho' they would not determin the Difference, but contented themſelves with remitting them to the Emperor. This concluded the Affair; the Marquiſs of *Miſnia* was in Poſſeſſion of the Electorate, and it was in a manner impoſſible to diſpoſſeſs him; for which Reaſon *Sigiſmund*, who found every Day new Pretexts to elude the Purſuit of *Eric*, referr'd him in the Year 1426. to the States of the Empire, who were to meet at *Nuremberg*: But as the Emperor did not come thither in Perſon, and there were but two Electors preſent, the others would not meddle in the Matter, and gave *Eric* very well to underſtand, that he had nothing to hope for. He afterwards addreſs'd himſelf to the Pope, *Eugenius* IV, who gave him Letters to the Council of *Baſil*, to whom he referr'd the Cognizance of this Cauſe. But the Emperor was ſo offended at the Proceedings of the one and the other, that he would no longer give the Title of Duke of *Saxony* to *Eric*, but ſtyl'd him only Duke of *Lauenburg*; and wrote ſo forcible a Letter to the Council which had given him the Quality of Elector, That the Fathers would no longer be concern'd in the thing which they referr'd to the Emperor, to be by him determin'd in ſix Months. *Eric* dy'd in that Time, without Children; and his Brother *Bernard*, ſeeing that all the Pains the deceaſed had taken had been to no purpoſe, acquieſc'd to what had been done, and was contented with the *Lower Saxony*. *John*, his Son, was for renewing the Proſecutions under the Emperor *Frederick* III, but he did not ſucceed better than his Unkle; ſo that the *Upper Saxony*, together with the Electoral Dignity, remain'd in the Houſe of *Miſnia*.

There is room to wonder that the Emperor *Sigiſmund* would transfer the Electoral Dignity from the Houſe of *Anhalt* to that of *Miſnia*, while there were ſtill Heirs in the firſt, contrary to the expreſs Diſpoſition of the *Golden Bull*, which calls to the Succeſſion of the Principality, and of the Electorate, the neareſt Relation by the Father's ſide, how remote ſoever he may be; and that by virtue of the Inveſtiture given to the firſt Acquirer, who receiv'd it in the Behalf of all his Poſterity *in infinitum*. So that if the Emperor *Frederick* I, when he gave *Saxony* to *Bernard* Prince of *Anhalt*, did annex thereto the Electoral Dignity, it was not in the Power of *Sigiſmund* to diſpoſe thereof; not only to the Prejudice of *Saxe-Lauenburg*, but alſo without wronging the Princes of *Anhalt*; ſince they would all have been compris'd in the firſt Inveſtiture: And both the ones and the others would have had great Reaſon to complain of the Injuſtice *Sigiſmund* would have done them. But we have prov'd elſewhere, that the Electoral Dignity was not appropriated to the Principalities to which it is at this Day annex'd, till a long Time after the Death of *Frederick* I. And ſo, as the Princes of *Anhalt*, and the Dukes of *Saxe-Lauenburg*, had already ſtruck into Branches, and form'd particular Families, a great while before the Dignity was fix'd to *Saxony*, they could not complain of the Emperor's diſpoſing thereof, as of a Fief eſcheated to the Empire, ſince they were not compris'd in the firſt Inveſtiture.

The Princes of the Houſe of *Miſnia* add, in their Behalf, another Reaſon, and ſay, that the Emperor *Sigiſmund* did them Juſtice, in reſtoring *Saxony* to them, which belongs to them as Princes deſcended in a direct Male Line from *Wittikind the Great*, Prince of *Saxony*; to wit, from *Wittikind* II, his youngeſt Son, the Father of *Ditgrem*, and Grandfather of *Ditmar*, who left amongſt other Sons *Thierry*, Count of *Merſburg*.

Dedon, Son to *Thierry* I, dy'd in the Year 1009, and left *Thierry* II, who dy'd in the Year 1034, and left ſeveral Children; amongſt whom was *Dedon* II, whoſe Male Poſterity ended in his Sons; and *Timon*, the Father of *Conrade the Great*, Count of *Wettin* and of *Merſburg*, who dy'd *February* 5, 1156, leaving by *Lutgard* of *Suabia*, Siſter to the Emperor *Conrade* III, *Otho* and *Thierry* III. This laſt had by two Wives five Sons, but their Poſterity did not reach beyond the third Generation. *Otho* Count of *Wettin*, and Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, was ſirnam'd the *Rich*, becauſe that in his Time the Silver Mines began to be diſcover'd, of which we ſhall ſay ſomething in the Cloſe of this Chapter. He dy'd *February* 18, 1189, leaving by *Avoye* of *Anhalt*, Daughter to *Albert the Bear*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, *Albert*, who dy'd without Iſſue, *June* 24, 1195, and *Thierry* IV, Father to *Henry the Illuſtrious*.

Henry, the Son of *Thierry* IV, Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, and of *Judith*, Daughter to *Herman*, Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, being very young when his Father dy'd, *Lewis* VI, Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, took care to educate him in his Court.

Lewis

Lewis dying in the Year 1227, his Son *Herman* ſucceeded him; but he dy'd ſoon after without Iſſue, and left *Thuringia* to his Unkle *Henry*, Brother to *Judith*, and ſo Unkle by the Mother's ſide to *Henry the Illuſtrious*. *Henry*, Lantgrave of *Thuringia*, dying alſo without Children *February* 16, 1248, the Succeſſion was conteſted by *Henry the Illuſtrious*, who was the Son of a Siſter of the two Lantgraves, *Lewis* and *Henry*, and Grandſon to *Herman* I, on the one part; and by *Henry*, Duke of *Brabant*, the Son of *Sophia*, who was Daughter to *Lewis* II, of the other. *Sophia* carry'd her Son upon the Place, and made an Alliance with *Albert*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, but ſhe gain'd nothing by ſo doing; for the Succeſs of their Arms not anſwering their Hopes, ſhe made an Agreement with *Henry the Illuſtrious*, and left him *Thuringia*, which enter'd by that Means into the Houſe of *Miſnia*: and the Countrey of *Heſſe* remain'd to *Henry* of *Brabant*; on Condition that the Male Line failing in one of the two Families, the other ſhould ſucceed: and it is this Treaty that begins the Alliance of mutual Succeſſion, which ſtill ſubſiſts between the Houſes of *Saxony* and of *Heſſe*. *Henry*, Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, had by *Conſtance*, Daughter to *Leopold* VII, Duke of *Auſtria*, *Albert* and *Thierry* V, and dy'd *February* 25, 1288. *Thierry* V. had a Son nam'd *Frederick*, who dy'd without Children in the Year 1291; and two Daughters, Nuns at *Weiſſenfels*.

Albert marry'd *Marguerit* of *Suabia*, Daughter to the Emperor *Frederick* II: But falling in love with a young Lady who was in his Wifes Retinue, he reſolv'd to get rid of the one, in order to enjoy the other with the greater Freedom, and ſo often attempted on his Wifes Life, that ſhe was forc'd to make her eſcape. She went out of the Houſe on foot in the Night, on *June* 24, 1270, and retir'd to *Francfort*, where ſhe dy'd *April* 18, the Year following. The bad Uſage he ſhew'd his Wife, and his Severity to the Sons of this firſt Match, whom he was for diſinheriting, gave him the ſirname of *Unnatural*; and drew upon him the Arms of his Children, who drove him out of his Eſtates, and compell'd him to retire to *Erfort*, where he dy'd in the Year 1314.

Frederick, his eldeſt Son, only left Poſterity. He was ſirnam'd the *Bitten*, becauſe his Mother being reſolv'd to retire, and not being able to take her Children along with her, they being very young, bit him on the Cheek, thereby to leave him the laſt and perpetual Marks of her Tenderneſs, which her Tears and Kiſſes could not ſufficiently expreſs. He dy'd *April* 25, 1325, and left *Frederick*, ſirnam'd the *Grave*, who marry'd *Mahault* of *Bavaria*, Daughter to the Emperor *Lewis* IV, and of *Beatrix* of *Poland*; and had by her *Frederick the Valiant*; *Balthaſar*, who had for Portion *Thuringia*, and left a Son nam'd *Frederick*, who dy'd without Iſſue in the Year 1439; *Lewis*, Biſhop of *Halberſtad*, and Archbiſhop of *Mayence* and of *Magdeburg*; *William*, who had no Children; and *Sigiſmund*, Biſhop of *Mersburg*.

Frederick the Valiant, marry'd in 1448, *Catherine*, Daughter to *Henry* XII, Count of *Henneberg*, who brought him in Marriage the Town of *Coburg* in *Franconia*; and had by her *Frederick*, ſirnam'd the *Warrior*, who introduc'd the Electoral Dignity of *Saxony* into the Houſe of *Miſnia*. He dy'd *January* 5, 1428, and left, by *Catherine*, the Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, *Frederick* II; *William*, who left only two Daughters, and *Sigiſmund*, Biſhop of *Wurtsburg*.

Frederick II, ſecond Elector of *Saxony* of the Houſe of *Miſnia*, call'd the *Peaceable*, marry'd *Marguerit* of *Auſtria*, Siſter to the Emperor *Frederick* III; and dy'd *September* 7, 1464. He had amongſt other Children two Sons; *Erneſt* and *Albert*, whom we ſhall make known in their Poſterity, which ſtill ſubſiſts at this Day.

Erneſt, the eldeſt Son of *Frederick* II, ſucceeded his Father in the Electorate; and had by *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Albert* III, Duke of *Bavaria*, at *Munichen*, *Frederick* III, who ſucceeded in the Electoral Dignity; but he never marry'd, and dy'd *May* 5, 1525; *John Erneſt*, Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, and Biſhop of *Halberſtad*; and *Albert*, Archbiſhop and Elector of *Mayence*.

John, Son to *Erneſt*, ſucceeded *Frederick* III, his Brother, in the Electoral Dignity; and in the Year 1531, he oppos'd the Election of *Ferdinand* I. It was he that preſented to the Emperor *Charles* V. the Confeſſion of Faith of the Proteſtants of *Germany*, which is commonly call'd the Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, and that took *Luther* into his particular Protection. He dy'd *Auguſt* 16, 1532, leaving, by *Sophia*, the Daughter of *Magnus* III, Duke of *Mecklenburg*, his firſt Wife, *John Frederick*, and *John Erneſt*, who had his Portion at *Coburg*, but he dy'd without Children.

John Frederick, the Son of *John*, was born at *Torgau June* 30, 1503, and ſucceeded to his Father in the Electorate of *Saxony*. In the Year 1527, he marry'd *Sibylla*, Daughter to *John* III, Duke of *Cleves*, and to *Mary*, Heireſs of *Juliers*; and it was mention'd in the Contract of Marriage, that if the Male Line happen'd to fail in the Houſe of *Cleves*, that of *Saxony* ſhould ſucceed therein. It is on this, that the Dukes of *Saxony* found the Pretenſions they have to the Inheritance of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, againſt the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the *Palatin* of *Neuburg*. In the Year 1536, he made himſelf Head of the Confederacy of *Smalcalden*, in which were engag'd with him, *Philip*, *Erneſt* and *Francis*, Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*; *Ulric*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*; *Philip*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; *Barnim* and *Philip*, Dukes of *Pomerania*; *Wolfgang*, *John*, *George* and *Joachim*, Princes of *Anhalt*; *Gebhard* and *Albert*, Counts of *Mansfelt*, and the Free-Cities and Hanſe-Towns, *Strasburg*, *Augsburg*, *Conſtance*, *Ulm*, *Eſlingen*, *Reutlinguen*, *Memminguen*, *Kempten*, *Lindau*, *Biberach*, *Iſne*, *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, *Brunſwick*, *Goſlar*, *Hannover*, *Gottingen*, *Eimbeck*, *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck* and *Minden*: but having taken Arms againſt the Emperor *Charles* V, he was defeated in the Battel which was fought near *Mulberg* on the *Elbe*, *April* 24, 1547, in which he remain'd Priſoner with the Emperor, who depriv'd him of the Electoral Dignity, and inveſted therewith *Maurice*, Duke of *Saxony*, his Relation. He dy'd *March* 3, 1554, leaving Iſſue, *John Frederick* I; *John Frederick* II, who never marry'd, and dy'd *October* 31, 1565; and *John William*.

John

John Frederick, the eldeſt Son of the Elector of the ſame Name, having given Retreat to *William* of *Grumbach* and his Accomplices, who had murder'd *Melchior Zobel*, Biſhop of *Wurtzburg*, was put in the Ban of the Empire. *John William* his Brother, and *Auguſtus*, Elector of *Saxony*, executed the Sentence of Proſcription, beſieg'd him in *Gotha*, and compell'd him to ſurrender at Diſcretion, after four Months Siege. He was carry'd Priſoner to *Dreſden*, and from thence to *Vienna* and *Presburg*, and at laſt to *Neuſtad*, where he dy'd *May* 9, 1595, after nineteen Years of Captivity. He left Iſſue, by *Elizabeth* of *Bavaria*, Daughter to *Frederick* III, Elector *Palatin*, *John Caſimir*, who had his Portion at *Coburg*, and dy'd without Children *July* 16, 1633; and *John Erneſt*, who had his at *Eiſenach*, where he dy'd alſo without Iſſue, *October* 23, 1638 The Inheritance of theſe two Brothers was divided between the Dukes of *Altemburg* and *Weimar*, deſcended from *John William*, the younger Son of the Elector *John Frederick*, who dy'd *March* 12, 1573, leaving by *Suſanna Dorothea* of *Bavaria*, Daughter to *Frederick* III, Elector *Palatin*, *Frederick William*, and *John*.

Frederick William, the eldeſt Son of *John William*, had his Portion at *Altemburg*. He marry'd on *May* 5, 1583, for firſt Wife *Sophia*, Daughter to *Chriſtopher*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and *Anne Mary* of *Brandenburg*: but all the Iſſue he had by this Match being dead, except two Daughters; the one of which dy'd a Maid in the Year 1626, and the other who was Abbeſs of *Quedlinburg*, *February* 10, 1645; and the Mother dying on *July* 2, 1590, he marry'd *Auguſt* 29, 1595, for ſecond Wife, *Anne Mary* of *Bavaria*, the Daughter of *Philip Lewis*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Neuburg*, and of *Anne* of *Cleves*, and dy'd *July* 7, 1602. The Children of this ſecond Bed are, 1. *John Philip*, who was born *January* 25, 1597, and marry'd on *October* 24, 1618, to *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Henry Julius*, Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*; and dy'd *April* 11, 1639, leaving *Elizabeth Sophia*, who was marry'd on *October* 24, 1636, to *Erneſt*, Duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, at *Gotha*; 2. *Frederick*, who was born *February* 12, 1569; and was kill'd *October* 25, 1625, near *Hannover*, (by an Imperial Party) being in the Service of the King of *Denmark*; 3. *John William*, who was alſo in the Service of the King of *Denmark*, and dy'd without Iſſue on *December* 2, 1642; 4. *Frederick William* II; 5. *Anne Sophia*, marry'd to *Frederick*, Duke of *Munſterberg* in *Sileſia*: And, 6. *Dorothy*, who was marry'd to *Albert*, Duke of *Saxony* at *Eiſenach*.

Frederick William II, is the only one of all the Brothers that is alive at preſent. He was born *February* 22, 1603, above ſix Months after the Death of his Father; and marry'd on *September* 18, 1638, for firſt Wife, *Sophia Elizabeth* of *Brandenburg*, Daughter to *Chriſtian William*, heretofore Adminiſtrator of *Magdeburg*, by whom he had no Children. His ſecond Wife, who is ſtill living, is *Magdalen Sibylla*, Daughter to *John George*, Elector of *Saxony*, and to *Magdalen Sibylla* of *Brandenburg*, and the Widow of *Chriſtian*, Prince of *Denmark*, eldeſt Brother to the preſent King, by whom he has ſeveral Children.

John, the ſecond Son of *John William*, was born *May* 22, 1570, and had for Portion the Town of *Weimar*. He marry'd on *January* 8, 1593, *Mary Dorothy*, the Daughter of *Joachim Erneſt*, Prince of *Anhalt*, and of *Eleonora* of *Wirtemberg*, and dy'd *October* 31, 1605; leaving Iſſue; 1. *John Erneſt*, who was born *February* 21, 1594; he did not marry, and dy'd *December* 4, 1626, in *Sileſia*; where he commanded a Body of Men againſt the Emperor *Ferdinand* II; 2. *Frederick*, who was born *March* 1, 1596; and was kill'd *Auguſt* 19, 1622, in the Battel of *Fleury*, commanding a Regiment under Count *Mansfelt*; 3. *William*; 4. *Albert*, who was born *July* 27, 1599: He marry'd on *June* 24, 1633, *Dorothy*, Daughter to *Frederick William* Duke of *Saxony*, at *Altemburg*, but he had no Children by her; and dy'd *December* 20, 1644; 5. *John Frederick*, who was born *September* 19, 1600; and dy'd *October* 12, 1628: His Brothers had caus'd him to be ſhut up in a Houſe at *Weimar*, which is ſtill uninhabited; 6. *Erneſt*; 7. *Frederick William*, who was born *February* 7, 1603, and dy'd *Auguſt* 16, 1619; And, 8. *Bernard*, who was born *Auguſt* 6, 1604; and dy'd *July* 8, 1639, at *Neuburg* on the *Rhine*. He was the greateſt Prince that *Germany* has produc'd for many Ages, and would have rais'd the Glory of his Houſe, had he liv'd but a few Years longer.

2. *William*, third Son to *John*, is living ſtill at *Weimar*. He was born *April* 11, 1598; and marry'd on *May* 25, 1625, *Eleonora Dorothea*, the Daughter of *John George*, Duke of *Anhalt* at *Deſſau*, and of *Dorothy* of *Mansfelt*, by whom he has ſeveral Children.

3. *Erneſt*, his Brother, was born *December* 25, 1601. He has his Portion at *Gotha*; and marry'd on *October* 24, 1636, *Elizabeth Sophia*, the Daughter of *John Philip*, Duke of *Saxony* at *Altemburg*, and of *Elizabeth* of *Brunſwick*; by whom he has five or ſix Sons, and three or four Daughters.

Let us now run back to *Albert*, the younger Son of *Frederick* II, Elector of *Saxony*, and of *Marguerit* of *Auſtria*; and let us ſee how the Electoral Dignity paſs'd to his Poſterity, to the Prejudice of that of the Eldeſt. *Albert* was born *Auguſt* 1, 1443; and marry'd in the Year 1459, *Zedene*, the Daughter of *George* of *Podiebrach*, King of *Bohemia*. The Emperor *Maximilian* I, gave him, under the Title of Hereditary Governor, that part of *Friſe*, which at this Day makes one of the United Provinces, between the Rivers *Iſel* and *Ems*. He dy'd *September* 12, 1500, leaving Iſſue, *George*, who had no Children; *Frederick*, Maſter of the *Teutonic* Order in *Pruſſia*, and ſince Coadjutor to the Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*; and *Henry*.

Henry was born *March* 16, 1473, ſucceeded his Brother *George* in the Year 1539, and reform'd Religion in his Countrey. He dy'd *Auguſt* 18, 1541; leaving, by *Catherine*, the Daughter of *Magnus* III, Duke of *Mecklenburg*, and of *Sophia* of *Pomerania*, *Maurice* and *Auguſtus*.

Maurice, the eldeſt Son of *Henry*, was born *March* 21, 1521. He ſided with the Emperor *Charles* V, againſt the Confederates of *Smalcalden*, and againſt the Intereſt of his Religion. He receiv'd for recompence, from him, the Electoral Dignity, which had been confiſcated from

John Frederick; and he was inveſted therewith on *February* 24, 1548. In the Year 1550, he beſieg'd the Town of *Magdeburg* in the Name of the Empire: but he made an Agreement with it, after a Siege of fourteen Months, thereby to have it in his Power to make uſe of his Army for the Liberty of *Philip*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, his Father-in-law. He forc'd the Emperor to retire from *Inſpruck* in diſorder, and oblig'd him to grant to the Proteſtants the Advantages they obtain'd by the Treaty of *Paſſau*, which ſtill holds the Rank of a perpetual Edict for the Affairs of Religion in the Empire. On *July* 9, 1553, he gave Battel to *Albert*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, and gain'd over him a complete Victory: but he therein receiv'd a Musket Shot, of which he dy'd three Days after, leaving only one Daughter nam'd *Anne*, who was ſecond Wife to *William* of *Naſſau*; and Mother to *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*.

Auguſtus was born *July* 31, 1526, and ſucceeded his Brother in the Electoral Dignity. In the Year 1554, he came to an Agreement with the Sons of *John Frederick* Elector, in reference to the Differences he might have with them, concerning the Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity, and the Lands thereon depending. He alſo renew'd with them conjoyntly, the Treaty of mutual Succeſſion between the Houſes of *Saxony* and *Heſſe*. In 1558, he confirm'd the Election of *Ferdinand* I, and was perſonally preſent at the Elections of *Maximilian* II, and of *Rodolphus* his Son. In 1576, he yielded to *Joachim Frederick*, Adminiſtrator of *Magdeburg*, the Viſcountſhip of the Town, and the Rights that depend thereon, reſerving only the Title to himſelf. In his time dy'd alſo without Children *George Erneſt*, Count of *Henneberg*; and ſo the Earldom came to the Houſe of *Saxony*, by virtue of the Treaty of mutual Succeſſion; of which we have ſpoken in Chap II. *Auguſtus* dy'd *February* 11, 1586, leaving by *Anne*, the Daughter of *Chriſtian* III, King of *Denmark*, and of *Dorothy* of *Saxe-Lauenburg*, *Chriſtian* I.

Chriſtian, Elector of *Saxony*, was born *October* 29, 1560; and marry'd on *April* 21, 1582, *Sophia*, the Daughter of *John George*, Elector of *Brandenburg*, and of *Sabina* alſo of *Brandenburg*. He dy'd *September* 25, 1591, and left *Chriſtian* II, *John George*, and *Auguſtus* who dy'd without Iſſue on *January* 15, 1616.

Chriſtian II. ſucceeded his Father in the Electorate; and marry'd *Avoye*, the Daughter of *Frederick* II, King of *Denmark*: but he had no Children by her, and dy'd *July* 15, 1611.

John George, younger Son of *Chriſtian* I, and of *Sophia* of *Brandenburg*, was born *March* 5, 1585, and ſucceeded his Brother in the Electoral Dignity. On *September* 16, 1640, he marry'd for firſt Wife *Elizabeth Sibylla*, the Daughter of *Frederick*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*; who dying without Iſſue on *January* 20, 1606, he marry'd on *July* 17, 1607, for ſecond Wife, *Magdalen Sibylla*, Daughter to *Albert Frederick*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* and Duke of *Pruſſia*, and to *Mary Eleonor* of *Juliers*, and dy'd *October* 18, 1656. The Children that ſurviv'd him, and are ſtill living, are;

1. *John George*, who was born *May* 13, 1613, and marry'd on *November* 13, 1638, *Magdalen Sibylla*, the Daughter of *Chriſtian*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* at *Anſpach*, and of *Mary* of *Brandenburg*, by whom he has a Son nam'd *John George*, born *September* 20, 1647: It is this Prince who is at preſent Elector of *Saxony*;

2. *Auguſtus*, who was born *Auguſt* 13, 1614, and was made Adminiſtrator of *Magdeburg* by the Treaty of *Prague* in the Year 1634; but foraſmuch as this Archbiſhoprick has been converted into a Dutchy by the Treaty of *Munſter*, in favour of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who is to ſucceed therein after the Death of *Auguſtus*, the Elector his Brother has been oblig'd to aſſign him a Portion elſewhere: He has ſince the Year 1646, marry'd *Anne Mary*, the Daughter of *Albert Frederick*, Duke of *Meklenburg* at *Snerin*, and of *Anne Mary* of *Oſtfriſe*, by whom he has ſeveral Childen: amongſt others *John Adolphus*, born *November* 2, 1648; *Auguſtus*, born *December* 3, 1650; and *Chriſtian*, born *January* 25, 1652;

3. *Chriſtian*, who was born *October* 27, 1616, and marry'd in *November* 1650, *Chriſtina*, the Daughter of *Philip*, Duke of *Holſtein* at *Glucsburg*, and of *Sophia Avoye* of *Saxe-Lauemburg*, by whom he has Children;

4. *Maurice*, who was born *March* 28, 1619; he had marry'd for firſt Wife *Sophia Avoye*, the Daughter of *Philip*, Duke of *Holſtein* at *Glucſburg*, and of *Sophia Avoye* of *Saxe-Lauemburg*, who dy'd in the Year 1657: On *July* 13, 1656, he marry'd for ſecond Wife *Dorothy Mary*, the Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Saxony* at *Weimar*;

5. *Sophia Eleonora*, who was born *November* 21, 1609; and was marry'd on *April* 1, 1627, to *George*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*;

6. *Mary Elizabeth*, who was born *November* 22, 1610; and was marry'd on *February* 21, 1630, to *Frederick*, Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*;

7. *Magdalen Sibylla*, who was born *December* 23, 1617, and was marry'd in 1634. to *Chriſtian*, the eldeſt Son of *Chriſtian* IV, King of *Denmark*; who dying *June* 4, 1647, ſhe marry'd in 1652, for ſecond Husband, *Frederick William* II, Duke of *Saxony* at *Altemburg*.

The Elector has made a Partition with his Brothers, and has yielded to them part of *Luſatia*, and of what the Father poſſeſs'd in *Thuringia*, and in the County of *Henneberg*, together with the Biſhopricks of *Naumburg* and of *Mersburg*; ſo that if they have all Children, as it is very likely they will; the Electoral Branch of *Saxony* will be ſubdivided into ſeveral other Branches, which will make at leaſt ſeven with that of *Altemburg*, (where there is but one at preſent) and that of *Weimar*, in which there are two, the one at *Weimar*, and the other at *Gotha*. Theſe laſt, altho' deſcended from *John*, a younger Brother of *John William*, Grandfather to the Duke of *Altenburg*, have always murmur'd at the Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity, from the Perſon of *John Frederick*, to that of *Maurice*: and this Branch has produc'd ſuch great Princes, that the Electors have believ'd that they might one Day make good their Pretenſions to the Electorate. It might be ſaid with Truth, that the ſtrong Jealouſy the late Elector had of the Conduct of the Proteſtant Army, which was given to Duke *Bernard* of *Weimar*, after the Death of the late King of *Sweden*, was one of the greateſt Cauſes of his Change, and of the Treaty he made with the Emperor at *Prague*, *An.* 1635.

And

And in effect the Princes of the eldeſt Branch maintain, That the Tranſlation of the Electoral Dignity, made by the Emperor *Charles* V, is faulty in all its Circumſtances; and that if it ought to ſubſiſt, it can only be by virtue of the Treaty of *Naumburg*. For *Maurice* dying in the Year 1553, *John Frederick*, who had reſum'd the Quality of Elector, conſidering that the Emperor *Charles* V, and *Ferdinand* his Brother (who ſeem'd inclin'd to favour this Enterprize, out of Hatred to *Maurice*, who had us'd them ill, and on the account of the Umbrage they took from the Alliance *Auguſtus* his Brother had lately contracted with the King of *Denmark*) countenanc'd his Intereſt but only with a Deſign to ſet the Princes of *Saxony* at Variance amongſt themſelves, and thereby to ruin the whole Houſe, he came to an Agreement with *Auguſtus* by a Treaty which was made at *Naumburg* in the Month of *February* 1554. *John Frederick* and his three Sons, who were all at Age, renounc'd by that Treaty for themſelves and for their Heirs to the Electoral Dignity; upon Condition that the Father ſhould, during his own Life, take the Title of Elector born. And to recompence in ſome meaſure thoſe Princes for the Loſs they ſuſtain'd, *Auguſtus* yielded to them ſome Towns and Territories, the Revenue whereof amounted to pretty near that of the Electoral *Saxony*. *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*, *Chriſtian* III, King of *Denmark*, *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, *William* Duke of *Juliers*, *Philip* Duke of *Pomerania*, *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, and the Deputies of the States of all the Towns of *Saxony* were preſent at this Tranſaction, and ſign'd it. But if the Electoral Dignity is appropriated to the Heirs without Reſerve, by virtue of the firſt Acquirer, and by the Proviſion of the Prince who gave the firſt Inveſtiture thereof; it is certain that this Tranſaction could not alienate a Right, which is acquir'd to all Poſterity *in infinitum*.

After all, the Dukes of *Altemburg* have conſtantly adher'd to the Intereſt of the Electoral Court of *Dreſden*; but thoſe of *Weimar* have expreſs'd a little more Vigour. Of the eight Brothers, four have dy'd with their Arms in their Hand againſt a Houſe that has ruin'd theirs: and of the four others, two were indiſpos'd in their Health; and of the two others who are ſtill living, the eldeſt has for a long time commanded the Armies in the Quality of Lieutenant General under the King of *Sweden*; and the other who lives now at *Gotha*, commanded a Regiment of Horſe in the ſame War, under Duke *Bernard* his Brother.

As for the Elector himſelf, it is certain that he will have no paſſive Vote in the future Election; becauſe his Religion excludes him, tho' otherwiſe he poſſeſſes all the neceſſary Qualities for it. He has ſo openly declar'd for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that it cannot be doubted that he will give his Suffrage to the King of *Bohemia*, and that he will employ all his Ability of Wit, Credit and Friends for his Election.

The Electors of *Saxony* are for preſerving themſelves by the ſame Means which they made uſe of to eſtabliſh themſelves. They owe their Grandeur to the Emperor *Charles* V, and they maintain themſelves by an inſeparable Adheſion to the Intereſt of his Houſe. The ſame *Maurice*, who transferr'd the Electoral Dignity to the younger Branch, took up Arms againſt his Benefactor, and ſtrengthen'd himſelf by an Alliance with *France* againſt him; but as ſoon as he had ſecur'd his Intereſt, he effected his Reconciliation without *Henry* II, who ſeem'd to reſent his Behaviour: and from that Time the Electors of *Saxony* have had ſo little Commerce with *France*, that hitherto they have not thought fit to give the King the Title of Majeſty.

The Rights and Prerogatives which are peculiar to the Elector of *Saxony*, are 1. That he is hereditary Great Mareſchal of the Empire. They who have a moderate Knowledge of the *German* Tongue, know that the Word *Mareſchal* is ſynonymous with that of *Eſquire*, of *Cavallerizze*, and of *Conſtable*: and it is probable that this Office was only created in Favour of him who had the Care of the Stable, when the Prince call'd the Conſtable to more important Employments, and to more elevated Functions. The *Golden Bull* regulates thoſe of the Elector of *Saxony* to two Ceremonies; whereof the one is to carry the Sword before the Emperor when he goes in Proceſſion the Day of his Coronation, or with all the Princes and States of the Empire, at the opening or concluding of a Diet; and the other is never done but at the Imperial Feaſt; which is alſo made on the ſcore of the Coronation. And then the Elector of *Saxony*, after having accompany'd the Emperor to the Town Houſe of *Franckfort*, or elſe to the Houſe where the Feaſt is to be made, he remounts his Horſe, and rides him into a Heap of Oats, in which the Horſe being up to his Belly, the Elector fills a Silver Buſhel therewith, into which he plants a Staff alſo of Silver, and which together with the Buſhel ought to weigh twelve Marks; and ſo gives it to the firſt Groom of the Emperor's Stable, who is there preſent to take it from him.

However this Right of carrying the Sword before the Emperor, has not been always ſo appropriated to the Office of Great Mareſchal of the Empire, but that it has been often diſputed with the Elector of *Saxony*; as when the Emperor *Charles* IV, in judging the Difference which aroſe on that account between *Wenceſlas* of *Luxemburg*, Duke of *Brabant* his Brother, and *Rodolphus* of *Saxony* in the Diet of *Metz*, *An.* 1357, pronounc'd in Favour of *Rodolphus*; but with this Condition, that it ſhould be but for that time only, and without any farther Conſequence, becauſe *Wenceſlas* had not then done Homage for his Dutchy. And in effect at the Diet of *Franckfort*, where *Wenceſlas*, Son to the ſame Emperor, was choſen King of the *Romans* in the Year 1377; the Emperor caus'd the Sword to be carry'd by his Son *Sigiſmund*, who was Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*. But the Elector of *Saxony*, as Great Mareſchal, has other Rights much more eſſential than thoſe; as for inſtance, that of having the Command of thoſe Forces that are in Garriſon in the Place where the Diet is held; inſomuch that the Emperor himſelf cannot regulate the Guard of the Town without him: nay the Emperor *Charles* V. having ſet a Guard at the Gates of the City of *Augſburg*, during the

Diet

Diet that was held therein the Year 1530, *John* Elector of *Saxony* complain'd thereof, and oblig'd the Emperor to withdraw his Soldiers, and to assure the Elector, that for the future he would not do so any more; but would leave him the Disposition thereof, as being Great Mareschal hereditary of the Empire.

As such it is his Right to indicate the Assemblies which are held in the Diets, as well general as particular: nay even in the Electoral Diets, and in all others of what nature soever they may be; excepting the Collegial Diets, where it belongs to the Elector of *Mayence* to convene them. So that when the Electors, Princes, and Free Cities, or their Deputies who assist at the Diet, are oblig'd to hold Assemblies, each Member in particular, or all the States in a Body; if the Elector of *Saxony* be there present, the Archbishop of *Mayence* is oblig'd to give him Notice, either in Person, or by a Letter which he sends to his Chancery, that there is to be an Assembly: whereupon the Elector of *Saxony* dispatches his Order, by which he enjoins the Count of *Pappenheim* to notify to the other Electors, Princes and States of the Empire the Hour of the Assembly. But if the Elector of *Saxony* be not personally present at the Diet, the Archbishop of *Mentz* sends his Order to the Count of *Pappenheim*, and convenes the Assembly in his own Name. And this is observ'd even at those Diets that are summon'd for the Election, where the Elector of *Saxony* gives his Orders, to notify to the other Electors the Hour that is fix'd for the Deliberations: Pursuant to the Regulation that was made for this purpose at *Franckfort*, between *Daniel Brendel* Archbishop and Elector of *Mayence*, and *Augustus* Elector of *Saxony* in the Year 1562.

The Duke of *Saxony*, as hereditary Great Mareschal of the Empire, bears Coupe Argent and Sable, two Swords Gules Salter wise. The Arms of the Elector * of *Saxony* are quarterly of all the Provinces he possesses, and even of those to which he pretends a Right, as of the Dutchies of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Berg*: but those which are commonly call'd the Arms of *Saxony*, which the Princes of the House of *Misnia* have borrow'd from those of *Anhalt* are,

† The *Golden Bull*, Chap. 4. §. 3. gives him the fifth Vote in the Electoral College, and ordains that he shall vote immediately after the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, to whom the Duke of *Bavaria* has been substituted, and before the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*. For which reason he takes place between those two Electors, when all the Electors are assembl'd about the Election, and when they are all in a Line, pursuant to the last Regulation made at *Ratisbone*. In marching his Rank is immediately before the Emperor, when he carries the Imperial Sword, whether the other Electors bear the Ornaments or Regalia of the Empire or not: but when he does not carry the Sword, the Archbishop of *Triers* takes his Place, and he then has his on the left Hand of the Elector of *Bavaria*.

‡ The Elector of *Saxony* is Vicar of the Empire during the *Interregnum*, not only throughout all those Provinces where the *Saxon* Law prevails, but every where else out of the Extent of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*'s Vicariate. We have spoken thereof in Chapter XII.

The *Golden Bull*, Chapter II, gives to all the Electors two Privileges. The first is, that their Subjects cannot be forc'd out of their Jurisdiction, to answer the Law before any other Judges: and the other, that the said Subjects cannot appeal from the Sentences given by the Electors, or by their Judges; but the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* are the only that have taken Care to preserve, and have confirm'd to them from time to time these Privileges, which the others have lost through their own Neglect. As for the Elector of *Saxony*, the Emperor *Ferdinand* I. declares by his Letters Patents, given at *Augsburg*, *May* 2, 1559, that all the Dukes of *Saxony* are Judges in *dernier Resort* of all their Subjects Causes, as well civil as criminal, by virtue of the long Possession they are in, not to defer to Appeals, but to proceed on to an Execution, notwithstanding any Opposition or Appeal whatsoever; forbidding the Judges of the Chamber to receive the Appeals, except in Cases where Justice is deny'd. Those Causes are likewise excepted, whose Cognizance belongs at first to the Imperial Chamber, as also those of the Inhabitants of the three Bishopricks of *Mersburg*, *Naumburg*, and of *Meissen*: which it is true were incorporated to *Saxony*, but without Prejudice to the Rights of the Empire, of whom the Bishops of those three Dioceses held heretofore immediately.

They who say, that the Elector of *Saxony* is Director of all the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Protestants, and that the Elector *Palatin* has the Direction of their civil Affairs, are mistaken. *John*, and *John-Frederick*, Electors of *Saxony*, took *Luther* into their Protection: and the last of them presented the Confession of the Protestants to the Emperor *Charles* V, in the Diet of *Augsburg*, *An.* 1530. It was also *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, who procur'd the Treaty of *Passow* for the Liberty of Religion in the Empire; but then they did it out of a particular Zeal: and so far are the Electors of *Saxony* from having any Title or particular Character for that, that on the contrary they have been known to act with the same Zeal, but somewhat less considerate, against those who, notwithstanding they have particular Sentiments, are nevertheless of the same Religion with them. As in effect the Elector of *Saxony* has no Advantage over the other two Protestant Electors, and cannot meddle with the Direction of the Affairs of Religion, but in Conjunction with them; and particularly with the Consent of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who has as much Interest therein as he, if not more, as we shall shew in the following Chapter.

We promis'd at the beginning of this Chapter to say a word or two of the Silver Mines the Elector of *Saxony* has in his Countrey of *Misnia*. He has several, but the richest, and which might formerly have vy'd with the Mines of *Potosi*, are those of *Sneberg*. They were dis-

* *The Arms of the Elector of* Saxony. † *His Rank.* ‡ *He is Vicar of the Empire.*

cover'd in the Year 1471, and yielded ſo much Money at firſt, that the bare Tyth thereof was worth to the Duke of *Saxony* in thirty Years, that is to ſay, to the Year 1501, five hundred and ten Millions of Gold, and nine hundred thouſand Crowns; and from the Year 1501, to that of 1537, three hundred and eighty Millions of Gold, and eight hundred thouſand Crowns. They have not yielded ſo much ſince that Time: but yet they are not ſo exhauſted but the Elector ſtill draws a great deal from thence, tho' the War has in a manner ruin'd and deſtroy'd them.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Marquiſs of Brandenburg, *Prince Elector of the Holy Empire.*

THE Province that is known at this Day under the Name of the *Marc-Brandenburg*, made formerly a part of the old *Suabia*. Its People were forc'd to make room for their Neighbours, and to ſeek a Habitation elſewhere, in the Time of the Emperor *Auguſtus*, who permitted them to ſettle on the *Rhine*, and to take Poſſeſſion of that part of *Rhætia*, and of the Countrey which is ſtill call'd by their Name *Suabia*. The *Sclavij*, and the *Heneti* occupy'd in the beginning of the ſixth Century that part of *Germany* that is between the *Danube* and the Source of the *Elbe*; and from thence along the *Elbe* to the Countrey of *Holſtein* betwixt the ſame River and the *Baltick* Sea; compriſing *Sileſia*, *Bohemia*, part of the *Marc-Brandenburg*, *Pomerania*, and the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*.

The whole Province takes its Name from the capital City; but they who ſay that this City was built by *Brennus*, the Leader of thoſe *Gauls* who took and ſack'd *Rome*, about two hundred Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and that it was at firſt call'd *Brenneburg*, look for its Origin among Fables; it being certain that this Name is of a much later Date, and that in the Year 928, the Inhabitants of the Countrey call'd it ſtill by the *Sclavonian* Name *Schorlitz*. It was in that Time that the Emperor *Henry* I. fortify'd it againſt the *Sclavij*, the *Henneti*, and the *Obotritæ*, and eſtabliſh'd therein a Marquiſs or Governor of the Frontiers: and it is ſince that Time that it has by little and little communicated its Name to the Conqueſts, according as the *Germans* made any over thoſe *Barbarians*; which being beyond Compariſon more conſiderable than thoſe they gain'd over the *Hungarians* in *Auſtria*, the *Bohemians* in *Miſnia*, and over the *Poles* in *Moravia*, we muſt not wonder that the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* is become the greateſt and the firſt of the whole Empire.

And indeed it may be ſaid to be the largeſt Province of *Germany*, being at leaſt ſeven Days Journey in length, and as many in breadth, and extending from *Poland* and *Sileſia*, as far as the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg* about ten or twelve Leagues from *Hamburgh*. The Provinces that border upon it are, the Dutchies of *Pomerania* and of *Mecklenburg* towards the North: That of *Lunenburg* towards the North-Eaſt: *Brunſwick* towards the Weſt: The Dutchy of *Magdeburg* towards the South-Weſt: The Principality of *Anhalt* and of *Luſatia* towards the South: *Sileſia* towards the South-Eaſt: *Poland* towards the Eaſt; and the *Pomerelle*; with the *Royal Pruſſia*, towards the North-Eaſt.

It is divided into the Old, the Middle, and the New *Marc*. The firſt extends it ſelf from the Dutchy of *Lunenburg* to the River *Elbe*, the other from the *Elbe* to the River *Oder*, and the third from the *Oder* as far as *Poland*. The Rivers that run acroſs it are the *Elbe*, the *Oder*, the *Spree*, the *Havel*, and the *Wartha*; which are all navigable. Its chief Towns are *Brandenburg*, an Epiſcopal City; *Berlin*, the uſual Reſidence of the Elector; *Franckfort* on the *Oder*, an Univerſity; *Havelberg*, a Biſhop's See; *Cuſtrin*, an impregnable City and Fortreſs on the Confluence of the *Oder* and of the *Wartha*; *Spandau*, a very ſtrong Place within two Leagues of *Berlin*, on the *Spree*; *Peitz*, a Fortreſs alſo on the ſame River on the ſide of *Luſatia*; *Libus*, an Epiſcopal City; *Sonneburg*, the Seat of the Provincial Maſter of the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, &c.

* The Emperor *Henry* I. gave the Government of this Frontier, with the Title of Marquiſs to *Sigfrid* Count of *Ringelheim*, Brother to the Empreſs, whom *Reuſner* makes deſcend in a direct and Male Line from *Wittikind the Great*, Prince of *Saxony*: who dying in the Year 940, the Emperor *Otho* I. gave the Marquiſate to *Geron*, Count of *Altemburg* and *Merſburg*, who dy'd in the Year 965. After him ſucceeded in the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* *Bruno*, Count of *Wettin*, the Father of *Hugues*, who was made firſt hereditary Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* by the Emperor *Otho* III. *Hugues* dy'd in the Year 1001, at *Piſtoia* in *Italy*, being Governor of *Tuſcany*; and left the Marquiſate to *Thierry* his Nephew, who was driven out by the *Sclavij*, for having offended *Miſſivoy*, Prince of *Mecklenburg*; and dy'd in Exile at *Magdeburg*.

The Emperor *Conrade* II. gave the Marquiſate to *Udo* or *Otho*, the Son of *Sigfrid* II, Count of *Stade*, and Nephew to *Thierry*, who had for Succeſſor in the Marquiſate *Udo* II, his Son, and after him *Rodolphus* his younger Son. This laſt left it to his Son *Udo* III, who having

* *Its firſt Princes.*

taken Arms with the other *Saxons* againſt *Henry* IV. the Emperor, who was not in a Condition to puniſh him, gave Leave to the *Sclavi* to occupy all that Countrey, as far as the River *Havel*.

The Emperor *Henry* V. gave the Title of Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* to *Otho the Rich*, Marquiſs of *Soltüedel*, who had marry'd *Heilike*, the Daughter of *Magnus*, laſt Duke of *Saxony*, of the Poſterity of *Herman* of *Billingen*. *But the Marquiſate remain'd in the Hands of the *Barbarians* till the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick* I, who gave it to *Albert the Bear*, the Son of *Otho* of *Soltüedel*, and *Balling ſtadt* Count of *Anhalt*. This Prince peopl'd the Countrey of *Brandenburg* with *Flemmings* and *Dutch*; and ſtrengthen'd himſelf againſt the *Sclavii* by the Help of Colonies. He marry'd for firſt Wife *Sophia* the Daughter of *Otho* Count of *Reinec*; and for ſecond *Adelheide*, who was Daughter to *Conrade the Great* Marquiſs of *Miſnia*; but he had no Children by her, and dy'd *November* 18, 1169, leaving Iſſue by the firſt *Otho*; *Bernard*, who was made Duke of *Saxony*; *Sigfrid* Biſhop of *Brandenburg*, and Archbiſhop of *Breme*; *Henry* Prevoſt of the Church of *Magdeburg*; *Anſelm* Biſhop of *Havelberg*, &c.

Otho his Son dy'd in the Year 1198, and left Iſſue *Albert* II, who dy'd in the Year 1221, and had by *Mahault* the Daughter of *Conrade* III, laſt Count of *Rochlitz*, and of *Mary* of *Poland*, *John* and *Otho* III, who both left Poſterity; *Mahault* who was marry'd to *Otho the Infant*, firſt Duke of *Brunſwick*; *Anne* who marry'd *Nicholas* III, Prince of *Mecklenburg*, and *Agnes* the Wife of *Eric* III, King of *Denmark*. *Otho* III, call'd *the Pious*, younger Son to *Albert* II, had four Sons, who all liv'd to be Men, and marry'd: but there was but one of them that left a Son call'd *Otho* IV, and ſirnam'd *the Tall*, who had three Sons, two of which dy'd without Iſſue, and the third, nam'd *Hermain*, left one Son, in whom the Poſterity of *Otho* III. fail'd.

John the eldeſt Son of *Albert* II. dy'd *April* 4, 1266, leaving 1. *John* II, who had three Sons, but they all dy'd without Iſſue; 2. *Otho*, who alſo dy'd without Iſſue; 3. *Conrade*; 4. *Eric* Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, and ſome Daughters. *Conrade*, the younger Son of *John* I, left when he dy'd *An.* 1304, *John* III, who had no Children; *Conrade* Maſter of the Teutonick Order; *Otho* a Knight Templar; *Volmar*, who left only two Daughters, who were marry'd into Houſe of *Brunſwick*; and *Henry*.

Henry dy'd in the Year 1318, and left *Volmar* II, who marry'd *Anne* Daughter to the the Emperor *Albert* I, but he had no Iſſue by her, and dy'd in the Year 1323; and *John* IV, who poſſeſs'd the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* but fifteen Days after the Death of his Brother, and dy'd in the ſame Year 1323, without Iſſue.

† The Poſterity of *Otho* I, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* having fail'd in *John* IV, becauſe *Bernard* the Brother of *Otho* had had his Portion in *Saxony*: So that the Dukes of *Saxe-Lauemburg*, and the Princes of *Anhalt*, who deſcend from him, could have no Pretenſions on *Brandenburg*, becauſe they were not compris'd in the Inveſtiture of *Otho*. And the Marquiſate, being eſcheated to the Empire for want of Male Iſſue, the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* gave it to *Lewis* his eldeſt Son, who reſign'd it in the Month of *February* 1352, to *Lewis the Roman* his Brother. *Lewis the Roman* marry'd *Ingelberge*, the Daughter of *Albert* firſt Duke of *Mecklenburg*, and of *Exſemia* of *Sweden*, Widow to *John* IV, laſt Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, of the Houſe of *Anhalt*: but he had no Children by her, and dy'd in the Year 1356. *Otho* of *Bavaria* his Brother ſucceeded in the Marquiſate, and marry'd for ſecond Wife *Anne* of *Luxemburg*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Charles* IV, to whom he ſold the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, for two hundred thouſand Ducats of *Hungary*. ‡ *Charles* gave it to his Son *Wenceſlas*, and this gave it to *Sigiſmund* his Brother, who ſold it to *Joſſe* of *Luxemburg*, Marquiſs of *Moravia*; and *Joſſe* ſold it to *William the Rich*, *Marquiſs of *Miſnia*. But *Sigiſmund* having attain'd to the Empire, withdrew the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* from the Hands of *William*, and ſold it to *Frederick* of *Hohenzollern* Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, who paid for the ſame Four hundred thouſand Florins, or Eight hundred thouſand Livres *French* Money: which is certainly a very inconſiderable Sum, in compariſon of thoſe that private Perſons at this Day lay out for the Purchaſe of a ſingle Lordſhip, or of a Houſe of Pleaſure. *Frederick* to make up the Sum of Four hundred thouſand Florins, which was a very great one in an Age leſs corrupt than this in which we live, was forc'd to ſell to the Town of *Nuremberg* his Rights of Viſcount, excepting only the Title, and of two Foreſts which he poſſeſs'd in the Neighbourhood.

He was a Prince of the Empire, Count Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, and was deſcended in a direct and Male Line from *Eitel Frederick* Count of *Hohenzollern*, who had marry'd *Elizabeth* of *Habſpurg*, Siſter to the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, who made him Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, after the Family of the firſt Burgraves was extinct, by the Death of *Henry* laſt Count of *Vohburg*, about the Year 1274. Of this Marriage were born *Frederick*; *Eitel Frederick*, from whom deſcend the Counts and Princes of *Hohenzollern*; and *Frederick* II, Biſhop of *Conſtance*.

Frederick I. had ſeveral Children, but none of them but *Frederick* II. left Poſterity. He follow'd the Party of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, againſt *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, whom he made a Priſoner with his own Hand in the Battel of *Muldorf*. He marry'd *Margaret* the Daughter of *Ulric* Duke of *Carinthia* and Count of *Tirol*; and left *John*; *Bertold*, Commander of the Teutonick Order, and Chancellor to the Emperor *Lewis* IV; *Frederick*, who was nominated to the Biſhoprick of *Ratisbone*, and *Albert*, who had no Iſſue. *John*, the Son of *Frederick* II, bought the Town of *Culmbach*, and dy'd *October* 7, 1357, leaving by *Elizabeth* of *Henneberg* *Frederick* III, who marry'd for firſt Wife *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Frederick the Severe*,

* *The Marquiſate enters into the Houſe of* Anhalt.
† *The Marquiſate enters into the Houſe of* Bavaria.
‡ *It enters into the Houſe of* Luxemburg.
* *It enters into the Houſe of* Miſnia.

Marquiſs

Marquiſs of *Miſnia*, and of *Mahault* of *Bavaria*; and for ſecond, *Ingelburg*, the only Daughter of *Lewis the Roman*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*. He had by this ſecond Marriage only Daughters, but he had by the firſt *John* II, who left by *Margaret* of *Luxemburg*, Daughter to the Emperor *Charles* IV, only *Elizabeth*, Wife to *Everard* IV, Count of *Wirtemberg*; *Frederick* IV, who ſucceeded his Father; *Elizabeth*, who was marry'd to *Rupert* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and Emperor; and *Beatrix*, the Wife of *Albert* III, Son to *Albert the Wiſe*, Duke of *Auſtria*.

Frederick IV, the Son of *Frederick* III, and of *Elizabeth* of *Miſnia*, his firſt Wife, acquir'd in the Year 1411, the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* from the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, but it was only by the way of Mortgage. On *April* 30, 1415, he was declar'd Elector by the Conſent of the whole Electoral College, but he did not take the Inveſtiture thereof till *April* 10, 1417, at the Council of *Conſtance*. The Emperor then made him pay a very conſiderable Sum, and reſerv'd to himſelf and to his Brother the Privilege of vacating the Agreement, by reimburſing him, and the Condition that it ſhould return for want of Male Iſſue. He marry'd *Iſabella* the Daughter of *Frederick* Duke of *Bavaria* at *Landſhut*, and of *Magdalen Viſconti*, and dy'd *September* 21, 1440, leaving four Sons and eight Daughters. *John*, his eldeſt Son, renounc'd his Right of Primogeniture, and reſign'd the Electoral Dignity, to which he was call'd by the *Golden Bull*, to *Frederick* his Brother. He had no Iſſue Male, ſo that the Renunciation being perſonal, and not extending to his Poſterity, there was no body could pretend an Intereſt to oppoſe it; and ſo he confirm'd, by his Example, what we have ſaid elſewhere; to wit, That the eldeſt Brother can renounce the Right which the Law gives him, provided it be without Prejudice to his Children, whom the ſame Law entitles to the Succeſſion of the Electoral Dignity, not as Heirs to the Father, but by virtue of the Inveſtiture of the firſt Acquirer.

Frederick, ſecond Son to *Frederick* I, ſucceeded his Father in the Electoral Dignity. He was but 21 Years old when he was made Protector of the Council of *Baſil*, and it was he that acquir'd to the Houſe of *Brandenburg* the Rights it has ſince gain'd over the Dutchy of *Pomerania*. The Princes of *Pomerania*, as well thoſe of the Branch of *Wolgaſt*, as thoſe of *Stettin*, began to acknowledge the Empire but in the Time of the Emperor *Frederick* I, who erected this Province into a Dutchy, in favour of *Boguſlas* I, and *Caſimir* his Brother, who were Sons to *Wartiſlas* I; who did him Homage therefore according to the uſual Manner and Form. But their Succeſſors having neglected to pay theſe *Devoirs* to the Empire for a long Courſe of Years, *Lewis the Roman*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, Son to the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, begg'd the Confiſcation of the Dutchy of his Father. The Pretenſions which he founded on this Confiſcation, paſs'd with the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* into the Houſe of *Luxemburg*, and afterwards into that of *Hohenzollern*. *Frederick* II. was for purſuing them, on the Occaſion of the Death of *Otho*, laſt Duke of *Pomerania* at *Stettin*, of the Poſterity of *Otho* the younger Son of *Barnim* I, who dying without Iſſue, in the Year 1464, *Frederick*, relying on the Tranſaction at *Franckfort* on the *Oder*, in the Year 1338, between *Lewis the Roman* and *Barnim* III. Duke of *Pomerania*, obtain'd the Inveſtiture thereof from the Emperor *Frederick* III. But when he was for taking Poſſeſſion thereof, *Eric* and *Wartiſlas* X, Dukes of *Pomerania*, oppos'd the ſame, and oblig'd him to come to an Accommodation, by which the Dukes of *Pomerania* allow'd him to take the Title and the Arms of *Pomerania*. It was alſo mention'd in the ſame Treaty, That for want of Male Iſſue in the Houſe of *Pomerania*, the Princes of *Brandenburg* ſhould ſucceed therein; and in effect he receiv'd the Inveſtiture thereof, jointly with the Dukes of *Pomerania*, from the ſame Emperor *Frederick*. Our Elector of the ſame Name was betroth'd to *Avoye*, the Daughter of *Uladiſlas* King of *Poland*, and was on this Conſideration call'd to the Crown: But *Avoye* dying before the Marriage was conſummated, he would not accept of it. He had by *Catherine*, the Daughter of *Frederick the Warrior*, Elector of *Saxony*, but two Sons, who dy'd young; and two Daughters.

The third Son of *Frederick*, firſt Elector of *Brandenburg*, of the Houſe of *Hohenzollern*, was nam'd alſo *Frederick*, and left only two Daughters; but *Albert*, his fourth Son, left Poſterity. He was born *November* 24, 1414, and ſucceeded his Brother in the Electoral Dignity. *Æneas Sylvius*, who was ſince Pope under the Name of *Pius* II, calls him the *German Achilles* and the *Teutonick Ulyſſes*, on the Account of his Courage, Prudence, and Eloquence. He made War againſt the Dukes of *Pomerania*, and oblig'd them to do him Homage for the Town of *Stettin*; and it was he that commanded the Imperial Army againſt *Charles the Bold*, Duke of *Burgundy*, who had beſieg'd *Nuys*. After he had given great Proofs of his Conduct, on ſeveral Occaſions, he was for giving one of his Moderation, by reſigning the Government of his Eſtates, and the Adminiſtration of his Affairs, to his Son; tho' at the Age of ſixty two Years, which he had ſeen when he made this Reſignation, *June* 25, 1476, he had ſtill Vigour enough left to govern in Perſon. He reſerv'd to himſelf the Electoral Dignity, which he was reſolv'd to keep till his Death. And in effect being at *Franckfort*, at the Election of *Maximilian* I, he dy'd there *March* 11, 1486, at ſeventy two Years of Age. He marry'd for firſt Wife *Margaret*, the Daughter of *James* Marquiſs of *Baden*, and of *Margaret* of *Lorrain*, by whom he had *John*: And he had for ſecond Wife *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick the Peaceable*, Elector of *Saxony*, and of *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, by whom he had *Frederick*, who had his Portion in *Voitland*, and whoſe Poſterity brought *Pruſſia* into the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, as we ſhall ſee when we ſhall have made an end to ſpeak of the Electors.

John, the eldeſt Son of *Albert*, and of *Margaret* of *Baden*, ſucceeded his Father in the Electoral Dignity, and marry'd *Margaret* the Daughter of *William* (who was Son to *Frederick* I. Elector of *Saxony*) and of *Anne* of *Auſtria*, by whom he left, when he dy'd, in the

Year 1499, 1. *Joachim*, who ſucceeded his Father; 2. *Albert*, who was born *June* 28, 1490. He was firſt a Canon of *Triers* and *Mayence*. In the Year 1513, he was choſen Biſhop of *Halberſtad*, and Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*. *March* 9, 1514, he was choſen Archbiſhop and Elector of *Mayence*, and *Auguſt* 1, 1518, he was made Cardinal, by the Title of *S. Chryſogone*, which he afterwards chang'd for that of St. *Peter ad Vincula*. Altho' he was but nine and twenty Years old at the Time of the Election of *Charles* V, yet nevertheleſs he had the greateſt Hand therein, and brought the reſt of the College into his Sentiments. He dy'd during the Diet of *Augsburg*, *September* 24, 1545. Of *John*'s two Daughters, the eldeſt, whoſe Name was *Anne*, marry'd in 1502, *Frederick*, Duke of *Holſtein*, who was afterwards King of *Denmark*; and the other, whoſe Name was *Urſula*, was marry'd in 1506, to *Henry the Peaceable*, Duke of *Mecklenburg*.

Joachim I, the eldeſt Son of *John*, was born *February* 21, 1484. So that as he could not be above ſixteen Years old when his Father dy'd, the States of the Countrey were for offering the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Marquiſate to *Frederick* Marquiſs of *Anſpach*, his Unkle, but he adviſ'd his Nephew to conſult the Opinion of the other Electors. Thereupon the Elector of *Mayence* ſent him Word, that the Article of the *Golden Bull*, which gives the Guardianſhip of the Elector, during his Minority, to the neareſt Relation by the Father's ſide, till he has attain'd eighteen Years complete, related to the Election only, and what depends thereon; but that his Age ought not to hinder him from taking upon him the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of his State. He re-united to his Eſtates that part of the Marquiſate which is between the *Oder* and *Poland*, and is call'd the *New Marc*. *Lewis* of *Erlichauſen*, Great Maſter of the *Teutonick* Order in *Pruſſia*, had formerly mortgag'd it to *Frederick* II. Elector; but *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, great Maſter of the ſame Order, perfected the Alienation thereof in favour of *Joachim*, in the Year 1517, and yielded it up entirely, to be hereditary in the Houſe of *Brandenburg*. In the Year 1524, he join'd thereto the Earldom of *Rupin*, by Right of Fief, and for want of Iſſue Male. It was he alſo who, by the Mediation of *Eric* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and of *Albert* Duke of *Mecklenburg*, concluded the laſt Tranſaction with the Dukes of *Pomerania*; which contain'd, That for the future the Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg* ſhould not hinder the Dukes of *Pomerania* from receiving the Inveſtiture from the Emperor, but that the Dukes ſhould alſo ſuffer the Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg* to be compris'd in the ſame Inveſtitures, in order to ſucceed in *Pomerania* when the Male Line ſhould happen to fail in that Family; and that to this Effect, the three Eſtates of this Province ſhould be oblig'd to take the Oath of Fidelity to the Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg*, and to renew the ſame at every Change of Lords, that he might be entitl'd to the Succeſſion upon Occaſion. He was preſent at the Election of the Emperor *Charles* V, but he had more Affection for King *Francis* I, with whom he held always a very good Correſpondence, as well as with the Pope *Leo* X. He marry'd, in the Month of *May*, 1502, *Elizabeth* the Daughter of *John* King of *Denmark*, and of *Chriſtina* of *Saxony*, and dy'd *July* 11, 1535, leaving Iſſue, 1. *Joachim* II, who ſucceeded his Father; 2. *John*, who left by *Catherine* of *Brunſwick* only two Daughters; 3. *Anne*, who was marry'd to *Albert* III. Duke of *Mecklenburg*; 4. *Elizabeth*, the Wife of *Eric* Duke of *Brunſwick*, and by a ſecond Marriage of *Poppon* XVIII. Count of *Henneberg*; 5. *Margaret*, marry'd to *George* Duke of *Pomerania*, and by a ſecond Match to *John* Prince of *Anhalt*.

Joachim II. was born *January* 9, 1503. He reform'd Religion in the Marquiſate, and receiv'd the Communion himſelf under both Kinds, *November* 1, 1539. He was appointed General of the Army which the Empire ſent againſt the *Turks*, in the Year 1542, and he follow'd the Emperor *Charles* V's Party againſt the Confederates of *Smalcalden*: But he underhand favour'd that of *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, againſt the ſame Emperor, on Account of the ill Treatment he dealt to *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, contrary to the Promiſe he had ſent him by our Elector. After that, he renew'd in 1551, the hereditary Alliance with the Houſes of *Saxony* and *Heſſe*. The Emperor *Ferdinand* I. ſet him in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Croſſen* in *Sileſia*; and his Brother-in-Law, *Sigiſmund Auguſtus* King of *Poland*, confirm'd to him that of the Dutchy of *Pruſſia*. It was he that began the Fortifications of *Spandau*, but they were not finiſh'd but under *John George* his Son, by *Francis Giramella*, and the Count *de Linares*. He alſo built the ſtately Palace, which is to be ſeen at this Day, cover'd with Braſs, at *Berlin*. He was preſent at the Confirmation of the Election of *Ferdinand* I, and elected, with his Collegues, *Maximilian* II. his Son. He dy'd *January* 2, 1571, of Poyſon. He had marry'd for firſt Wife *Magdalen*, the Daughter of *George the Rich*, Duke of *Saxony*, and of *Barbe* of *Poland*; and for ſecond, *Avoye*, Daughter to *Sigiſmund* King of *Poland*, by *Barbe* of *Sepuſe*. He had by the firſt, amongſt other Children, *John George*, and *Frederick* Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, and Biſhop of *Halberſtad*, who dy'd in the firſt Year of his Pontificate; and by the ſecond, *Sigiſmund*, who ſucceeded his Brother in the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*.

John George, the eldeſt Son of *Joachim* II, was born *September* 11, 1525, and ſucceeded to his Father in the Electoral Dignity, *An.* 1571. The Memory of this Prince is ſtill in Veneration in the Countrey, on account of the numerous and illuſtrious Poſterity he left, as well in the Marquiſate and Electorate of *Brandenburg*, as in *Franconia* and *Voitland*, where his Poſterity reign ſtill at this Day. His firſt Wife was *Sophia*, Daughter to *Frederick* II, Duke of *Brig* and *Lignitz*, and to *Sophia* of *Brandenburg*; by whom he had *Joachim Frederick*, who ſucceeded him in the Electoral Dignity. He marry'd for ſecond Wife *Sabina*, the Daughter of *George the Pious*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* at *Anſpach*; and of *Avoye*, of *Munſterberg*; by whom he had ſeveral Children, but they all dy'd young, excepting three Daughters, who were marry'd; to wit, *Ermuda* to *John Frederick*, Duke of *Pomerania* at *Stettin*; *Anne Mary* to *Barnim*, alſo Duke of *Pomerania* at *Stettin*; and *Sophia* to *Chriſtian* I, Elector of *Saxony*. He had by *Elizabeth*,

Elizabeth, the Daughter of *Joachim Erneſt*, Prince of *Anhalt*, and of *Elizabeth* of *Barby* his third Wife; *Chriſtian*, who had his Portion at *Bareith* and *Culmbach*; *Joachim Erneſt*, who had his at *Anſpach*, and have both left Poſterity; *Frederick*, *George Albert*, *Sigiſmund John*, and *John George*, who dy'd without Iſſue; *Magdalen*, Wife to *Lewis*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*; *Agnes*, marry'd to *Philip*, Duke of *Pomerania* at *Wolgaſt*; and by a ſecond Match to *Francis Charles*, Duke of *Saxe-Lauemburg*; *Elizabeth Sophia*, who was marry'd to *Janus Radzivil*, Duke of *Birczé*, &c. and afterwards to *Julius Henry*, Duke of *Saxe-Lauemburg*; *Dorothea Sibylla*, marry'd to *John Chriſtian*, Duke of *Lignits*. *John George*, the Father of all theſe Children, dy'd *January* 8, 1598.

Joachim Frederick, Elector of *Brandenburg*, Son to *John George*, by *Sophia* of *Lignits*, his firſt Wife, was born *January* 27, 1546. Whilſt his Father was ſtill living he was was nominated to the Biſhopricks of *Havelberg* and of *Libus*; and ſucceeded his Unkle in the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*. He ſucceeded in the Electoral Dignity in the Year 1598; and dy'd *July* 18, 1608. He had marry'd on *January* 8, 1570, *Catherin*, the Daughter of *John*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, his Great-Unkle by the Father's ſide, and of *Catherin* of *Brunſwick*; who departing this World on *September* 30, 1602, he marry'd for ſecond Wife *Eleonor*, the Daughter of *Albert Frederick* of *Brandenburg*, Duke of *Pruſſia*, and of *Mary Eleonor* of *Cleves*. He had by his firſt Wife; 1. *John Sigiſmund*, Elector; 2. *John George*, who was born on *December* 16, 1577: On *May* 20, 1592, he was choſen Biſhop of *Strasburg* by a Diviſion, againſt *Leopold*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*: On *July* 31, 1616, he was made Provincial Maſter of the Order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and had for Appennage or Portion the Dutchy of *Jagerſdorf* in *Sileſia*: On *June* 14, 1610, he marry'd *Eve Chriſtina*, the Daughter of *Frederick*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and of *Sibylla* of *Anhalt*; but he had no Children by her, and dy'd *March* 12, 1624: He was put in the Ban of the Empire, for having taken Arms againſt the Emperor in the beginning of the laſt Wars in *Germany*, for which Reaſon the Dutchy of *Jagerſdorf* was confiſcated from him: but the Elector of *Brandenburg* demands it as an Appennage, that ought to be reunited to his Demeſne; 3. *Auguſtus*, who dy'd at the Age of twenty one; 4. *Albert Frederick*, who dy'd at nineteen Years of Age; 5. *Joachim*, and, 6. *Erneſt*, who were Twins, and dy'd both without Iſſue, the firſt at ſeventeen Years of Age, and the other at thirty; 7. *Chriſtian William*, who was born *April* 28, 1587, he was nominated to the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg*, *April* 26, 1598; and marry'd on *January* 1, 1615, *Dorothy*, the Daughter of *Henry Julius*, Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, and of *Elizabeth* of *Denmark*, by whom he had in the Year 1616, *Sophia Elizabeth*, who was marry'd to *Frederick William* II, Duke of *Saxony* at *Altemburg*. This Prince fell into the Hands of the Imperialiſts at the taking of *Magdeburg*, on *May* 20, 1630, and was carry'd to *Vienna*; where he chang'd his Religion, and accepted the Office of Great-Huntſman to the Emperor: He marry'd for ſecond Wife, a Daughter of the Count *de Martinitz* in *Bohemia*, and is ſtill living; 8. *Anne Catherin*, marry'd to *Chriſtian* VI, King of *Denmark*, and Mother of the preſent King; and *Barba Sophia*, who was marry'd to *Frederick*, and was Mother to *Eberhard*, *Frederick* and *Ulrick*, Dukes of *Wirtemberg*. *Joachim Frederick* had by a ſecond Wife *Mary Eleonor*, who was marry'd in 1632, to *Philip Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Zimmeren*.

John Sigiſmund, Elector of *Brandenburg*, was born *November* 8, 1572; and ſucceeded in the Year 1608, to his Father in the Electoral Dignity: He marry'd on *October* 20, 1594, *Anne*, the Daughter of *Albert Frederick* of *Brandenburg*, Duke of *Pruſſia*, and of *Mary Eleonor* of *Cleves*. The Mother of *Anne* was eldeſt Daughter to *William*, Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Berg*; ſo that *John William*, his Brother, dying without Iſſue *March* 25. 1609, *John Sigiſmund*, who had marry'd the eldeſt Daughter of *Anne*, was for taking poſſeſſion of this large Inheritance in the Name of his Wife; but it it was conteſted with him by *Wolfgang William*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Neuburg*; who was Son to *Anne*, the ſecond Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Cleves*, and pretended to be preferr'd to his Couſin, as being the neareſt Male Heir of the laſt Duke of *Cleves*. At preſent the Heirs of thoſe two Princes have made a proviſional Partition of all the Inheritance; by which the Elector of *Brandenburg* enjoys the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and the Counties of *Marc* and *Ravenſberg*; and the Duke of *Neuburg*, the Dutchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, and the Lordſhip of *Raveſtein*, till ſuch time as the Cauſe ſhall be judg'd between the Parties. In 1610, *John Sigiſmund* ſign'd the Union that ſeveral Proteſtant Princes had enter'd into in *Germany*: In 1611, he did Homage to the King of *Poland* for the Dutchy of *Pruſſia*, and receiv'd the Inveſtiture thereof for himſelf, and his Male Deſcendents, as alſo for his Brothers, and their Iſſue Male, which had been granted before but to *Albert* and his Brothers, and their Deſcendents in a direct Male Line: In 1614, he made an End of reforming Religion, and made Profeſſion of that which the reform'd Churches teach in *France*, the Low Countries, and in *Switzerland*. The ſame Year he renew'd the Treaty of mutual Succeſſion with the Princes of *Saxony* and *Heſſe*: and in the Year 1618, he had a Fit of an Apoplexy, which turning to a Palſy, oblig'd him to yield up the Government of his Eſtates, and of the Electoral Dignity it ſelf, to his Son: He liv'd but a Month after this Reſignation, and dy'd *December* 23, 1619. He had by his Wife, 1. *George William*, who ſucceeded his Father; 2. *Joachim Sigiſmund*, who dy'd at thirteen Years of Age; 3. *John Frederick*; and, 4. *Albert Chriſtian*, who both dy'd young; 5. *Anne Sophia*, who was marry'd to *Frederick Ulrick*, Duke of *Brunſwick* at *Wolfembuttel*, and is ſtill living, but is retir'd to *Berlin* on the Account of her Indiſpoſition; 6. *Mary Eleonor*, marry'd to *Guſtavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, and Mother to Queen *Chriſtina*; 7. *Catherin*, the Wife of *Bethlehem Gabor*, Prince of *Tranſilvania*, and afterwards of *Francis Charles*, Duke of *Saxe-Lauemburg*; and, 8. *Agnes*, who dy'd young.

George William, Elector of *Brandenburg*, was born at *Berlin*, *November* 3, 1595; *John George* his Great-Grandfather, being ſtill alive: He

ſucceeded in 1619, to his Father in the Electoral Dignity, and he poſſeſs'd fine Qualities enough to make him be conſider'd in the Empire, if the War in *Germany* had not involv'd him in its Diſorders and Misfortunes, by the ill Conduct of a firſt Miniſter, to whom he had entruſted the Management of the Affairs of his State, under his Authority: He marry'd on *July* 14, 1616, *Elizabeth Charlot* of *Bavaria*, the Daughter of *Frederick* IV, Elector *Palatin*, and of *Louiſe Julian* of *Naſſau Orange*, who is ſtill living in the Dutchy of *Croſſen* in *Sileſia*, where ſhe has her Dowry; and dy'd *December* 1, 1640, leaving *Frederick William*, *Louiſe Charlott*, who marry'd *James* Duke of *Curland*; and *Avoye Sophia*, who was Wife to *William* V, Lantgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*.

Frederick William was born *February* 16, 1620, and ſucceeded his Father in the Electoral Dignity, *An.* 1640: He marry'd *Louiſe* of *Naſſau*, the Daughter of *Frederick Henry*, Prince of *Orange*, by whom he has *Charles Emile*, who was born *February* 16, 1655; and *Frederick*, who was born in *June* 1657. It is this Prince who is at this Day Elector of *Brandenburg*; and we ſhall ſpeak of him, after we have made known the other Princes of the ſame Houſe; amongſt whom the firſt is *Chriſtian*, * Son to *John George*, Elector of *Brandenburg*, by *Elizabeth* of *Anhalt*, his third Wife: He had for Portion *Culmbach* and *Bareith*; and marry'd on *April* 29, 1604, *Mary*, the Daughter of *Albert Frederick* of *Brandenburg*, Duke of *Pruſſia*; and dy'd *May* 1655. Of this Marriage was born, amongſt others, 1. *Erdman Auguſtus*, who came into the World *October* 29, 1615; and has marry'd *Sophia*, the Daughter of *Joachim Erneſt*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* at *Anſpach*, and of *Sophia* of *Solms*, by whom he has Children; among the reſt *Chriſtian Erneſt*, &c. 2. *George Albert*, who was born *March* 10, 1619; and has marry'd *Mary Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Philip*, Duke of *Holſtein* at *Glucsburg*; 3. *Anne Mary*, marry'd to *John Anthony* of *Cruman*, Prince of *Eggenberg*; and, 4. *Magdalen Sibylla*, marry'd to *John George*, preſent Elector of *Saxony*.

† *Joachim Erneſt*, Brother to *Chriſtian*, and ſecond Son to *John George*, Elector of *Brandenburg*, by *Elizabeth* of *Anhalt*, his third Wife, had for his Portion *Anſpach*. It was he that commanded the Army of the United Princes at the beginning of the laſt Wars in *Germany*; but with little Succeſs, and ſtill leſs Reputation: He marry'd on *October* 14, 1613, *Sophia*, the Daughter of *John George*, Count of *Solms*, by whom he left when he dy'd in the Year 1625, *Albert* and *Sophia*, who was marry'd to *Erdman Auguſtus*, Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* at *Culmbach*.

Albert was born *September* 28, 1629; and marry'd in 1642, for firſt Wife, *Henrietta Louiſe*, the Daughter of *Lewis Frederick*, Duke of *Wirtemberg* at *Montbeliard*: who dying in 1651, he marry'd for ſecond Wife *Sophia Marguerit*, the Daughter of *Joachim Erneſt*, Count of *Ottingen*. He has by his firſt Wife a Daughter, and by the ſecond, a Son nam'd *John Frederick*, born in the Year 1655.

‡ We have ſaid before, that *Albert*, Elector of *Brandenburg* had by *Anne* of *Saxony*, his ſecond Wife, a Son nam'd *Frederick*, who had his Portion in *Voitland*. It is true that his Poſterity is intirely extinct, and his Branch is reunited to the main Stock in the Perſon of the preſent Elector: but foraſmuch as it is requiſite to know how *Pruſſia* came into the Houſe of *Brandenburg*, we ſhall take notice that *Frederick* dy'd *May* 2, 1536; and had by *Sophia*, Daughter to *Caſimir* III, King of *Poland*, by *Elizabeth* of *Auſtria*; 1. *Caſimir*, the Father of *Albert*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf ſo much in the firſt Wars of the Proteſtants in *Germany*, and dy'd without Iſſue, *January* 8, 1557; 2. *George*, the Father of *George Frederick*, who dy'd *May* 6, 1603, without Iſſue; 3. *Albert*, Duke of *Pruſſia*; 4. *John*, who was Governor of *Valencia* for the Emperor *Charles* V; and marry'd *Germaine de Foix*, the Widow of *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*; and dy'd without Iſſue in the Year 1524; *Frederick*, who dy'd alſo without Iſſue in 1536; 6. *William*, Biſhop of *Riga* in *Livonia*; 7. *Gumbert*, Chamberlain to Pope *Leo* X; 8. *Elizabeth*, who marry'd *Erneſt*, Marquiſs of *Baden Dourlach*; 9. *Marguerit*, third Wife to *Boguſlas* X, Duke of *Pomerania*; 10. *Sophia*, marry'd to *Frederick* II, Duke of *Liguitz*; 11. *Anne*, who marry'd *Wenceſlas* III, Duke of *Theſſe*, &c.

Albert, third Son to *Frederick*, by *Sophia* of *Poland*, was elected in the Year 1511, Great-Maſter of the Teutonick Order in *Pruſſia*, after the Death of *Frederick* of *Saxony*. And in this Quality he made his Entry into *Koningſberg* on *November* 22. of the ſame Year, being then but one and twenty Years old. The King and the Senate of *Poland* approv'd his Election, but on this Condition, That he ſhould take an Oath of Fidelity to the Crown. *Albert* excus'd himſelf on the Injunction he ſaid the Pope and the Emperor had laid upon him to the contrary: and that he might be in a Condition to oppoſe the *Poles*, he deſir'd Succour from the Princes of the Empire, and borrow'd Money of his Friends; amongſt others of *Gualtier* of *Plettenberg*, Provincial Maſter of the Teutonick Order in *Livonia*, who by the Means of a Sum of Money, had freed himſelf from the Subjection and Dependence, which the Maſter of *Livonia* paid before to the Great-Maſter of *Pruſſia*. *Sigiſmund*, King of *Poland*, was at War then with the *Muſcovites* and the *Tartars*; ſo that *Albert* remain'd undiſturb'd for ſome Years. But *Sigiſmund* at laſt declar'd War againſt him in the Year 1519. However the Year following the Parties agreed upon a Truce of four Years, during which time the Emperor *Charles* V, *Lewis* King of *Hungary*, the Cardinals of *Saltsburg*, and of *Strigonia*, *George* Duke of *Saxony*, and the Biſhop of the five Churches in *Hungary*, ſhould endeavour to reconcile them, or elſe ſhould decide their Difference as Arbitrators. But the Truce being expir'd, without the Arbitrators offering to determin the Matter, *Albert*, who judg'd very well, that he could not hope for Succour, while the Emperor was at open War with *France*, and the *Turks* had got poſſeſſion of ſome part of *Hungary*, and that *Germany* it ſelf was harraſs'd by

* *Marquiſs of* Brandenburg *at* Culmbach. † *Marquiſs of* Brandenburg *at* Anſpach. ‡ *The Marquiſſes of* Brandenburg *Dukes of* Pruſſia.

an almoſt general Inſurrection; deſir'd *George* Marquiſs of *Brandenburgh* his Brother, and *Albert* Duke of *Lignits*, to endeavour to accommodate the Affair at the Court of *Poland*. They ſucceeded ſo well in their Negotiation, that *Albert* going himſelf to *Cracow*, concluded there his Treaty; by which it was agreed that the Eaſtern part of *Pruſſia* ſhould remain to him, with all the Towns, Caſtles, Burroughs, Appurtenances and Dependencies, to hold the ſame by the Title of a Dutchy, by Fealty and Homage to the King and the Crown of *Poland*. In this Inveſtiture were compris'd *Caſimir*, *George* and *John*, Brothers to *Albert*, and their lawful Male Iſſue, on Condition it ſhould return to the Crown for want of Males: For which the States of the Province gave their Letters, which they call *Reverſales*, in good Form. The ſaid Treaty, which was ſign'd *April* 8, 1525, contain'd moreover, that the Duke of *Pruſſia*, as firſt *Palatin* of *Poland*, ſhould have the firſt Place in the Diets and Aſſemblies, except in thoſe which are held for the Election of a King. In the Year 1526, he marry'd *Dorothy* the Daughter of *Frederick* I, King of *Denmark*, by *Anne* of *Brandenburg*, from whence *Gualtier* of *Cronenburg*, who had procur'd himſelf to be ſubſtituted in his Dignity of Great Maſter, took occaſion to complain to the Emperor *Charles* V, who being at *Augſburg* in the Year 1530, repeal'd and annull'd all that *Albert* had done with the King of *Poland*, pretending that *Pruſſia* being a Member and Fief of the Empire, the King of *Poland* could not diſpoſe thereof, and that the Great Maſter of the Teutonick Order, as a Prince of the Empire, could not withdraw himſelf from the Obedience which he owes him. The Chamber of *Spires* likewiſe took Cognizance of this Affair, and put *Albert* in the Ban of the Empire in the Year 1532. The King of *Poland* made preſſing Inſtances to try to get the Proſcription repeal'd, and ſent, for that purpoſe, *Staniſlaus Laſcus* to the Diet conven'd at *Augſburg* in 1548: but he could obtain nothing. As on the other ſide the States of the Empire could not put their Decree in Execution. But the Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg* have ſince that time maintain'd themſelves in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of *Pruſſia*, under the Protection of the Crown of *Poland*. At this Day, and by the Treaty the Elector of *Brandenburg* has made lately with the King and the Crown of *Poland*, he poſſeſſes this Province in full Sovereignty. *Albert* firſt Duke of *Pruſſia* marry'd for ſecond Wife *Anne Mary*, the Daughter of *Eric* the elder Duke of *Brunſwick*, and of *Elizabeth* of *Brandenburg*, and dy'd *March* 19, 1568. He had by his firſt Wife ſeveral Children, who all dy'd young except two Daughters, the one of which did not marry; and the other, nam'd *Anne Sophia*, was marry'd *October* 24, 1555, to *John Albert* Duke of *Mecklenburg*. By his ſecond Wife he had *Albert Frederick*, who ſucceeded in the Dutchy of *Pruſſia*, and marry'd on *October* 14, 1573, *Mary Eleonor*, the eldeſt Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Juliers*, of *Cleves* and of *Berg*, &c. and of *Mary* of *Auſtria*, by whom he had amongſt others *Anne* his eldeſt Daughter, who marry'd in the Year 1594, *John Sigiſmund*, Grandfather to the Elector of *Brandenburg* who is now living.

* By what we have here ſaid it is eaſy to judge in what Conſideration a Prince ought to be, who poſſeſſes ſo many Principalities, and ſuch a vaſt extent of Provinces, that within a ſmall matter he can traverſe all *Germany* from Weſt to Eaſt, without going out of his own Eſtates. But his Intereſt will be beſt known, and what will be his Sentiments in all likelihood in the next Diet, by the account we ſhall give of his Neighbours; who are, on the ſide of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and thoſe Provinces that depend thereon, the States of the United Provinces; the King of *Spain* as Duke of *Brabant* and Lord of the upper part of *Guelders*; the Elector of *Cologn*, as Archbiſhop, as well as Biſhop of *Liege*; the Duke of *Neuburg*; the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; the Biſhops of *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, and the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Luneburg*, who are alſo his Neighbours on the ſcore of the Principalities of *Minden* and *Halberſtad*. He has a common Intereſt with the States; and the King of *Spain* conſiders him as well on that account, as for the Influence he can give to the Affairs of *Germany*. He holds a very good Intelligence with the Lantgrave, who is his Brother-in-Law, and with all the other Princes, except the Duke of *Neuburg*, who diſputes with him the Succeſſion of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. In the *Marc* of *Brandenburg* he has for Neighbours the ſame Dukes of *Brunſwick Luneburg*, the Duke of *Brunſwick* at *Wolfenbuttel*, the Princes of *Anhalt*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and his Brothers on the ſcore of the Archbiſhoprick of *Magdeburg* and of *Luſatia*: The King of *Bohemia* on the account of *Sileſia*, the King of *Poland*, the King of *Sweden*, as Duke of *Pomerania*, and the Duke of *Mecklenburg*. At preſent the Elector is very well with all theſe Princes, and one might ſay that he has no Enemies, ſecret or declar'd, did not the Treaty he has lately concluded with the King of *Poland* give ſome Umbrage to the *Swede*, who is alſo his Neighbour in *Pruſſia* on the ſide of *Livonia*, and even in the *Royal Pruſſia* it ſelf, by the Places the King has taken within theſe two Years from *Poland*.

† They who believe that the Elector of *Brandenburg* can hardly forget the ill Treatment he receiv'd at *Munſter*, when the beſt part of *Pomerania* was given to the Crown of *Sweden*; whereas this laſt might have taken ‡ its Satisfaction of thoſe againſt whom it had taken Arms; the late King of *Sweden* having proteſted that he would never demand that Province, to the Prejudice of the Rights the Houſe of *Brandenburg* might have thereto: They, I ſay, who make this Judgment of our Elector, do not know him. He gave up all his Reſentments to the Repoſe of the Empire, and he is too generous to entertain a ſecret Hatred, ſince he is in a Condition to declare himſelf even with Advantage. But if he does not blindly follow all the Sentiments of the King of *Sweden*, eſpecially thoſe he may have concerning the next Election, we muſt believe that he ſuffers himſelf to be carry'd away by the Motions of Tenderneſs which he has for his Countrey, and Prudence inſpires him, by repreſent-

* *The neighbouring Princes of the Elector of* Brandenburg. † *His Sentiments for the enſuing Election.* ‡ *Satisfaction.*

ing

ing to him all other Evils more tolerable than that of a Civil War,

The Elector of *Brandenburg* is the oldeſt Elector of the whole College, having ſucceeded his Father in the Electoral Dignity in the Year 1640; whereas all the others have attain'd thereto but ſeveral Years ſince. He cannot aſpire to the Imperial Dignity by reaſon of his Religion: and even if he could, he has too much Judgment to deſire it, at the Expence of his own Repoſe and of that of the Empire. But as he is at preſent powerfully arm'd, and and finds himſelf ſtrengthen'd by the Friendſhip of the moſt powerful Princes of thoſe Parts, there is no doubt but his Suffrage will be mightily conſider'd by thoſe who ſhall labour with him in the Execution of the Treaties of *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, and in the Preſervation of the Peace of the Empire.

* As for the Electoral Dignity of *Brandenburg*, it is hard to ſay at what time preciſely it was annex'd to the Marquiſate. For there is no likelihood at all that the Marquiſſes aſſiſted at the Elections, when the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* made ſtill a part of the Dutchy of *Saxony*, and did not hold immediately of the Empire; and it is certain that when the Marquiſate enter'd into the Houſe of *Anhalt*, its Princes were preſent at the Elections, not as Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg*, but as having otherwiſe the Quality of Princes of the Empire. It is alſo indubitable, that when afterwards the Marquiſate became the Portion of an elder Brother, and that the Principality of *Anhalt* remain'd to the younger, the Marquiſſes continu'd to be Princes, notwithſtanding they no longer poſſeſs'd their firſt Principality; and that as ſuch they were Electors with the other Princes of the Empire. But the Faculty of Electing was not as yet appropriated to certain Princes, to the Excluſion of the others; and that Right did yet beſtow a Dignity annex'd to the Principality; from which it was ſo far from being inſeparable, that even a few Years before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, and in the ſame Century, *Lewis*, the eldeſt Son of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, in reſigning the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg* to *Lewis the Roman* his Brother, reſerv'd to himſelf the Right of Electing; at a time when the Number of the Electors was not yet ſo well regulated as it was afterwards by the *Golden Bull*, which alſo annex'd the Electoral Dignity to the Houſe, and to the Principality of *Brandenburg*.

† To the Quality of Elector, and to the Marquiſate of *Brandenburg*, is annex'd the Office of hereditary Great Chamberlain of the Holy Empire. The *Annales Francorum* in the Year 782, call him *Cubicularius*, and in the Year 828, in ſpeaking of *Bernard* Count of *Barcelona*, *Camerarius*. *Gregory* of *Tours*, *Lib.* 4. *Cap.* 24. calls him *Præpoſitus Regalis Cameræ*, and he had the Adminiſtration of the Revenues and of the King's Demeſne. At preſent he has no Function, becauſe the Empire has no Demeſne that is not alienated; and the Emperor, as Emperor, has no Revenues of which he can give the Management to the Great Chamberlain.

‡ In this Quality he carries the Scepter, when he marches in Proceſſion before the Emperor, and he takes the Right Hand of the Elector *Palatin*: He therefore charges his Arms therewith, which are quarterly of all the Provinces he poſſeſſes, and over which he pretends a Right, bearing over the whole Azure a Scepter Or. It is not that the Electors of *Brandenburg* have always been in ſuch Poſſeſſion of this Right to bear the Scepter, but at the Coronation of the Emperor *Charles* IV, the Marquiſs of *Juliers* ſeiz'd it; but then the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* ſnatch'd it from him, and thereby gave occaſion to the Regulation by which the ſame Emperor ordain'd, that at the Coronation of the Emperor, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* ſhould alone have a Right to carry the Scepter; but that at other Ceremonies, as of Inveſtitures and other Solemnities, another Marquiſs might diſcharge this Function.

In the ſame Quality he pours out Water to the Emperor or King of the *Romans* to waſh with, at the Feaſt he gives to the Electors after his Coronation; in the manner preſcrib'd by the *Golden Bull*, which ſays, Chap. XXVII. §. 3. That after the Eccleſiaſtical Electors ſhall have bleſs'd the Imperial Table, the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg* ſhall draw near; and holding a Silver Baſon and Ewer of the Weight of twelve Marks, and a fine Napkin, he ſhall pour out Water to the Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, to waſh with. The Baſon and Ewer, as alſo the Horſe which the Elector of *Brandenburg* rode upon, belong to the Count of *Hohenzollern*, his perpetual and hereditary Vicar in the Office of Great Chamberlain.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* has the ſame Advantage which the Elector of *Saxony* enjoys, his Subjects not being allow'd to appeal from his Sentences, definitive or interlocutory: as well by virtue of the ancient Cuſtom, which was confirm'd by the *Golden Bull*, as by the ſpecial Privilege of the Emperor *Maximilian* II. in the Year 1568.

It is true that all the other Secular Electors have Prerogatives and Preeminencies which are peculiar to them; as for inſtance, the King of *Bohemia* has the Advantage to be a Crown'd Head: The Duke of *Bavaria* and the Duke of *Saxony* are Vicars of the Empire during the *Interregnum*, and the Count *Palatin* is the Emperor's Judge. But the Elector of *Brandenburg* has this Advantage over the King of *Bohemia*, that he has a Right to aſſiſt at the Collegiate Diets, and at all the other Aſſemblies, as well general as particular; and he is not afraid that the Princes of his Houſe will diſpute the Electoral Dignity with him, or that younger Branches ſhould be preferr'd to him, as in the Houſes of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*.

* *When the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the Marquiſate.*
‡ *His Rank and his Arms.*
† *The Prerogatives of the Elector of* Brandenburg.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Count Palatin *of the* Rhine, *Prince Elector of the Holy Empire.*

THE Elector *Palatin*, as being the eldeſt Branch of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, ought to hold the Rank which the *Golden Bull* gives him immediately after the King of *Bohemia*, and it is on his account that we ought to ſpeak of the Dukes and Dutchy of *Bavaria:* but as we were oblig'd to follow the Sentiments of all the States of the Empire, who have thought fit, for the ſake of the publick Tranquillity, to change that Order, and to transfer the Electoral Dignity from the eldeſt Branch to the younger; we have given the junior the Rank which he at preſent holds in the Electoral College. And foraſmuch as he is known under the Quality of Elector of *Bavaria*, notwithſtanding he holds the Place, and does the Functions of the *Palatin*; we have ſpoken of the Electorate, and of the Princes of *Bavaria* above in Chapter XIV, and have reſerv'd this for the Elector *Palatin*, who at this Day has his Rank after all the reſt.

* The Word *Palatin* is without doubt *Latin* originally, and it is certain that in the time of *Charlemagne*, and long after, the Count *Palatin*, or *Comes Palatii*, was the Judge of the Palace for ordinary Cauſes. This is what we might confirm by ſeveral authentick Teſtimonies, if the whole Treatiſes which *Hubert Thomas Leodius*, *Pithou*, and *Marq. Freherus* have written on this Subject, did not afford ſo many, that they may very well ſpare us this Trouble. This Dignity which had at firſt its Functions but only in the Emperor's Palace, and where the Court was, became in time hereditary in certain Families: as in one of the *Saxon* Branches; in that of *Wittelſpach* in *Bavaria*; in that of *Tubingen* in *Suabia*, &c. which had all their Counts *Palatins*. And it continu'd therein till thoſe being re-united to more conſiderable Principalities, this Title was loſt every where elſe but in the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*.

The Province which is at this time call'd by that Name, and which extends on the Weſtern ſide from the Dutchy of *Deuxponts* as far as *Franconia* and the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg* towards the Eaſt, and from the *Mein* towards the North, as far as *Alſace* on the South ſide, had no Advantage over the other *Palatinates* about five or ſix hundred Years ago, and it made part of *Franconia*, as *Wittelſpach* of *Bavaria*, and *Tubingen* of *Suabia*; but it began to diſtinguiſh it ſelf from the others, under the Emperor *Frederick* I, who gave the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine* to *Conrade* of *Suabia*, his Brother by the Father's ſide, who had marry'd *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Herman*, the laſt Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*. By this Marriage he had *Clementia* his only Daughter, who was marry'd to *Henry* of *Saxony*, the Son of *Henry the Lion*, and Brother to the Emperor *Otho* IV, who by this means ſucceeded in the *Palatinate:* but he left alſo but one only Daughter, who marry'd in the Year 1215, *Otho the Illuſtrious*, Son to *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*. We have ſhewn elſewhere, that this *Otho* deſcends in a direct and Male Line from *Otho* Count of *Schiren*, and and that he left two Sons; to wit *Henry*, whoſe Poſterity fail'd in *Otho*, who dy'd in the Year 1335; and *Lewis*, common Father to all the Dukes of *Bavaria*, and all the Counts *Palatins* of the *Rhine* who are now living.

Lewis, the eldeſt Son of *Otho the Illuſtrious*, and of *Agnes* of *Saxony*, Heireſs of the *Palatinate*, was born *April* 3, 1229, and had for Portion the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, and part of the *Upper Bavaria*. He marry'd for firſt Wife *Mary*, the Daughter of *Henry* II, Duke of *Brabant*, and of *Mary* of *Suabia*, whom he caus'd to be beheaded on *January* 11, 1256, for Suſpicion of Adultery, without ſo much as giving her a Hearing, and with ſo much Precipitation, that he caus'd a young Lady to be kill'd at the ſame time, who was a Confident of the Dutcheſs, made her Woman be flung Headlong from the top of a Tower, and the Traitor who brought him the falſe Report, to be knock'd on the Head. This Execution gave him the Name of *Severe:* But he was ſo ſorry for it, that he made Reparation to the Brother of the Dutcheſs; and to juſtify her Memory, he built the Convent of *Furſtenfeld*, where the following Verſes are ſtill to be ſeen at this Day.

Conjugis innocuæ fuſi monumenta cruoris;
Pro culpa pretium templa ſacrata vides.

He marry'd for ſecond Wife *Anne* the Daughter of *Conrade* Duke of *Maſſovia*, by whom he had no Iſſue: and for third *Mahault*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Rodolphus* I, and of *Anne* of *Hohenberg*. His Reputation was ſo great in the Empire, that the Princes not being able to agree in the Choice of an Emperor during the Diviſion between *Alfonſus* King of *Caſtile*, and *Richard* of *Cornwal*, they refer'd themſelves to *Lewis* Duke of *Bavaria*, who nominated *Rodolphus* of *Habſpurg*, whoſe Daughter he afterwards marry'd. He dy'd *February* 2, 1295, leaving Iſſue *Rodolphus*, from whom ſprung the Electors *Palatins*; *Lewis* Emperor and Duke of *Bavaria*, of whoſe Poſterity we have ſpoken elſewhere; *Mahault*, marry'd to *Otho the Severe*, who was Son to *John* Duke of *Lunenburg*; *Anne*, third Wife to *Henry the Infant*, firſt Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; and *Agnes*, who was marry'd to *Henry* Marquiſs of *Landſberg*.

* *The Origin of the* Palatinate.

Rodolphus, the eldeſt Son of *Lewis the Severe*, and of *Mahault* of *Habſpurg*, his third Wife, was born *October* 4, 1274, and had for his Portion the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*, and part of the *Upper Bavaria*, which he ſhar'd with his Brother *Lewis*. But *Lewis*, who was but ſeven Years old when this Partition was made, oblig'd his Brother to enlarge his Portion, by a Treaty they made *An.* 1313. However this Accommodation did not ſo well reconcile their Minds, but *Rodolphus* oppos'd the Election of his Brother, and openly declar'd in favour of *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, his Competitor. *Lewis*, on his part, reſented theſe ill Offices, drove his Brother out of his Eſtates, and forc'd him to retire into *England*, where he dy'd in Exile, *April* 11, 1319. He had marry'd *Mahault*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, and of *Imagine* of *Limburg*, by whom he had *Adolphus*, who left Poſterity; *Radolphus* II, and *Rupert*, who had no Children; and *Mahault*, marry'd to *John* Count of *Spanheim*.

Adolphus, the eldeſt Son of *Rodolphus* I, and of *Mahault* of *Naſſau*, was born *September* 27, 1300; and made, in the Year 1329, a Treaty with the Emperor his Unkle, who was then at *Pavia*, which contain'd, That the Electoral Dignity ſhould for the future be alternative in the two Branches of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, to begin by the Offspring of *Rodolphus*, as being the eldeſt Branch: But this is what the Emperor *Charles* IV. had no Regard to, but ordain'd by the *Golden Bull* that it ſhould be inſeparable from the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*. It was ſaid in the ſame Treaty, That the Emperor ſhould reſtore to his Nephews that part of *Bavaria* which at preſent is call'd the *Upper Palatinate*, which has ever ſince remain'd to the *Palatins*, till the laſt War in *Germany*. He had by *Irmengard* of *Ottinguen*, *Rupert*, who had by *Beatrix* the Daughter of *Frederick* III, King of *Sicily*, and of *Eleonor* of *Anjou*, *Rupert* II, who ſucceeded in the Electoral Dignity, and was elected Emperor after the Depoſition of *Wenceſlas*, *An.* 1400. He dy'd *May* 18, 1410, leaving by his ſecond Wife, who was *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Frederick* III, Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, 1. *Lewis*, who left Iſſue; 2. *John*, who marry'd *Catherine* the Daughter of *Wartiſlas* VII, Duke of *Pomerania* at *Wolgaſt*, by whom he had, amongſt others, *Chriſtopher*, who was call'd to the Crown of *Sweden*, *An.* 1439, and dy'd *January* 6, 1448, without Iſſue, as well as all his Brothers; 3. *Frederick*, who had no Children; 4. *Otho*, Father to *Rupert* Biſhop of *Ratisbone*, to *Albert* Biſhop of *Straſburg*, to two other Sons who had no Iſſue, and to four Daughters; 5. *Stephen*, whoſe Poſterity is ſtill living; 6. *Margaret*, marry'd to *Charles* II, Duke of *Lorrain*; 7. *Elizabeth*, who was marry'd to *Frederick*, the third Son of *Leopold the Good*, Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*; and 8. *Agnes*, who marry'd *Adolphus* firſt Duke of *Cleves*.

Lewis III, the eldeſt Son of the Emperor *Rupert*, ſucceeded his Father in the Electoral Dignity. He was Vicar in the Empire, during the Journey the Emperor his Father took to *Italy*, and the Council of *Conſtance* deſir'd him to take Care of its Safety. He marry'd for firſt Wife *Blanche*, the Daughter of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Earl of *Darby*, who uſurp'd the Kingdom of *England* from *Richard* II, his Couſin-German; by whom he had *Rupert*, call'd the *Engliſh*, who dy'd without Iſſue in the Year 1426. He marry'd in 1418, for ſecond Wife, *Mahault*, the Daughter of *Amadeus* of *Savoy*, Prince of *Achaia*, and of *Catherine*, who was Daughter to *Amadeus* Count of *Geneva*, by *Mahault* of *Boulogne*, and dy'd *December* 30, 1436, leaving Iſſue, 1. *Lewis* IV; 2. *Frederick*, who was born *Auguſt* 1, 1425, and was ſirnam'd the *Victorious*, on account of the Battel he gain'd in the Year 1462, over *Ulric* Count of *Wirtemberg*; 3. *Charles*, Marquiſs of *Baden*, and *George*, Biſhop of *Metz*, his Brother. After the Death of his eldeſt Brother he ſeiz'd the Electoral Dignity, to the Prejudice of his Nephew, contrary to the Direction of the *Golden Bull*, and even againſt the Proteſtations of the Emperor *Frederick* III. But he agreed the Matter with his Nephew; and, the better to ſecure him the Succeſſion, he adopted him, and marry'd a Gentlewoman nam'd *Clare* of *Tettinguen*, by whom he had two Sons; *Frederick*, who dy'd before the Father in the Year 1474, and *Lewis*, from whom are deſcended the Counts of *Leiewſtein*, *Wertheim*, and *Rochfort*. *Trithemius* has compos'd a particular Treatiſe of the Life of this Prince, who dy'd *December* 12, 1476; 3. *Rupert*, who was choſen Archbiſhop of *Cologn* in the Year 1463, and was diſpoſſeſs'd by *Herman* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, in the Year 1480; 4. *Mahault*, marry'd to *Lewis* Count of *Wirtemberg*, and in a ſecond March to *Albert* of *Auſtria*, Brother to the Emperor *Frederick* III.

Lewis IV, eldeſt Son to *Lewis* III, by *Mahault* of *Savoy*, marry'd *Emilia*, the Daughter of *Albert* Elector of *Brandenburg*, and of *Anne* of *Saxony*, and dy'd *Auguſt* 13, 1446, leaving his Wife with Child of a Son, who was nam'd *Philip*.

Philip, the poſthumous Son of *Lewis* IV, Elector *Palatin*, and of *Emilia* of *Brandenburg*, marry'd, *March* 11, 1474, *Margaret*, Daughter to *Lewis the Rich*, Duke of *Bavaria*. He ſucceeded in the Electoral Dignity, and dy'd *March* 17, 1508. He had by that Marriage, 1. *Lewis* V, who was born *July* 2, 1478. He was preſent at the Election of the Emperor *Charles* V, and dy'd *March* 15, 1544, leaving no Iſſue by *Sibylla*, Daughter to *Albert* IV, Duke of *Bavaria*; 2. *Rupert*, who marry'd *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *George the Rich*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and of *Avoye* of *Poland*. By the Contract of Marriage, it was agreed, That *Rupert*, and his Wife who was an only Daughter, ſhould inherit all the Goods, moveable and immoveable, of *George*, who confirm'd the Contract by his Teſtament, of which he made *Lewis* XII, King of *France*, and *Uladiſlas*, King of *Poland*, Executors; but *Albert* IV, Duke of *Bavaria* at *Munichen*, who had marry'd *Cunegunda*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Frederick* III, maintain'd that *Bavaria*, being a Maſculin Fief, could not fall to the Diſtaff, and obtain'd the Inveſtiture thereof from the Emperor *Maximilian* I, his Brother-in-Law; who conſidering nevertheleſs, that the Electors *Palatins* had been very much wrong'd by the Treaty which the Emperor *Lewis* IV. had made with his Nephews, was for bringing the Parties to an Agreement, ſo that *Albert* was contented with one Third of the Inheritance of *George*, and left

the two other Thirds to *Rupert* for his Life; after which, his Heirs ſhould be oblig'd to reſtore another Third. But *Rupert* rejected theſe Conditions, and engag'd himſelf in a War, which made him be put in the Ban of the Empire; and he was unfortunate enough to fall into the Hands of the Emperor, who caus'd him to be poyſon'd, with his Wife and Son. His ſecond Son, nam'd *Otho Henry*, ſucceeded *Frederick* II, his Unkle, in the Electoral Dignity. The Emperor *Maximilian* I. reſtor'd him to that part of *Bavaria*, which the Duke of *Neuburg*, and the other Princes of the ſame Branch, poſſeſs at preſent. He had no Children, no more than *Philip* his Brother, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Courage and Conduct, of which he gave ſuch ſignal Proofs, in defending the City of *Vienna*, which the Emperor *Soliman* had beſieg'd in the Year 1529. He never marry'd, and dy'd *July* 4, 1541. 3. *Frederick* II, the third Son of *Philip*, was born *December* 9, 1482. At eighteen Years of Age he put himſelf in the Retinue of *Philip* of *Auſtria*, King of *Spain*; and, ſince that Time, did very great Services to the Emperors *Maximilian* I. and *Charles* V, particularly by commanding the Army of the Empire, while *Philip* his Brother defended the City of *Vienna*. He was rewarded with the great Pretenſions which *Dorothy*, Daughter to *Chriſtian* II, King of *Denmark*, brought him in Marriage. He ſucceeded in the Electoral Dignity, to the Prejudice of the Children of *Rupert*, his eldeſt Brother; but he had no Iſſue, and dy'd *February* 26, 1556. 4. *Philip*, who was elected Biſhop of *Friſingen* in the Year 1496, and of *Naumburg* in 1517, and dy'd in the Year 1540; 5. *George*, who was Biſhop of *Spires*; 6. *Henry*, who was choſen Biſhop of *Worms*, *An.* 1529, and the Year following he ſucceeded *Philip* of *Burgundy* in the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, the Temporal and Sovereignty whereof he ſold to the Emperor *Charles* V, *November* 15, 1527; 7. *John*, who was choſen Biſhop of *Ratisbone* in the Year 1507, and dy'd in 1538; 8. *Wolfgang*, who never marry'd, and dy'd *April* 4, 1558.

So all the Poſterity of *Lewis*, the eldeſt Son of the Emperor *Rupert*, failing with the Children of *Philip*, the *Palatinate* and the Electoral Dignity fell to the Deſcendents of *Stephen*, the laſt Son of the ſame Emperor, who had for Appennage the Town of *Zimmeren*, and marry'd *June* 16, 1410, *Anne*, the only Daughter and Heireſs of *Frederick* Count of *Veldents*. He dy'd in the Year 1451, and left Iſſue; 1. *Frederick*, who left Poſterity; 2. *Lewis* V, who form'd the Branch of *Deuxponts*; 3. *Rupert*, who was choſen Biſhop of *Strasburg*, but was forc'd to yield to his Competitor; 4. *John*, Biſhop of *Munſter* and Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*; 5. *Stephen*, Dean of the Cathedral Church of *Cologn*; 6. *John* II, Prebendary of *Strasburg*.

Frederick, the eldeſt Son of *Stephen*, was born in the Year 1417; and marry'd, in 1454, *Margaret d'Egmont*, Daughter to *Arnoul* Duke of *Geldre*, by *Catherine* of *Cleves*, and dy'd *November* 21, 1480, leaving Iſſue, 1. *John*, who had Offspring; 2. *Rupert*, Biſhop of *Ratisbone*; 3. *Stephen*, Prevoſt of the Church of *Cologn*; 4. *William*, Prebendary of *Triers*; 5. *Frederick*, Prebendary of *Cologn*.

John, the Son of *Frederick*, marry'd *Joan*, the Daughter of *John* Count of *Naſſau* at *Sarbrucken*, and dy'd 1509, leaving *John* II, who had Iſſue, and *Frederick*, who dy'd young.

John II. was born *March* 20, 1492, and marry'd for firſt Wife *Beatrix*, the Daughter of *Chriſtopher* Marquiſs of *Baden*, and of *Ottilia* of *Catzenelbogen*; who dying *May* 1, 1535, he marry'd for ſecond Wife *Mary Jaqueline* Counteſs of *Ottinguen*, and dy'd *May* 18, 1557: He had, by his firſt Wife, 1. *Frederick* III, Elector; 2. *George*, who had no Iſſue; 3. *Richard*, who dy'd alſo without Children; 4. *William*, who dy'd young, and ſeveral Daughters; amongſt the reſt *Sabina*, marry'd to *Lamoral* Count of *Egmont*, who was executed at *Bruſſels*, *An.* 1568; and *Magdalen*, who was marry'd to *Philip* Count of *Hanau*.

Frederick III, Son to *John* II, by *Beatrix* of *Baden*, was born *February* 14, 1515, and ſucceeded in the Electorate, *An.* 1559, as being the neareſt Relation, by the Father's ſide, of *Otho Henry*, and deſcended in a direct Male Line from *Stephen*, the youngeſt Son of the Emperor *Rupert*, and Brother to *Lewis* III, who was Great Grandfather to *Otho Henry*. In this Quality he aſſiſted at the Election of the Emperor *Maximilian* II, in the Year 1562. He had marry'd, *June* 12, 1537, *Mary* Daughter of *Caſimir* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, and of *Suſanna* of *Bavaria*; who dying *October* 31, 1567, he marry'd *April* 25, 1569, for ſecond Wife, *Emilia*, Daughter to *Humbert* III, Count of *Meurs* and *Neuar*, who was the Widow of *Henry* Baron of *Brederode*, by whom he had no Iſſue. He dy'd *October* 26, 1576, and had by his firſt Wife, 1. *Albert*, who dy'd young; 2. *Lewis* VI, Elector; 3. *Herman Lewis*, who was drown'd near *Bourges*, *July* 1, 1556, being fifteen Years old; 4. *John Caſimir*, who was born *March* 14, 1543, and was Adminiſtrator of the Electorate, during the Minority of *Frederick* IV: He led two Armies into *France*, to the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Navar* and of the Prince of *Conde*, in 1568 and 1575; and Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* honour'd him with the Order of the Garter: He dy'd *January* 15, 1592, leaving by *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Auguſtus* Elector of *Saxony*, and of *Anne* of *Denmark*, only one Daughter, nam'd *Dorothy*, who was marry'd to *John George* Prince of *Anhalt* at *Deſſau*; 5. *Chriſtopher*, who was kill'd in the Battel of *Mouck*, bearing Arms for the States of the Low Countries againſt the King of *Spain*, *April* 17, 1574, and left no Iſſue. *Frederick* III. had three other Sons, who dy'd young, and his Daughters were marry'd; to wit, the firſt, nam'd *Elizabeth*, to *John Frederick* II, Duke of *Saxony*; *Suſanna Dorothy* to *John William*, alſo Duke of *Saxony*, Brother to *John Frederick*; *Anne Elizabeth* marry'd *Philip* II, Lantgrave of *Heſſe* at *Rhinfels*, and in a ſecond Match *John Auguſtus* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Lutzelſtein*; and *Cunegunda Jacoba* marry'd *John*, Count of *Naſſau* at *Dillemburg*, Brother to *William* Prince of *Orange*.

Lewis IV, Elector *Palatin*, eldeſt Son to *Frederick* III, was born *July* 4, 1539, and marry'd in 1560, *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, and of *Chriſtina* of *Saxony*; who dying, *March* 11, 1582, he marry'd *July* 2, 1583, for ſecond Wife, *Anne* Daughter to *Edzard*

zard II, Count of *Ooſtfriſe*, by *Catherine* of *Sweden*; but he dy'd *October* 12, of the ſame Year. He had ſeveral Children by his firſt Wife, but they all dy'd young; except *Frederick* IV, who ſucceeded in the Electoral Dignity, and *Anne Mary*, marry'd to *Charles* Duke of *Summerland*, (who made himſelf King of *Sweden*) Father to *Guſtavus Adolphus*.

Frederick IV, Elector *Palatin*, Son to *Lewis* VI, was born *March* 5, 1574, and remain'd, during his Minority, under the Guardianſhip and Adminiſtration of *John Caſimir*, his Unkle, till the Year 1592. On *June* 14, 1593, he marry'd *Louiſe Julian*, the Daughter of *William* of *Naſſau* Prince of *Orange*, and of *Charlott* of *Montpenſier*, his third Wife, and dy'd *September* 18, 1610, leaving, 1. *Frederick* V, who ſucceeded in the Electorate; 2. *Philip Lewis*, who was born *November* 26, 1602, and marry'd, in 1632, *Mary Eleonor*, Daughter to *Joachim Frederick* Elector of *Brandenburg*, by *Eleonor* of *Pruſſia*; by whom he left when he dy'd, in the Year 1654, *Lewis-Henry-Maurice-Francis*, Duke of *Zimmeren*, and two Daughters; 3. *Louiſe Julian*, marry'd to *John* II, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, at *Deuxponts*, Adminiſtrator of the Electorate during the Minority of *Frederick* V; 4. *Catherine Sophia*, who is not marry'd, and is ſtill living; 5. *Elizabeth Charlott*, who was born *November* 7, 1597, and marry'd *July* 16, 1616, *George William* Elector of *Brandenburg*: She had alſo ſome other Children, who dy'd young.

Frederick V, Elector *Palatin*, the Son of *Frederick* IV, and of *Louiſe Julian*, of *Naſſau*, was born *Auguſt* 16, 1596. He was educated for ſome time at *Sedan*, under the Care of the Mareſchal *de Bovillon*, who had marry'd his Aunt by the Mother's Side. *February* 14, 1613, he marry'd *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *James* King of *Great Britain*, by *Anne* of *Denmark*. In the Year 1619, he was call'd to the Crown of *Bohemia*, but the Loſs of one ſingle Battel took all from him, and oblig'd him to retire into *Holland*. The juſt and victorious Arms of the late King of *Sweden* invited him to take a Journey into *Germany*, in the Year 1632; but the Loſs he ſuſtain'd, in the Perſon of that Great Prince, afflicted him in ſo ſenſible a manner, that he dy'd thereof a Fortnight after. He departed this Life at the Caſtle of *Mayence*, *November* 29, of the ſame Year. He has left ſeveral Children; to wit, three Sons, and as many Daughters: The Sons are, 1. *Charles Lewis*, Elector; 2. *Robert*, who was born *October* 17, 1619: This Prince had acquir'd great Reputation in Arms, and was in the Service of the King of *Hungary*; 3. *Edward*, who was born *October* 5, 1624, and marry'd *April* 24, 1645, *Anne* of *Gonzague*, the Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Mantua*, and of *Catherine* of *Lorrain*. The Daughters are, 1. *Elizabeth*, who was born *December* 26, 1618: This Princeſs never marry'd, and apply'd her ſelf wholly to the Study of the *Belles Lettres*; 2. *Louiſe Hollandine*, who was born *April* 18, 1622: She withdrew from the Queen of *Bohemia*, her Mother, under the Pretext of Religion, no body knowing what is become of her; 3. *Henriette*, who was born *July* 7, 1626: She has liv'd with the Electrix Dowager of *Brandenburg*, her Aunt.

Charles Lewis, the eldeſt Son of *Frederick* V, and of *Elizabeth* of *England*, was born *December* 22, 1617, and has marry'd ſince, in the Year 1650, *Charlotte*, the Daughter of *William* V, Lantgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, and of *Amelia* of *Hanau*, by whom he has Children; among the reſt, *Charles*, born *March* 3, 1651; *Louiſe*, born *May*, 1652, *&c.* It was in Conſideration of him, that the Deputies of the States of the Empire, aſſembled at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, created an eighth Electorate, by the Treaty which was concluded *October* 24, 1648; and it is this Prince who is at this Day in Poſſeſſion of the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity. We ſhall ſpeak of him hereafter, when we ſhall have made known the different Branches of this Family.

* We have hitherto ſpoken of the Electoral, and of a Branch that came out of it, and which took its Riſe in the Perſon of *Philip Lewis*, Brother to the late Elector, who has left but one Son, as we ſaid before, who takes the Quality of Duke of *Simmeren*. All the others came from *Lewis*, call'd the *Black*, the younger Son of *Stephen*, Son to the Emperor *Rupert*. *Lewis* had for his Share *Deuxponts*, and the County of *Veldentz*, and marry'd *Jean* of *Croy*, the Daughter of *Anthony* Count of *Porcean*, and of *Margaret* of *Lorrain*, by whom he had ſeveral Children; to wit, 1. *David*, who dy'd young; 2. *Gaſpar*, who marry'd *Emilia*, the Daughter of *Albert* Elector of *Brandenburg*, and of *Anne* of *Saxony*; but he diſmember'd himſelf, out of Rage to find himſelf impotent, for which Reaſon his Wife left him, and *Alexander*, his Brother, confin'd him as being mad; 3. *Alexander*, who left Iſſue; 4. *Albert*, Biſhop of *Strasburg*; 5. *Philip*, Prebendary of *Strasburg*; 6. *John*, Canon of *Cologn*; 7. *Sampſon*, who fell from a Tower, and dy'd on the Spot; and ſome Daughters.

Alexander marry'd *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Craft* or *Crato* V, Count of *Hohenlo*, and of *Helen* of *Wirtemberg*, and dy'd *October* 31, 1514, leaving Iſſue, 1. *Lewis*, who had Offſpring; 2. *George*, Prebendary of *Triers* and of *Cologn*; 3. *Rupert*, from whom deſcend the *Palatins* of *Lutzelſtein*, or of *la petite Pierre*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter; and ſome Daughters.

Lewis, the Son of *Alexander*, was born in 1502, and marry'd, *October* 10, 1525, *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *William the Eldeſt*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, by *Anne* of *Brunſwick*, and dy'd *December* 3, 1532, leaving *Wolfgang*.

Wolfgang, Son to *Lewis*, was born *September* 26, 1526. He ſucceeded, after the Death of *Otho Henry* Elector *Palatin*, by the Conſent of the Princes of the Electoral Line, in that part of *Bavaria* which the Emperor *Maximilian* I. had reſtor'd to the Children of *Rupert*, who dy'd in Priſon, whereof the Town of *Neuburg* on the *Danube* is Capital. He marry'd, *September* 6, 1544, *Anne*, the Daughter of *Philip* Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, and of *Chriſtina* of *Saxony*, and dy'd *June* 11, 1569, in his March to *France*, whither he was leading ſeven thouſand

* The Palatins of Deuxponts.

Foot,

Foot and five hundred Horſe, to the Aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Condé*, and of the Admiral *de Coligny*; leaving Iſſue *Philip Lewis*, from whom are deſcended the Dukes of *Neuburg*; 2. *John*, Duke of *Bavaria* at *Deuxponts*; 3. *Otho Henry*, who left only one Daughter, nam'd *Dorothy*, marry'd to *George John* II, Count *Palatin* of *Lutzelſtein*; 4. *Frederick*, who left no Iſſue; 5. *Charles*, who made a Branch, and his Poſterity live ſtill at *Birkenfeld*. He had alſo ſeveral Daughters, but moſt of them dy'd young; and the others did not marry very conſiderably.

Philip Lewis, the eldeſt Son of *Wolfgang*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Deuxponts*, and of *Anne* of *Heſſe*, was born *October* 2, 1547, and had for Portion *Neuburg*, and ſome other Towns on the *Danube*: He marry'd on *September* 27, 1574, *Anne*, the Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Berg*, &c. and of *Mary* of *Auſtria*; and dy'd *Auguſt* 12, 1614: He had by his Wife, beſides thoſe Children that dy'd young; 1. *Wolfgang William*; 2. *Auguſtus*, who had his Portion at *Sultzbach*; 3. *John Frederick*, who had his at *Hippolſtein*; 4. *Anne Mary*, marry'd to *Frederick William*, Duke of *Saxony* at *Altemburg*.

Wolfgang William, the eldeſt Son of *Philip Lewis*, and of *Anne* of *Juliers*, diſputed this rich Inheritance with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, as being the Son of a younger Daughter; whereas the Elector had only the Right of a Daughter of the eldeſt Daughter: He was born *October* 25, 1578; and marry'd on *November* 11, 1613, *Magdalen*, the Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and of *Renée* of *Lorrain*: who dying in the Year 1628, he marry'd for ſecond Wife, on *November* 11, 1631, *Elizabeth Charlotte* of *Bavaria*, the Daughter of *John* II, Duke of *Deuxponts*; and on *May* 7, 1651, he marry'd for third Wife *Mary Frances*, the Daughter of *Francis Egon*, Count of *Furſtemb.* and dy'd *March* 20, 1653; leaving Iſſue only one Son.

Philip William, the Son of *Wolfgang William*, and of *Magdalen* of *Bavaria*, was born *November* 14, 1615: He marry'd for firſt Wife *Catherin Conſtance*, the Daughter of *Sigiſmund*, King of *Poland*, and of *Conſtance* of *Auſtria*; who dying on *October* 9, 1651, without Children, he has ſince marry'd in the Year 1653, *Elizabeth Amelia*, the Daughter of *George*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe* at *Darmſtad*. They who had a Deſign to get the Imperial Dignity out of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, conſider'd this Prince, as him who might aſpire to the Empire upon the Duke of *Bavaria*'s Refuſal: but the little likelihood there was of Succeſs in this Negotiation, was the Cauſe it was not undertaken. And indeed he would have been excluded by all the ſecular Electors, who would never have ſuffer'd a Prince to be call'd to that Dignity, who had not wherewith to ſupport it.

Auguſtus, the ſecond Son of *Philip Lewis*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria* at *Neuburg*, was born *October* 2, 1582, and had his Portion at *Sultzbach*; and marry'd *July* 2, 1620, *Avoye*, the Daughter of *John Adolphus*, Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, and of *Auguſta* of *Denmark*: He dy'd *Auguſt* 14, 1632. His Children are, 1. *Chriſtian Auguſtus*, who was born *July* 16, 1622; and marry'd in 1653, *Amelia*, the Daughter of *John*, Count of *Naſſau*, the Widow of *Wrangel*, a *Sweditſh* General; 2. *Philip*, who was born *January* 19, 1630; and two other Sons, who dy'd young; 3. *Emilia Sophia*, who was marry'd to *Joachim*, Count of *Ottinguen*; 4. *Auguſta Sophia*, marry'd to *Wenceſlas Poppel*, Prince of *Lobkonitz*.

John Frederick, the third Son of *Philip Lewis*, was born *Auguſt* 23, 1587, and had for Portion *Hippolſtein*: He marry'd *November* 7, 1624, *Sophia Agnes*, the Daughter of *Lewis*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtad*, and of *Magdalen* of *Brandenburg*, by whom he had ſeveral Children, but they all dy'd young: ſo that this Branch was extinct when he dy'd, which he did on *October* 9, 1644.

John, ſecond Son to *Wolfgang*, and younger Brother to *Philip Lewis*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria* at *Neuburg*, was born *March* 18, 1550, and had for Portion *Deuxponts*: He marry'd on *October* 4, 1579, *Magdalen*, the Daughter of *William*, Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, and of *Mary* of *Auſtria*; and dy'd *Auguſt* 12, 1604. The Children who liv'd are, 1. *John* II, who left Iſſue; 2. *Frederick Caſimir*, who made a particular Branch of the *Palatins* of *Landsberg*; 3. *John Caſimir*, whoſe Poſterity is ſtill living in *Sweden*; 4. *Mary Elizabeth*, who marry'd on *May* 18, 1601, *George Guſtavus* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* at *Lautrec*.

John II, the Son of *John* I, was born *March* 26, 1584, and marry'd in the Year 1604, *Catherin*, the Daughter of *René* II, Duke of *Rohan*, and of *Catherin* of *Parthenay*: and on *May* 4, 1612, he marry'd for ſecond Wife *Louiſe Julian* of *Bavaria*, the Daughter of *Frederick* IV, Elector *Palatin*, and of *Louiſe Julian* of *Naſſau*, and dy'd *July* 30, 1635. He had by his firſt Wife only *Magdalen Catherin*, who was marry'd to *Chriſtian* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* at *Birkenfelt*: He had by the ſecond; 1. *Frederick*; 2. *Catherin Charlotte*, who was marry'd to *Wolfgang William* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Neuburg*; 3. *Julian Magdalen*, who was marry'd in the Year 1645, to *Frederick Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Landſperg*, her Couſin, and ſeveral other Daughters.

Frederick Caſimir, the ſecond Son of *John*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Deuxponts*, was born *June* 10, 1585, and had for Portion *Landſperg*: He marry'd in the Year 1616, *Emilia* of *Naſſau*, the Daughter of *William*, Prince of *Orange*; and dy'd *September* 20, 1645, leaving Iſſue *Frederick Lewis*.

Frederick Lewis, the Son of *Frederick Caſimir*, and of *Emilia* of *Naſſau*, was born *October* 17, 1619; and marry'd on *November* 17, 1645, *Julian Magdalen* of *Bavaria*, Daughter to *John* II, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Deuxponts*, by whom he has Children; amongſt others *Lewis William*, born *February* 13, 1648. As Couſin German of the late Prince of *Orange*, he was for being concern'd in the Guardianſhip of his Poſthumous Son; but it was given to the Mother and Grandmother, in Conjunction with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, Unkle of the Pupil by the Mother's ſide.

John Caſimir, the third Son of *John*, Duke of *Deuxponts*, was born *April* 12, 1589: And as he could not hope for any great Proviſion

in *Germany*, he retir'd to *Sweden*; where he marry'd on *June* 11, 1615, *Catherin*, the Daughter of *Charles*, King of *Sweden*; and had by her, 1. *Charles Guſtavus*; 2. *John Adolphus*, born in the Year 1629: He was Generaliſſimo to the King of *Sweden* his Brother, in *Pruſſia*; 3. *Chriſtina Magdalen*, who was born *March* 17, 1616; and marry'd in the Year 1642, to *Frederick*, Marquiſs of *Baden Dourlach*; 4. *Mary Enphroſyne*, who was born *February* 4, 1625; and marry'd in 1647, to the Count *Magnus Gabriel de la Garde*; 5. *Eleonor Catherin*, who was born *May* 27, 1626. She is at preſent the Relict of *Frederich*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, who was kill'd in *Poland*.

Charles Guſtavus of *Bavaria*, the Son of *John Caſimir*, was born *November* 8, 1622: He has ſince *June* 16, 1654, ſucceeded to the Crown of *Sweden*, by the Reſignation of Queen *Chriſtina*, his Couſin German; and marry'd in the Year following *Avoye Eleonor*, the Daughter of *Frederick*, Duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, by *Mary Elizabeth* of *Saxony*; by whom he had one Son.

We have ſaid before that *Charles*, the fifth Son of *Wolfgang*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Deuxponts*, and of *Anne* of *Heſſe*, made alſo a particular Branch: He was born *December* 4, 1560, and had for his Portion *Birkenfeld*: He marry'd on *February* 25, 1586, *Dorothy*, the Daughter of *William the Young*, Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Luxenburg*, and of *Dorothy* of *Denmark*; and dy'd on *December* 6, 1600; leaving Iſſue, 1. *George William*; 2. *Frederick*, who was born *October* 19, 1594, and dy'd in the Year 1626, without Iſſue; 3. *Chriſtian*; 4. *Sophia*, who has marry'd *Cruſt*, Count of *Hohenlo*.

George William, the eldeſt Son of *Charles*, was born *Auguſt* 6, 1591; and marry'd on *December* 1, 1616, *Dorothy*, the Daughter of *Otho*, Count of *Solms* at *Sonnenald*: He has marry'd for ſecond Wife *Julian*, *Rhingrave* of *Grumbach*, whom he has divorc'd; and for third, *Anne Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Lewis Eberhard*, Count of *Ottingen*. He had no Children but by his firſt Wife; to wit, *Charles Otho*, born *Auguſt* 26, 1625; and three Daughters; amongſt the reſt *Mary Magdalen*, who was marry'd to *Anthony Gunther*, Count of *Suartzenburg* at *Sunderhauſel*.

Chriſtian, the ſecond Son of *Charles*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Birkenfeld*, was born *Auguſt* 24, 1598; and has his Reſidence at *Biſchweiler*: He was General of the Horſe under the late King of *Sweden*; and marry'd for firſt Wife *Magdalen Catharin*, Daughter to *John* of *Bavaria*; who dying in the Year 1648, he marry'd the Year following for ſecond Wife, *Mary*, Counteſs of *Heiſenſtein*, the Relict of the Lantgrave of *Lenchtemberg*: He had by the firſt Match, 1. *Chriſtian*, born *June* 22, 1637; 2. *John Charles*, born *October* 17, 1638; 3. *Dorothy Catharin*, who marry'd *John Lewis*, Count of *Naſſau*, and two other Daughters.

Having ſhewn how the *Palatins* of *Neuburg*, *Sultzbach*, *Deuxponts*, *Landsberg*, *Sweden*, *Birkenfeld*, and of *Biſchweiler*, deſcend from *Lewis*, eldeſt Son to *Alexander*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Deuxponts*; we muſt give an Account of the Poſterity of *Rupert*, younger Son to the ſame *Alexander*, by *Margaret* of *Hohenlo*, who had for Portion *Lutzelſtein* or *La Petite-pierre*: He marry'd *Urſula*, the Daughter of *John* VII. *Rhingrave*, and of *Jean de Meurs*; and dy'd in the Year 1544, leaving *George John*, who left Iſſue, *Anne*, ſecond Wife to *Charles* II, Marquiſs of *Baden*, and *Urſula*, marry'd to *Wiric*, Count of *Falkenſtein*.

George John, the Son of *Rupert*, was born *April* 11, 1543. He built the Town of *Lutzelſtein*, which is commonly call'd in *France*, *La Petite-pierre*, in *Engliſh* the *Little Stone*. He marry'd *Anne Mary*, the Daughter of *Guſtavus* King of *Sweden*, and of *Margaret*, who was Daughter to *Abraham* Lord of *Loholm*, and dy'd on *May* 16, 1592, leaving Iſſue; 1. *George Guſtavus*, who has alſo left Iſſue; 2. *John Auguſtus*, who marry'd in the Year 1599, *Anne Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Frederick* III, Elector *Palatin*, by *Mary* of *Brandenburg*, Widow of *Philip*, Lantgrave of *Heſſe* at *Rhinfels*, and dy'd *September* 18, 1611, without Iſſue; 3. *Lewis Philip*, who was kill'd by the Splinter of a Lance in a Turnament at *Heidelberg*, on *October* 14, 1601; 4. *George John*, who alſo left Iſſue; 5. *Urſula*, ſecond Wife to *Lewis* Duke of *Wirtemberg*; 6. *Anne Margaret*, third Wife to *Richard* of *Bavaria*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Simmeren*.

George Guſtavus, the eldeſt Son of *George John*, was born *February* 8, 1564, and marry'd in the Year 1586, for firſt Wife, *Elizabeth*, the Daughter of *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Widow of *George Erneſt*, Prince of *Henneberg*. On *May* 18, 1601, he marry'd for ſecond Wife, *Elizabeth* of *Bavaria*, the Daughter of *John* I, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Deuxponts*, and of *Magdalen* of *Juliers*, and dy'd in the Month of *July*, 1634. His Children are, 1. *John Frederick*, who was born *January* 12, 1604; and had betroth'd *Sophia Catherin*, Daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Munſterberg*; but he dy'd before the Marriage, ſerving under the late King of *Sweden* in the Year 1632; 2. *Charles Lewis*, who was born *February* 5, 1607; and was wounded on *July* 17, 1631, in a Battel near *Werben*, being alſo in the Service of the King of *Sweden*, whereof he dy'd a few Days after; 3. *Leopold Lewis*, who was born *February* 1, 1625; and marry'd on *July* 4, 1648, *Agatha Chriſtina*, Daughter to *Philip Wolfgang*, Count of *Hanau*; and ſome Daughters, amongſt others *Anne Magdalen*, who was marry'd to *Henry Wenceſlas*, Duke of *Munſterberg*.

George John II, the younger Son of *George John* I, was born in the Year 1586; and marry'd in 1613, *Dorothy Suſanna*, Daughter to *Otho Henry*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* at *Sulſbach*, by whom he has Children.

Theſe are all the Princes of the Poſterity of *Rodolphus*, Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, eldeſt Son to *Lewis the Severe*, who are compris'd in the General Inveſtiture, and who may all hope for the Electoral Dignity, for default of Sons, or other nearer Relations; not by virtue of the Inveſtiture given to the firſt Elector of this Branch: becauſe it is the Duke of *Bavaria* who is at preſent inveſted therewith, but in Execution of the Treaty of *Munſter*; which contains, That *Charles Lewis*, and his Heirs and Relations by the Father's ſide, deſcended from *Rodolphus*, ſhall poſſeſs the eighth Electorate, which was then created, and ſhall enjoy the ſame according to

the Order of the *Golden Bull*. And according to this Conſtitution the Princes *Palatins* are intitl'd to the Succeſſion of the Electorate in the following Order; 1. The Sons of the preſent Elector; 2. His two Brothers ſucceſſively; and if they dye without Iſſue, 3. The Duke of *Simmeren*, Son to the Brother of *Frederick* V, Father to the Elector; 4. The Duke of *Neuburg*, as being the eldeſt of the Princes deſcended in a direct and Male Line from *Lewis the Black*, the younger Son of *Stephen*, and Brother to *Frederick*, from whom came the Electors; 5. The Count *Palatin* of *Sultzbach*, junior of the Houſe of *Neuburg*; 6. The Duke of *Deuxponts*, as the eldeſt of the Princes deſcended from *John*, the ſecond Son of *Wolfgang*, and younger Brother to *Philip Lewis*, Duke of *Neuburg*; 7. The Duke of *Lanſperg*, as coming from *Frederick Caſimir*, ſecond Son of *John*; 8. The King of *Sweden*, as being the eldeſt of the Princes deſcended from *John Caſimir*, third Son of the ſaid *John* Duke of *Deuxponts*; 9. The *Palatin* of *Birkenfeld*, as coming from *Charles*, fifth Son of *Wolfgang*, and third Brother of *Philip Lewis*, Duke of *Neuburg*; 10. The *Palatin Chriſtian* of *Biſchweiler*, his Brother; 11. And in the laſt place the *Palatin* of *Lautret*, and of *La Petite-pierre*, deſcended from *Rupert*, the younger Son of *Alexander*, and Brother to *Lewis*, the common Father of all the Dukes and *Palatins*, except thoſe of the Electoral Branch.

All theſe Princes take in their Titles the Quality of Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and of Duke of *Bavaria*; becauſe being of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, they all aſſume the Quality thereof, according to the Cuſtom of *Germany*, where the eldeſt Brothers are not diſtinguiſh'd from the younger by their Qualities. It is not to ſay but *Deuxponts* and *Neuburg* are Dutchies, but, as the Lords of thoſe Territories are Princes of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, by that ſort of Abbreviation is meant, that they are Dukes of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, dwelling at *Neuburg* or at *Deuxponts*: In the ſame Manner as the Title of Dukes of *Altemburg*, of *Weimar* and of *Gotha*, and that of Marquiſs of *Culmbach* and *Anſpach*, is given to thoſe Dukes of *Saxony*, who reſide at *Altemburg*, *Weimar*, and at *Gotha*, and to thoſe Marquiſſes of *Brandenburg* who reſide at *Culmbach* and *Anſpach*.

1. We muſt own that there ſeems to be ſome Inconſiſtency in the Partitions we have here ſpoken of, with what we have ſaid elſewhere, That not only the Electoral Dignity cannot be ſeparated from the Principality to which it is annex'd, but alſo that the Principality is it ſelf indiviſible. But this Contradiction is only in appearance; ſince in effect there is no Partition made of that part of the *Palatinate*, which the Elector *Palatin* poſſeſs'd at the Time of the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, or when the Electoral Dignity was annex'd to the *Palatinate*; but of thoſe Counties and other Territories which have been acquir'd by the Electors, Succeſſors to *Rodolphus*; as the Counties of *Spanheim* and of *Deuxponts*, under which almoſt all the others are compris'd, which were not united to the *Palatinate* but in the time of the Emperor *Rupert*, and of his Succeſſors Counts *Palatins* of the *Rhine*. And therefore the Princes who poſſeſs thoſe Counties, wholly or in part, by the way of Partition or Lot, and not as a ſimple Appennage, have a Right to aſſiſt at the Diets, as Princes of the Empire: Nay even with this Advantage, that altho' the ancient *Palatine* Electoral Dignity be gone out of their Branch, yet they nevertheleſs preſerve the Rank they had formerly; and have Precedency of the younger Princes of the Electoral Houſes of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*, for they take Place on the ſide of the Secular Princes; to wit, *Lautern*, who is Brother to the Elector, *Simmeren* and *Neuburg* immediately after *Bavaria*, and before *Bremne*; and *Deuxponts*, and *Veldens*, or *Birkenfeld*, after *Bremne*, and before the Princes of *Saxony*. It was in the beginning of this laſt War in *Germany* that this fine Coat without Seam was torn, and that contrary to the Conſtitution of the *Golden Bull* this Principality was diſmember'd, when the *Palatinate* on this ſide the *Rhine* was given to the King of *Spain*, the Bailywick of *Germerſheim* to the Arch-Duke, the Bailywicks of *Urtsberg* and of *Umbſtadt* to the Lantgrave of *Darmſtadt*; and to the Biſhops of *Worms* and *Spires*, and to the Great Maſter of the Teutonick Order, what they found lie conveniently for them. But the Peace of *Munſter* has reunited again what the War had diſſipated, and has bury'd in an eternal Oblivion, all that had been done againſt the Laws of the State, and to the Prejudice of the Liberty of the Empire.

* As for the Perſon of the Elector *Palatin*, he poſſeſſes without doubt very great Qualities both of Body and Mind, a perfect Knowledge of ſeveral Languages; and has ſuch an Experience in Affairs, that is capable of forming a complete Prince. He has for near Relations the Kings of *Great Britain* and of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Brandenburg* and the Prince of *Orange*. The Lantgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel* is his Brother-in-law; and he has liv'd long enough in *Holland* and in *England*, to have been able to make himſelf Friends there. The King of *Sweden* is a younger Branch of his Houſe, as well as the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologn*; ſo that he might make himſelf be conſider'd, if Affairs were otherwiſe diſpos'd for that Purpoſe. But his Religion excludes him abſolutely; and he is ſo ill with *Mayence* and *Bavaria*, and by conſequence alſo with *Cologn*, that he cannot hope for their Suffrages, no more than for that of the King of *Bohemia*; even tho' his Religion ſhould be no Obſtacle, and tho' all the Friends of the Houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould not declare againſt him on ſuch Occaſion. The good Offices the King of *Bohemia* has done to the Elector of *Bavaria*, by ſecuring to him the Vicarſhip, give room to believe, that the Elector *Palatin* might labour to remove the Imperial Dignity from the Houſe of *Auſtria*, if he thought he could procure it to fall into the Hands of a Prince, whom he had leſs reaſon to hate than the Duke of *Bavaria*. But this is what there is no likelihood of: and ſo it would be hard to conjecture what will be the Succeſs of the Negociation, which the Elector *Palatin* carrys on out of the Empire, and which Party he will ſide with in the approaching Diet; except that

* *The Perſon of the Elector* Palatin.

one

one may say, that having the seventh Vote in the Electoral College, he will in all appearance be oblig'd to follow the Plurality: unless he should have Interest enough to form a particular Opinion, and make it successful.

* At the Treaty of *Munster*, which we before mention'd, it was thought sufficient to make some Satisfaction to the Prince *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, in restoring him to the *Lower Palatinate*, and in creating in his Favour an eighth Electorate: But the States of the Empire assembl'd at *Ratisbone* in the Year 1653, and 54, taking into Consideration that there is no Elector, but who has also an Office inseparable from the Electoral Dignity, they instituted in Favour of the same Elector *Palatin* the Office of Great Treasurer hereditary, but without any Function, except that of carrying the Golden Crown at the Processions. Formerly he took his Place, and voted immediately after the King of *Bohemia*, and before all the other Secular Electors; and in the Collegiate Diets he held the first Rank amongst them: But the Elector of *Bavaria* has at present his Place, and enjoys all the other Advantages which formerly belong'd to the Elector *Palatin* as Elector; so that he is at this Day the last of all, and votes after all his Collegues, except the Archbishop of *Mayence*, who votes last.

The Vicarship has been adjudg'd to the Elector of *Bavaria*; but there is room to doubt whether the Quality of Judge of the Emperor (which the Elector *Palatin* did not hold as Elector, but as Count *Palatin*, on account of the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*) can be taken from the Elector *Palatin*. The *Golden Bull* says, Chap. V. §. 3. That it is by a very ancient Custom that the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, is oblig'd to be accountable to the Law, and to answer it before the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*. It is true that it adds thereto the Quality of Great Steward and of Prince Elector of the Holy Empire, so that it seems as if all those Qualities were inseparable. But we have shewn before, and it is most certain, that the word *Count-Palatin* signifies Judge of the Palace, and that in that Quality he is also Judge of the Emperor, and not as Great Steward or Elector. So that this Quality of Judge not depending on the Electoral Dignity, it cannot pass with it to the Branch of *Bavaria*, unless at the same time the Quality of Count *Palatin*, and the *Palatinate* it self, to which the Quality of Judge of the Emperor is annex'd, be taken from the Elector of *Heidelberg*.

The Elector *Palatin* alone has the Privilege of retracting or re-purchasing the Demesne of the Empire which has been alienated, by reimbursing the Purchaser the just Sum he had paid for the same.

The Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, that is to say, the Head of that Family, has also another Advantage; to wit, That of being born General of the Armies of the Empire. And it is in this Quality that *Frederick* II. commanded the Army of the Empire against the *Turks*, while his Brother *Philip* defended the Town of *Vienna* against *Soliman* their Emperor in the Year 1522. But they who say that it was on this Consideration, and because the Duke of *Bavaria* had succeeded in the *Palatin* Electoral Dignity, that he had the Command of the Army in the Year 1630, are mistaken; for it was done because the Elector *Palatin* was proscrib'd, and all the Princes of his House being concern'd in his Quarrel, except the Duke of *Neuburg*; there was a kind of Necessity to confer the Command thereof on him that was already Master of the Troops of the League, and who had giv'n to understand (by his obliging the Emperor to take it from the Duke of *Fridland*) that he was a Man that would take of his own Head, what could not be giv'n to another without his Consent.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Preliminaries of the Election, and of the Capitulation.

HItherto we have spoken of the beginning of the Election, and of the Origin of the Electors; and we have shewn that the Election began to take place in *Conrade* I, immediately after the Death of *Lewis* III, last Emperor of the House of *Charlemagne:* That at first all the Princes had a Right to assist at the Elections: That the Quality of Elector did not begin to be known but under the Emperor *Frederick* II: That by degrees it became a particular Dignity: That the Electors seiz'd this Prerogative by a Custom insensibly introduc'd; and that their Number and their Privileges were not regulated by an express Law, but in the Time of the Emperor *Charles* IV, in the Year 1356. But altho' in speaking of the Emperors, we have in some measure touch'd upon the Election it self; yet to speak of it pertinently, it is requisite to represent it with all its Circumstances: and that we may do this with some Order, we shall treat first of several essential Particulars which precede the Election, and are as it were the Preliminaries thereof. This done, we shall speak of the Election it self, and afterwards of its effect, which is the Creation of an Emperor. We shall finish our Discourse by the Coronation of the Emperor, which is so inseparable from the Election, that the Emperor *Charles* IV, who has employ'd several Chapters of the *Golden Bull* in the Regulation of this Ceremony, makes it an essential part thereof.

We find our selves oblig'd to repeat here what we have said elsewhere; to wit, That to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, in the Signification which the *Golden Bull*

* *His Rights and Prerogatives.*

gives

gives to this Quality, it is abſolutely requiſite that the Empire be vacant. For in this Signification the Quality of King of the *Romans*, and that of Emperor being ſynonymous, becauſe the Emperor not being any longer crown'd at *Rome*, he is only King of the *Romans* in the ſignification which the *Golden Bull* gives to this Quality, altho' he be Emperor in effect, and takes the Quality thereof; there is no creating of an Emperor, or giving a Head to the Empire, under any Name or Title whatever, unleſs the Empire be vacant by the Death, by the Depoſition, or by the voluntary Abdication of the Predeceſſor. We have ſaid alſo, that to proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans* in the modern Signification, that is to ſay, to give a Coadjutor to the Emperor in being, the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* muſt be authoriz'd by the States of the Empire, or by the Electoral College which repreſents them, before he can convene the other Electors: But we here ſpeak of the free Election of an Emperor, which ought to be done according to the Forms preſcrib'd by the *Golden Bull*, which ordains *,

† That the Empire becoming vacant, the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* for the time being, as Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Germany*, ſhall ſend Expreſſes to all the other Electors his Collegues, and invite them to repair to the Election. It is certain that the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* has poſſeſs'd this Right long before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, tho' it ſeems as if the Emperor gave it him by a new Conſtitution, when he ſays, *It is our Will*. Whereas in ſeveral other Places, where he ought not to ſpeak with ſo much Aſſurance, he grounds on the ancient Cuſtom. For *Otho* of *Friſingen*, ‡ ſpeaking of the Election of *Lotharius* II, after the Death of *Henry* V, ſays, that *Adelbert* Archbiſhop of *Mayence* conven'd the Princes at *Mayence*; becauſe according to the ancient Cuſtom, that Prelate has a Right to call together the Princes when the Empire is become vacant. It is true that there is no mounting any higher, but we ſhall find this Privilege ill enough eſtabliſh'd; for *Lambert* of *Aſchaffenburg* *, ſpeaking of the Election of *Rodolphus* of *Rhinfelden*, againſt *Henry* IV, ſays, that the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* conven'd the Princes, becauſe he has the Right to chuſe and conſecrate the Emperor, on account of the Primacy of his See: So that if his Right of convening were grounded only on that he had to elect, the other Princes, who had a Right to elect as well as he, ought alſo to have that of convening for the Election. As in effect, notwithſtanding *Adelbert* conven'd the Princes for the Election of *Lotharius* II, the circular Letters, related by *Goldaſt* †, ſhew that *Frederick* Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, the Biſhops of *Conſtance*, *Worms*, and of *Spires*, the Abbot of *Fuld*, the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Suabia*, and the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, had alſo ſign'd them as well as he. And it appears that formerly the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* ſent his Circular Letters to the Princes as well as the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*. But at preſent, and ſince the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, this Right is appropriated to the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, as to the Dean of the Electoral College, and Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Germany*; without there being any Inſtance that ſince that time any other Elector has intermeddl'd in that Function. Wherefore it would be to very little purpoſe to diſpute here whether the Chapter has that Right when the See is vacant. It is appropriated to the Perſon of the Archbiſhop. There is no Law that gives this Power to the Canons, neither is there any Example that the Chapter ever made uſe of it.

The Archbiſhop of *Mayence* is oblig'd to ſummon to the Election all the other Electors, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars. This is what is ſo neceſſary, that even tho' all the Electors ſhould be actually preſent at the Place of the Election about other Affairs, the Archbiſhop would be nevertheleſs oblig'd to ſummon them by his Letters: Whereof we have a very remarkable Inſtance in the Emperor *Frederick* III, who intending to procure his Son *Maximilian* to be elected in the Year 1486, conven'd the Electors, firſt at *Wurtzburg*, and after that at *Franckfort*, without intimating to them the Subject of their Meeting: But when he had finiſh'd the Negotiation he had on Foot for that purpoſe, and that the Electors had conſented to the Election; the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* did nevertheleſs ſend his Circular Letters to the Electors, tho' they were there preſent. And it is ſo eſſential to the Election, that all the Electors be invited, that if the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* forgets or neglects any one of them, he that ſhall have been ſo neglected or forgotten, may cauſe the Election to be declar'd null and defective. It is not that ſuch Election would be null in it ſelf; ſo that an Elector who had been duly ſummon'd, and would not repair thither, or who being there, ſhould have refus'd his Suffrage to the Perſon elected, could cauſe it to be declar'd null, under pretext that another had not been ſummon'd thereto: but none but the Party alone that has been neglected, can cauſe it to be declar'd faulty; as appears by the Reſentment *Ladiſlas* King of *Bohemia* ſhew'd for the Contempt which had been had of his Perſon, at the Election of *Maximilian* I, when *Ferdinand* II. caus'd the Electors to be call'd together about the Election of *Ferdinand* III, his Son. The Archbiſhop of *Triers* was a Priſoner, and unleſs it were in open Deriſion of him, he could not be ſummon'd to an Election, to which he had not the Liberty to repair, ſo that it was reſolv'd to proceed therein without him. But this Contempt had like to have had a very pernicious effect; becauſe the Enemies of the Houſe of *Auſtria* took from thence an occaſion to accuſe his Election of Nullity, and *France* refus'd to give the Quality of Emperor to *Ferdinand* III, till the Preliminaries of the Treaty of *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg* had been concerted.

The Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſends his Letters by one of the Gentlemen of his Court, and cauſes him to be accompany'd by a Secretary or Notary, who takes an account of the Delivery of the ſame, and draws up a verbal Proceſs of the Reddition of the Letters. He is

* *Chap.* I. §. 19.
* *In the Year* 1073.
† *The Archbiſhop of* Mayence *convenes.*
† Conſtit. Imper. Tom. 1. pag. 259.
‡ De Geſt. Frid. 1. Lib. 4. Cap. 16.

not oblig'd to direct them to any other Place than that of the uſual Reſidence of the Electors, to wit, Thoſe for the Archbiſhop of *Triers* at the City of *Triers*, thoſe for the Archbiſhop of *Cologn* at *Bonne*, thoſe for the Duke of *Bavaria* at *Munich*, for the Duke of *Saxony* at *Dreſden*, for the Marquiſs of *Brandenburgh* at *Berlin*, and thoſe for the Count *Palatin* at *Heidelberg*; unleſs he out of Civility cauſes them to be repair'd to wherever they happen to be.

The Convocation ought to be perform'd within a Month after the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* has had Advice of the Death of the Emperor, and the Archbiſhop ought to appoint the opening of the Electoral Diet within three Months, counting from the Day of the Delivery of the Letters; ſo that allowing about fifteen Days for the Gentleman's Journey who carries them, he fixes the Day of the opening to that Day three Months and a half after the Date of the Letters. For Example, the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. dy'd *April* 2, 1657; the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* might have Advice of his Death the 12th; He ſent his Circular Letters about the latter end of the ſame Month, and fix'd the Convocation at the end of *Auguſt*. This is what is ſo eſſential to the Election, that it is not in the Power of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* to grant a longer Delay by his Circular Letters: but he can prorogue the time of opening the Diet, with the Conſent of all the Electors, and not of his own Motion. The *Golden Bull* preſcribes the Terms in which theſe Circular Letters ought to be conceiv'd, and ſets down the Form thereof*; but this is what is no longer obſerv'd now: For we find amongſt the Acts publiſh'd by *Lundorp*, thoſe which the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſent for the Election of the late Emperor, which are in the *German* Tongue, and have nothing in common, at leaſt as to the Style and Form, with thoſe that are to be ſeen in the *Golden Bull*.

† If the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* fails to convene the Electors within the Time preſcrib'd by the Law, they may repair to the Place of Election *ex Officio* and of their own Motion; nay they are even oblig'd to be there, by the Oath they have taken to the Empire‡; becauſe they do not hold their Right from the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, but of the Law, and of the firſt Inveſtiture, by virtue whereof they aſſiſt at the Election, even without being invited to it, and before they have receiv'd the Inveſtiture from the Emperor; as we have ſaid elſewhere*.

† The Law requires that the Election be perform'd at *Franckfort*; but before the Publication of the *Golden Bull*, there was no particular Town fix'd for the Election: on the contrary, when all the Princes had ſtill a Share therein, they held an Aſſembly at *Rens*, where they reſolv'd upon the Day and Place for the Election. And indeed, if we look over Hiſtory, we ſhall not find therein three Emperors that have been elected at *Franckfort* before the Emperor *Frederick* II. *Conrade* I. was choſen at *Forcheim*: *Henry* I. at *Fritzlar*: *Otho* I. at *Aix la Chapelle*: *Otho* II. at *Worms*: *Otho* III. at *Rome*: *Henry* II. at *Mayence*: *Conrade* II. in a Plain between *Worms* and *Mayence*: *Conrade* III. at *Coblents*: *Frederick* I. at *Franckfort*: *Henry* VI. at *Bamberg*, and *Philip* at *Erfurt*. However, ſince the *Golden Bull* has appointed a certain Place for that purpoſe, it is not in the Power of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* to make the Convocation elſewhere: Wherefore, when in the Year 1530, the Archbiſhop conven'd the Electors at *Cologn*, in order to proceed to the Election of *Ferdinand* I, the Elector of *Saxony* oppos'd it, and accus'd the Election of Nullity, for having been perform'd any where but at *Franckfort*, which is the Place appointed for that purpoſe by the Law; ſo that it cannot be alter'd but by the general Conſent of all the Electors, who allow'd the Elections of *Rodolphus* II, and of *Ferdinand* III, to be perform'd at *Ratisbone*, and that of the late King of the *Romans* at *Augſburg*.

‡ The Electors either go thither in Perſon, or elſe ſend their Embaſſadors, with an ample and general Power, and not particular for any ſingle Subject. And to the end no Miſtake may be made in the Form, the *Golden Bull* ſets it down, * ſuch as it ought to be: and the Embaſſadors on their Arrival at the Place of Election, are oblig'd to communicate their Powers, and to cauſe them to be regiſter'd in the Chancery at *Mayence*, which gives a Copy thereof to all the other Electors. Where we muſt obſerve, that if an Elector ſends ſeveral Embaſſadors, there is only one of them that takes Place in the Electoral College, and aſſiſts at the Deliberations. Formerly the Emperor elect, or King of the *Romans*, paid Four thouſand five hundred Marks of Silver to each of the Princes who had aſſiſted at his Election: And then they who could not be there in Perſon, gave Power to ſome other Prince to elect for them, giving them Security for that Sum; as may be ſeen by the Offer which *Albert* Duke of *Saxony* makes to *Wenceſlas* King of *Bohemia*, to conſent to the Election of the Perſon the King ſhall nominate, giving him the Hoſtages he requires for the Security of his Payment.

The ſame *Golden Bull*, intending to provide for the Safety of the Electors, as well going to the Election, as in their return home, is not contented to forbid under very expreſs Penalties the giving them any Trouble or Hindrance: But it wills alſo and ordains, that the other Electors, Princes, Counts, Barons, Gentlemen, Free Towns, and Vaſſals of the Empire, being requir'd thereto, do conduct and guard them going and coming through all the Countries and Territories under their Juriſdiction and Obedience, after the manner expreſs'd in the firſt Chapter, which hardly ſpeaks of any thing elſe but of the Convoy and Safe-conduct of the Electors.

The Requeſt muſt be made in Letters on purpoſe, which mark the Day and Place where the Requirer deſires to be receiv'd by the Convoy, and the Number of Horſes he has in his Retinue: and he that gives it, is oblig'd to give his Safe-conduct in Writing and in Form, con-

* *Chap.* XVIII. † *In default of a Summons the Electors meet.* ‡ *Chap.* I. §. 29. * *Chap.* X.
† *The Place of the Election.* ‡ *The Electors may ſend thither their Embaſſadors.* * *Chap.* XIX.

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taining Safety for the Perſon of the Elector and his Retinue, with Orders to the Baiſiffs of his Diſtrict, and to the Governors of the Places under his Obedience to provide for his Safety.

That Elector, who after having been thus duly invited to the Election by the Letters of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, and who after having obtain'd the Safe-conducts and Convoys neceſſary for the Safety of his Journey, neglects to repair to the Place of Election, either in Perſon or by his Embaſſadors; or who leaves the Diet before the Election is over, loſes his Right and Suffrage but for that Time only; becauſe his Neglect is not a Crime, and cannot prejudice thoſe who have a Right in the Election by virtue of the firſt Inveſtiture. The Caſe of the Elector that arrives at *Franckfort* after the opening of the Diet is leſs grievous: but foraſmuch as it is not reaſonable that all the others ſhould wait for him, he may finiſh with them the Election, which remains in the ſame State he found it in at his Arrival. Hereupon a Difficulty might be form'd, to wit, whether if of the eight Electors two ſhould voluntarily abſent, and of the ſix preſent four ſhould chuſe a capable Perſon, the Election would be lawful. There is room to doubt it; becauſe for the due Performance of the Election, the Plurality of the Votes of the whole College is requiſite. But notwithſtanding that, we may ſay that the voluntary Abſence of ſome of the Electors would not render the Election faulty; becauſe the Obſtinacy of the abſent cannot deprive the preſent of their Right, nor prejudice the State, which would ſuffer by a long *Interregnum*.

The Conſtitution of the *Golden Bull* regulates the Retinue and Attendance of the Electors, in going to the Election, to two hundred Horſe, comprehending therein fifty Men at Arms, which they are allow'd to have for the Guard of their Perſons; and forbids very expreſſly the Magiſtrates of *Franckfort* to ſuffer them to enter the Town with a larger Retinue; thereby to prevent the Diſorders which might otherwiſe hinder the Freedom of the Election, if the Electors were allow'd to be attended by what number of Forces they ſhould think fit. And nevertheleſs this Regulation is no longer obſerv'd at all: on the contrary, there is not any Secular Elector who can reduce himſelf to ſo ſmall a number of Domeſticks, and who does not bring along with him a Train of five or ſix hundred Horſe to the Election.

The Electors, or their Embaſſadors, being arriv'd at *Franckfort*, oblige the Magiſtrates and the Inhabitants of the Town to take the Oath which the Law exacts from them under the Penalty of Proſcription; and by which they promiſe to take into their Protection and Safeguard the Electors and their Retinue, and to put out and amove from the Town all Strangers, of what Quality or Condition ſoever they may be. In order thereto the Magiſtrate cauſes Proclamation to be made to that effect by beat of Drum through all the Streets of the Town: and at the ſame time to the Inhabitants to repair the next Day to the Place before the Town-houſe, where they ſwear to the Electors.

As for the removing of Strangers during the Election, it has been executed with more or leſs Rigour, according to the Diſpoſition of Affairs, and the Humour of the Electors. In the time of the Election of the Emperor *Charles* V, the Embaſſadors of *France* and *Spain* remain'd in the Neighbourhood; and in that of the late Emperor *Ferdinand* II, his Father, who was ſtill living, proceeded therein even to Threats with the Embaſſador of *Spain*, who refus'd to go out of the City of *Ratisbone*; and ſent him word, That if he would not defer to the Conſtitution of the *Golden Bull*, by going voluntarily out of the Town, he ſhould be oblig'd to make him do it by Force. But that depends in part on the extent the Electors give to the time of the Election. The *Golden Bull* requires * that the Electors open the Electoral Diet the very next Day after their Arrival; that for this effect they repair to St. *Bartholomew*'s Church; that they begin the Election by the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, and by the Oath, and that they make an end of it in a Month, † reckoning from the Day they are ſworn. But at preſent the Practice is different: For the Electors take what Time they pleaſe for their Deliberations, as well on the Election it ſelf, and on the Perſon they are to elect, as on the Capitulation and Conditions they intend to ſtipulate from him, whom they call to the Imperial Dignity: which being concluded, and they agreed on all things, they ſet a Day for the Election, which they begin and end afterwards in one Morning, as we ſhall ſee in the following Chapter. So that it is in the Power of the Electors to ſend the Strangers out of the City of *Franckfort* as ſoon as they begin to deliberate on the Affairs of the Election, or to ſuffer them to abide there till the very Day of the Election. It is probable they will make a Reflection on the Honour which the Kings of *France* and *Spain* do them, in deputing to them ſo illuſtrious an Embaſſy, of which the Mareſchal *de Grammont* and the Count *de Pegneranda* are the Chiefs; and that they will not ſuffer them to go out of the Town, but only for the very Day of the Election; if it were but out of Conſideration that they cannot exclude the one without the other, nor ſhew Reſpect to one of the Crowns on this occaſion, without doing as much to the other.

‡ The Capitulation, which we have before mention'd, is of the Eſſence of the Election, and of ſo much the more Importance, as it regulates the whole Reign of the future Emperor, and gives the Form to the Government in this, that it makes an end to deſtroy what ſtill remain'd Monarchical in the Empire. It formerly made one of the principal Parts of the Election, before it was made a Preliminary, and before that was made a mere Ceremony, which at this Day is call'd Election. There is no body but who knows that the words, to Capitulate, and Parley, are ſynonymous, and ſignify to propoſe and debate certain Conditions, compris'd in ſeveral Articles or little Chapters, which muſt be agreed on before the Treaty can be perfected, for which they are propos'd. And ſo we ſay, that the Capitulation is nothing elſe than the Contents of certain Conditions which the Electors cauſe to be propos'd, and which

* *Chap.* II. §. 1. † Ibid. §. 3. ‡ *The Capitulation.*

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he that aſpires to the Imperial Dignity is oblig'd to accept of, before the Electors proceed to the Publication of the Election, and to confirm immediately after. The *German* Authors, when they will ſpeak *Latin*, call it *Lex Regia*, but in a Signification very different from that which is given to the Law, by which the *Roman* People formerly yielded up all its Rights of Sovereignty to the Emperor; ſince this ſerves as a Curb to that great Power, and endeavours to reduce it within the Bounds of an Ariſtocratical Government, if we may be allow'd to ſpeak thus, with one of the greateſt Princes *Germany* has produc'd for many Ages.

They who refer the Origin thereof to the Emperor *Conrade* I, and ſay, that at the time of his Election Conditions were propos'd to him, under which he was oblig'd to accept the Empire, make themſelves ridiculous. For the States of *Germany* were forc'd to chuſe themſelves a Prince, not becauſe the Empire was elective, but becauſe the Poſterity of *Charlemagne*, which had fail'd in *Germany*, could not afford them one; but there is no likelihood he had any Conditions preſcrib'd to him, ſince there was no ground to complain of the Government of the laſt Emperors. And indeed no Alteration appears in the Procedure of thoſe who came after. They have all reign'd like Sovereigns, and have all govern'd with an abſolute Power, but not deſpotical. The Truth is, there will no Capitulation be found, before the ſixteenth Century; and it is certain that it was *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, who having refus'd the Empire himſelf, and given his Vote to *Charles* of *Auſtria*, ſaid it was neceſſary to ſecure the Liberty of *Germany*, before his Election was publiſh'd, and skreen it from thoſe Dangers which it ſeem'd to be lyable to, from the great Power of *Spain*, and the Obligation *Charles* was under to viſit often his hereditary Kingdoms, by ſuch Laws as ſhould moderate the one, and remedy the others: That it was on this Propoſition, that ſome Days were employ'd in drawing up certain Articles, which were ſent to the Embaſſadors of *Charles*, and that the Name of *Capitulation* was given to theſe Articles. Since that Time there has been no Election, but there has been at the ſame Time a new Capitulation. But foraſmuch as the laſt comprehends all the former, and that it is impoſſible to know the true State of the preſent Affairs of *Germany* without it, we ſhall here inſert that which was made in the Year 1636, with the late Emperor, which is by ſo much the more remarkable, as it is much more ample than the others, and that it was made at a Time when the Emperor's too great Authority ſtood in need of being moderated by new Laws, and by a ſtronger Capitulation: The Tenor whereof is as follows.

We *Ferdinand* III, by the Grace of God, elected King of the *Romans*, always Auguſt, King of *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and of *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, and *Sclavonia*; Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Burgundy*, Marquiſs of *Moravia* and *Luſatia*; Duke of *Luxemburg*, *Sileſia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Crain*, and of *Wirtemberg*; Count of *Habſpourg*, and of *Tirol*, &c. do acknowledge by theſe Letters Patents, and do make known to all Perſons, That having been call'd and rais'd, within theſe few Days, to the Dignity and Name, and conſtituted in the Honour and Power of King of the *Romans*, by the Providence of God, and by the lawful Election of the moſt Reverend and moſt Illuſtrious *Anſelm Caſimir*, Archbiſhop of *Mayence*; *Ferdinand*, Archbiſhop of *Cologn*; *Maximilian*, Count *Palalatin* of the *Rhine*, Duke of the *Upper* and *Lower Bavaria*; of *Frederick Metſch*, Lord of *Reichenbach* and of *Friſe*; of *Adam* Count of *Suartzemburg*, Lord of the *Upper Landberg*; and of *Gimborn*, Maſter Provincial of the Order of St. *John* in the *Marc-Brandenburg*, *Saxony*, *Pomerania*, and *Vandalia*, Embaſſadors Plenipotentiaries, in the Name and on the Part of *John George* Duke of *Saxony*, *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Berg*, Burgrave of *Nuremberg*; and of *George William* Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*; reſpectively Great Chancellors of the Empire, in *Germany* and in *Italy*, and Great Steward, Great Mareſchal, and Great Chamberlain of the holy Empire, our dear Nephews, Unkles, and Princes Electors: With which Dignity we having thought fit to charge our ſelves, to the Praiſe and Glory of God, and for the univerſal Good of all *Chriſtendom*, and particularly for that of the *German* Nation: We have agreed and granted, *by Form of Contract, and reciprocal Obligation*, of our good and free Will, with our ſaid Nephews, Unkles, and Princes Electors: And we have conſented, accepted and promis'd, the whole of our own Knowledge, and by virtue of theſe Preſents, as follows.

1. Firſt, That as Advocate of the Chriſtian Church, we will take the ſaid Church, the See of *Rome*, and the Perſon of the Pope, into our Protection, and will protect and defend them faithfully during the whole Time of our Reign. That we will eſtabliſh Peace and Union in the Church, and that we will cauſe Juſtice to be adminiſter'd in ſuch manner, that it ſhall have its entire Freedom; to the End that all, as well Poor as Rich, may be indifferently protected by it, purſuant to the Ordinances, Liberties, and ancient Cuſtoms of the Empire. However, our two Unkles, the Electors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*, have declar'd very expreſſly to us, That for what relates to this Article, as alſo to the eighteenth of this preſent Obligation, in what they contain in reference to the See of *Rome*, and to the Perſon of the Pope, that they do not conſent thereto, neither do they pretend to oblige us in that Reſpect.

2. It is alſo our Will, and we promiſe to obſerve inviolably the *Golden Bull*, and whatever has been ordain'd, receiv'd, and reſolv'd, concerning the publick Peace of the Empire, as well in what relates to Religion, as to what regards things temporal and prophane; not only in the Diet of *Augsburg*, held in the Year 1555, but alſo by the Ordinances, Conſtitutions, and Reſolutions of the other Diets; provided they contain nothing contrary to the Reſolution of the Diet of *Augsburg*, and to all that ſhall appear to have been repeated, corrected, augmented and confirm'd, by the following Diets; to the Prejudice of which, we will moleſt no body, nor ſuffer any body to be moleſted: On the contrary, we ſhall take Care to confirm all the Reſolutions, and, if need be, we will renew and amend them, by the Counſel and Advice of the Princes Electors, and

and of the other Princes and States of the Empire, according as the State of Affairs ſhall require.

3. We will maintain in all Reſpects, and by all Means, the *German* Nation, the holy *Roman* Empire, and the Princes Electors, as its chief Members; as alſo all the other Princes, Counts, Barons, and Eſtates, in their Pre-eminencies, Dignities, Rights and Cuſtoms, Goods, Honours and Power, each according to his Condition and Quality; and we will not ſuffer any Trouble or Lett to be offer'd them therein. It is alſo our Will, and we oblige our ſelves, to confirm to them without any Delay their Rights of *Regalia*, and of Superiority, their Liberties, Privileges, and Mortgages; as alſo all the Rights, Uſages, and Cuſtoms which they have enjoy'd, and which they have, and do enjoy at this preſent: And as King of the *Romans*, we will maintain, defend and protect them therein, in reference to, and againſt all, without Prejudice to the Right of others.

4. And foraſmuch as, for ſome Time paſt, the Embaſſadors of foreign Princes have dar'd to pretend to a Precedency over the Embaſſadors of the Electors, at the Court and Chapels of the Emperor, and of the King of the *Romans*; we hereby declare that we will not ſuffer it for the Time to come, unleſs the Competition falls between the Embaſſadors of Electors and thoſe of crown'd Heads, or of foreign Kings, their Widows, or their minor Children, being ſtill Pupils; but ſuch, that they may hope to ſucceed to the Crown as ſoon as they ſhall have attain'd to Majority; in which Caſe they ſhall have the Precedency of the Embaſſadors of the Electors.

5. We alſo allow the ſix Electors to meet, by virtue of the Power which the *Golden Bull* gives them, whenever they ſhall judge it neceſſary for the Good of the Affairs of the Empire, as alſo for their particular Neceſſities; and to deliberate on, and determine, what ſhall be requiſite, without its being in our Power to offer to impede or obſtruct them, or that we will on that Account conceive any Indignation, or Diſpleaſure againſt them in general, or againſt any one of them in particular; but we promiſe that in that Reſpect, and in all other things, we will execute ſincerely and *bona fide* whatever is contain'd in the *Golden Bull*; confirming for this Purpoſe, and approving on our Part, in all their Points and Articles, as much as is neceſſary, the Alliances and Leagues which have been made with the Conſent and Approbation of the Emperors our Predeceſſors, between the Electors, and particularly between thoſe of the Circle of the *Rhine*.

6. We will oppoſe all ſorts of Societies, Leagues and Confederacies, which the Subjects, as well Nobles as Commoners, ſhall endeavour to form againſt the Electors, Princes, and other Eſtates of the Empire. We will diſſipate thoſe which are already contriv'd, and will make uſe of the Counſel, and Forces of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, for the preventing thoſe which ſhall be attempted for the Time to come.

7. We alſo declare, That in the Quality of King of the *Romans*, we cannot in our own Name, nor for the Affairs of the Empire, make any Treaty, League or Alliance, with Foreign Princes and States, nor in the Empire it ſelf, till we have firſt convened the ſix Electors in a certain Place, and at a certain Day, and till we have obtain'd from them, or the major part of them, the neceſſary Conſent and Permiſſion for that Purpoſe: With this Proviſo however, That we ſhall be oblig'd to ask ſuch Permiſſion in a Collegiate Diet, and not by particular Declarations, which the ſaid Electors might give us; unleſs it ſhould happen that the State of Affairs, and the publick Intereſt ſhould not allow of ſuch Delay. And we do not pretend that what paſs'd in the Peace of *Prague*, can be drawn to any Conſequence or Prejudice for the future, as has been ſufficiently provided againſt by the ſaid Treaty.

8. We will take Care that all the Electors, Princes and Lords, as well Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, who ſhall be found to have been ſpoliated or diſpoſſeſs'd by Violence, as well in their own Perſons as in thoſe of their Anceſtors and Predeceſſors, of their Rights, Goods, Territories and Lordſhips, be reſtor'd by the ordinary Means of the Law; and will maintain them therein, defend and protect them in Juſtice, without any Delay or Procraſtination.

9. But above all things, we will not undertake to ſeize, ſell, mortgage or engage, charge or alienate, in any manner or way whatever, the Eſtates belonging to the Empire, without the expreſs Conſent of all the Electors in general, and of each of them in particular. On the contrary, we will do all that we can, and will make uſe of all ſorts of Means to re-unite to the Demeſne of the Empire all the Provinces, Lands, Principalities and Lordſhips, which have been lopp'd from it by Confiſcation or otherwiſe, and which are for the moſt part unjuſtly poſſeſs'd by Strangers. In which we will always make uſe of the Counſel, Advice, and Aſſiſtance of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; and the rather becauſe we are ſenſible, that ſeveral Demeſnes and conſiderable Fiefs, as well in *Italy* as elſewhere, are in the Hands of Foreigners. For which Reaſon we ſhall cauſe a very exact Search and Enquiry to be made therein, (if that be not done during the Life of the preſent Emperor) and thereby endeavour to have a very particular Knowledge of thoſe Alienations, whereof we ſhall cauſe a Report to be made to the Chancery of *Mayence* within a Year infallibly; reckoning from the Day of our Acceſſion to the Crown. In which, as alſo in all that we have now ſaid, we will make uſe of the Counſel and Aſſiſtance of the ſix Princes Electors, and of the other Princes and States of the Empire, to the end we may undertake nothing but what we and they ſhall judge together to be proper and adviſeable, juſt and uſeful. The whole, without Prejudice to the Privileges, Rights, and Liberties of others.

10. And if it ſhall appear that we, and ours, are in Poſſeſſion of Demeſnes belonging to the Empire, which have not been given to us in Fief, or which we do not otherwiſe poſſeſs with a good Title; we promiſe, by the Duty we owe to the Empire, to reſtore them immediately, and without Delay, at the firſt Summons we ſhall receive on that Account, on the part of the Electors.

11. We promiſe that during all the Time of our Reign we will live in Peace, and good Underſtanding with the Kings and Princes our Neighbours, and with all the other Chriſtian Eſtates; and that we will not undertake to declare War, or ſend any Defiance, as well within as without the Empire, or to bring into it any Troops from abroad, without the Knowledge, Advice, and Conſent of the States of the Empire, and at leaſt without that of the ſix Electors. And if any of the Princes, or other States of the Empire, ſhould introduce any, we will oblige 'em to diſband them forthwith. However, if it ſhould happen that the Empire be attack'd, or that a War be made againſt our Perſon on the Account of the Empire, it ſhall be allow'd us in ſuch Caſe, to make uſe of the Aſſiſtance of all our Friends and Allies.

12. We promiſe likewiſe, and give our Faith and Word, that the Armies which are at preſent on foot, or may hereafter be rais'd for the Defence of the Empire, ſhall not go out of the ſame without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Princes Electors, but that we will employ them for the Defence and Relief of the afflicted and oppreſs'd States. And if we make any Levies, or permit others to make any, for the Service of any foreign Princes, we will order it ſo, that the Princes Electors, and the other Princes and States of the Empire ſhall not be burthen'd with Quartering, or the Paſſage of Soldiers, or with Rendezvous, or Places of aſſembling, contrary to the Conſtitutions of the Empire, during their March, or the Time of their Abode or Sojournment; and that even thoſe which are already in *Germany* be diſbanded, as ſoon as God ſhall have given Peace to the Empire.

13. In like manner we will not charge the Princes Electors, nor the other Eſtates of the Empire, with the Convocations of Diets, Journeys, Contributions for the Expences of the Chancery, nor with other Impoſt or Collections, if neceſſity does not oblige us thereto, for very weighty Cauſes and important Affairs; even for which we ſhall not be able to convene Diets, nor demand Contributions, or eſtabliſh Impoſts, without the Knowledge and Permiſſion of the ſix Electors. We promiſe particularly, That we will not convene any Diet out of the Bounds of *Germany*, and even that we will not reſolve to call any within the Empire till we have firſt ask'd thereupon, (by a Deputation on purpoſe) and obtain'd the Conſent and Approbation of the Princes Electors. Neither will we employ the Money that ſhall be rais'd by the Conſent of the States, but to the Uſage to which it ſhall be deſtin'd.

14. When the Neceſſity of the Affairs of the Empire ſhall oblige us to demand Contributions of the States of the Empire, we will do it by the ordinary Ways and Means, in the Diets, and in the Aſſemblies of the Circles; or if the State of Affairs cannot ſuffer any Delay, by the Advice and Conſent of the ſix Electors. And foraſmuch as during the preſent War, the fundamental Laws of the Empire, and the good ancient Cuſtoms have been many ways violated in the Execution and Payment of the Contributions; our Intention is that theſe Exceſſes ſhall no way prejudice the Conſtitutions of the Empire, and ſhall be no Precedents for the Time to come.

15. It ſhall not be in our Power to beſtow the Imperial or Royal Offices, as well at Court as in the Empire, nor even thoſe of the Army, or of the Council of War, but only to natural *Germans*, and to Perſons of Condition and of Quality; as, to Princes, Counts, Barons and Gentlemen, illuſtrious by their Birth, and recommendable by their Merit; particularly as for the Employments of the Council of War, and in the War it ſelf, ſhall be preſented with foreign Subjects, ſuch *Germans* as ſhall poſſeſs the ſame Qualities, and who are oblig'd by Oath, or any other Duty, to none but us and to the holy Empire. And we alſo promiſe that we will preſerve the ſaid Offices in their Honours, Dignities, Rights, Liberties, and Preeminencies, without taking any thing from them, and without making any Alteration therein, in any manner or way whatever.

16. We will make uſe of no other Language in our Letters and Acts, than of the *German*, or of the *Latin*, unleſs it be in thoſe Places where theſe Languages are not us'd, and there we may make uſe of that which is in uſe.

17. We will not ſuffer the Electors, Princes, Counts, Barons, Gentlemen, or other Eſtates, and Subjects of the Empire, to be cited or ſummon'd out of *Germany* or elſewhere, before any but their ordinary Judges: But purſuant to the expreſs Conſtitution of the *Golden Bull*, and the other Ordinances and Laws of the Empire, we will leave the firſt Cognizance to their natural Judges. And whereas the Princes Electors, as being the chief Members of the Empire, have particularly this Advantage over all the other Eſtates, not only by the *Golden Bull*, but alſo by ſundry other Privileges, to be exempt from all foreign Juriſdiction; and namely from that of the Chamber of *Rotüeil*, as well in their Perſons as their Domeſticks and Subjects: And notwithſtanding that, they are nevertheleſs vex'd by the Procedures of this Chamber, we will take ſuch Meaſures, that it ſhall ceaſe and forbear them for the future. And it is our Will, That if the ſaid Chamber continues to vex or moleſt them, the Princes Electors may not only hinder their Subjects from being impleadable there, but may alſo puniſh, according to the Exigency of the Caſes, thoſe, who contrary to the preſent Prohibitions ſhall dare to undertake to give them Citations thither.

18. And whereas the Court of *Rome*, by its Gifts without Form, Reſcriptions of the *Annates* of Churches, Reſervations and Diſpenſations, and by the great Number and Multiplication of Offices, and by ſundry other different Means, overburdens the *German* Churches, and the Clergy, contrary to the Privileges by them obtain'd, to the Prejudice of the Rights of Patronage, and of the feudal Lords; and contrary to the Concordates and Treaties, made between the Church, the See, and the Pope of *Rome*, on the one part; and the Princes of *Germany*, on the other: and that in conſequence thereof, ſeveral Societies, Fraternities, Contracts, and unlawful Acquiſitions are made; it is our Will, and we are oblig'd to uſe ſuch Means with our holy Father the Pope, and with

with the See of *Rome*, by the Counſel and Advice of the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, that the ſame may be remedy'd for the future: And we will take care that the Concordates and Treaties made with the Princes, and their Privileges and Liberties be not violated, but that they be maintain'd and preſerv'd in their full Force and Virtue. And we will labour to put an End to the Diſorders and Abuſes which have hitherto been committed therein; and will take due Care that nothing be done for the time to come, without the Counſel and Advice of the Princes Electors: the whole purſuant to the Reſolution taken at the Diet of *Augsburg*, in the Year 1530.

19. We will earneſtly endeavour that the burdenſom Societies, and Monopolies of Merchants, who have ſo much afflicted the whole Empire by their Uſury, and by the extraordinary Dearth they have caus'd of all ſorts of Commodities, be aboliſh'd. Wherein we will make uſe of the Counſel of the Electors and Princes.

20. And whereas all *Germany*, and the holy *Roman* Empire, is over-burthen'd with Impoſts and Duties, which are levy'd as well by Water as by Land; We will not ſuffer any new one to be eſtabliſh'd for the time to come, or that thoſe which are already eſtabliſh'd be enhanc'd or continu'd; nay as for what regards our Perſon, We promiſe, that we will not eſtabliſh any new ones, neither will we continue or enhaunce thoſe which are already eſtabliſh'd; unleſs it be with the Knowldge, Advice and Conſent of the ſix Electors, given in a Collegiate Diet: ſo that we ſhall refer to the firſt Collegiate Diet, all ſuch as ſhall deſire our leave to ſet up new Impoſts, or to enhance or continue the old ones, and ſhall exhort them in the mean time to leave Affairs in the State they ſhall be in. And whereas the Word Impoſt is not always made uſe of, becauſe it is too odious, but that of the Duty of Diſcharge, or of Eſtapes: and that under this Pretext the ſame or greater Sums are nevertheleſs exacted from Ships and Goods: It is our Will, that all the Duties that are rais'd after this Manner, under what Name, Colour or Pretext ſoever, without the expreſs leave of the Electoral College, be aboliſh'd and ſuppreſs'd as Uſurpations; and if any of the Electors are burthen'd therewith in their own particular, we permit him to aboliſh them, by ſuch Means as he ſhall judge moſt expeditious for that Purpoſe.

21. In like Manner, it is our Will that the States (who have obtain'd of the Emperors our Predeceſſors, with the Conſent of the Electors, the Permiſſion to eſtabliſh Impoſts, or to enhanſe and continue thoſe which are already eſtabliſh'd; with this Condition and Reſervation, that the Princes Electors, their Subjects, Domeſticks, and Factors, or other free Perſons, even their Furniture and Baggage ſhall not be chargeable therewith; but as well themſelves, as their Furniture and Goods, ſhall freely paſs and repaſs through their Dutchies and Territories, without paying any Duties for the ſame) do give for this Effect in Writing the neceſſary Securities to the Electors; and that they who have not yet oblig'd themſelves thereto, do do it immediately, and without delay; and that they lodge thoſe Securities in the Hands of the Electors. Accordingly we ſhall not permit, that they, who ſhall hereafter obtain leave to ſet up, continue or enhanſe the Impoſts, ſhall take out their requiſit Inſtruments from the Chancery, till they have before given the neceſſary Securities to the Electors.

22. And whereas it is known, that on the Occaſion of the laſt Wars in the Low Countries, the whole Courſe of the *Rhine*, particularly towards the nether Part, has been ſo clogg'd with Impoſts, that the Revenue of the Princes Electors on that ſide, and the Traffick of the Subjects and Factors, is thereby diminiſh'd and incommoded to that Degree, that the Commerce ceaſes, and is ruin'd entirely: and that moreover, Ships of War and Frigates have been ſent into that River, without the Conſent of the Electors, and to the Prejudice of their Rights of Sovereignty; and that they viſit the ſaid Merchant Ships, and require inſupportable Extortions, without its having been hitherto poſſible to make them withdraw, whatever Inſtances the Electors have made for that purpoſe; we will do whatever ſhall be in our Power, as well of our own Motion, as by the Counſel of the Princes Electors, to free the Empire thereof, and to procure the Abolition and Suppreſſion of the Duties which are there exacted.

23. Moreover, we ſhall not give either Hopes, or any Letters of Recommendation to the Electors, to thoſe who ſhall addreſs to us, in order to obtain by our Interceſſion, the Eſtabliſhment or Continuation of thoſe Duties.

24. And if it ſhall happen that any Perſon, of what Rank or Quality ſoever he may be, undertakes of his own Motion, without our Permiſſion, and without the Conſent of the Electors, to eſtabliſh new Impoſts in his Countries, Principalities, Demeſnes or Territories, we will hinder him therefrom by very expreſs Prohibitions, and by all other due and reaſonable Means, at the firſt Knowledge we ſhall have thereof, and as ſoon as we have Advice of the ſame. And we will not permit any Perſon whatever to attempt to ſet up by Violence, and of his own Motion, new Impoſts or Duties, or to enhanſe and uſurp them, in any Manner whatever.

25. And if it ſhould happen, that by the Eſtabliſhment of theſe new Impoſts, the Duties of the Princes Electors ſhould be leſſen'd, or entirely ſuppreſs'd; ſo that they ſhould be oblig'd to have recourſe to the Law on that account, either as Plaintiffs or Defendents; forasmuch as the Permiſſion of laying new Impoſts cannot be obtain'd but from the Emperor, or the King of the *Romans*, by and with the Conſent of the ſix Electors of the holy Empire; and ſo the Judgment of the Suits which may ariſe therefrom, belongs only to us: It is our Will, that they be decided before us, without their being oblig'd to ſuffer our Imperial Chamber, or any other Court in ordinary, to take Cognizance thereof: and hereof we ſhall not fail to adverti'e the Chamber.

26. And whereas the Exemptions, which have been given within ſome Time to divers Perſons, of the Duties which are payable on the *Rhine* and on the *Danube*, leſſen the Duties

and Revenues of the Princes Electors, we ſhall endeavour to get them aboliſh'd, as being inſuportable; neither will we ſuffer for the future, any Letters of Recommendation to be ask'd of us, by virtue of which they may be claim'd.

27. If any Elector, Prince, or other Perſon of Condition, is moleſted or troubl'd in the Poſſeſſion of his *Regalia*, Liberties, Privileges, Rights and Prerogatives; or if any body offers to deprive them thereof, or to leſſen or aboliſh them; ſo that he be thereby oblig'd to have recourſe on that account, to the ordinary Proceedings at Law with his Adverſary, or be already engag'd therein; we will leave a free Courſe to Juſtice, without giving him any Let or Hinderance, directly or indirectly.

28. We likewiſe promiſe, and give our Word, that we will leave to the Princes Electors, and to the other Eſtates of the Empire, the free and entire Diſpoſition of the Fiefs, in what Place ſoever they are ſituate, which ſhall have been confiſcated from their Subjects and Vaſſals, on the account of High Treaſon, or otherwiſe, in any Manner whatever, without applying them to the Imperial Treaſury, and without obliging them to receive thoſe Vaſſals, or any others that ſhall be preſented to them. We ſhall do the like in reference to free Tenures, which ſhall have been confiſcated in the Manner we have now expreſs'd, for Crimes of High Treaſon, or otherwiſe, which we will not take from the Electors, or other States of the Empire, who have a Right of Confiſcation, by an ancient Cuſtom, or otherwiſe: but we will leave the entire Diſpoſal thereof, and Confiſcation, to the Lords of the Territory where they are ſituate.

29. We will do no Violence to the Electors, Princes, Prelates, Counts, Barons, or other Eſtates of the Empire; neither will we ſuffer any to be done to them by others: but if we, or any others, have Pretenſions againſt them all in general, or againſt any one of them in particular, we will proſecute them by the ordinary way of Juſtice, in order to avoid that of Violence, and all Rebellion, Diviſion and Diſorder in the Empire: We will not ſuffer neither, that they who offer to be accountable to Law, be attack'd, wrong'd, damnify'd, ſurpriz'd or burden'd, under any Colour or Pretext whatever, by Arms or Pillage, Defiance or War: nor even by the Paſſage, or Quartering of Soldiers, without the utmoſt Neceſſity, and through the Ignorance of the Colonel of the Circle, and of his Aſſiſtants, and of the other States of the Empire.

30. We will not ſuffer neither, for the future, any Perſon to be proceeded againſt by Proſcription, of what Condition or Quality ſoever he may be, Elector, Prince or other, in any Manner, or for any Cauſe whatever, without his being heard, and without the Knowledge, Advice and Conſent of the Princes Electors of the holy Empire: But we will take care that the Procedure be by the ordinary Ways of Juſtice, purſuant to the Conſtitutions of the holy Empire, and conformably to the Order of the Procedures of the Chamber of *Spires*, reform'd in the Year 1555, and confirm'd by the Reſolution of the ſame Year; without Prejudice however to the Defence allow'd to the Party offended, by the publick Peace: unleſs the Fact was publick and notorious, and that the Violater of the publick Tranquillity ſhould continue obſtinately in his Violence; in which Caſe, it would not be very neceſſary to proceed therein by the ordinary Means: but we will nevertheleſs be oblig'd to call thereto thoſe of the Princes Electors of the holy Empire, who ſhall not be intereſted in the Affair, and we will not procede on to a Proſcription without their Participation.

31. And whereas the *Roman* Empire is very much impair'd and decay'd; We promiſe that we will endeavour to reunite thereto the Contributions of the Cities, and the other Rights, which are at preſent engag'd to foreign Perſons: and we will cauſe a Memorial to be made, or a Liſt of the Perſons who are at preſent in Poſſeſſion thereof, which we will ſend into the Chancery of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* within ſix Months, if it ſhall appear that that has not been done before our Acceſſion to the Crown: and we will not ſuffer the Empire and the Publick to be fruſtrated thereof, contrary to all Reaſon and Juſtice; unleſs theſe Engagements or Alienations appear to have been made with the Conſent of the ſix Electors.

32. We will not give the Inveſtiture or Reverſion of thoſe Fiefs which may become vacant, or eſcheate to us, and to the Empire, during the Time of our Reign; eſpecially if they are of any Conſideration, as Principalities, Counties, Baronies and Towns: But we will re-unite them to the Body of the Empire, for the Maintenance and Support of the Imperial Dignity, in our own Perſon, and in that of our Succeſſors, Emperors and Kings of the *Romans*, till it be entirely reſtor'd to its firſt Grandeur. The whole without Prejudice to the Rights which we have in our hereditary Countries, and to thoſe of others in all Reſpects.

33. Above all, we will endeavour to preſerve all the Fiefs belonging to the Empire, in whatever Place they are ſituate, as well in *Germany* as elſewhere: and we will cauſe the Homages to be renew'd at every Change; ſo that if even after our Acceſſion to the Crown, it ſhould appear that we are in poſſeſſion of any; it is our Intention to do Homage therefore; or if that cannot well be done, we will give ſuch Sureties to the Princes Electors thereof, that the Empire ſhall have reaſon to be ſatisfy'd therewith.

34. If it ſhall happen hereafter that any Principality, County, Barony, * *Emphyteoſe*, or other Lands which owe Duties and Services, Rents, or Contributions to the Empire, or which are otherwiſe ſubjected to it, fall into our Hands (after the Death of thoſe who actually poſſeſs them) by Right of Succeſſion: or if we give 'em to others: or if we poſſeſs them our ſelves, it is our Intention that it ſhall be on Condition, that they ſhall continue to pay to the Empire the ſame Duties, Services and Contributions, without any Regard to the pretended Exemptions, which might be alledg'd.

* *Lands let by a long Leaſe, as from ten to a hundred Years, in order to be improv'd.*

35. We

35. We will alſo reunite, and apply to the Empire, whatever we ſhall recover or acquire by the Counſel, and with the Aid and Aſſiſtance of the Princes Electors. And altho' the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire be not oblig'd to ſuccour us, in what we ſhall undertake without their Knowledge, and without their Conſent; we will nevertheleſs reunite to the Empire what we ſhall have ſo acquir'd without their Aſſiſtance.

36. And whereas hitherto the Empire has been extremely incommoded by the Diſorders which are committed in reference to the Coin, we will apply our utmoſt Care, that they may be remedy'd by the Counſel of the Electors, Princes and other Eſtates of the Empire. And that a good Order may be obſerv'd therein for the future, we will make uſe of the Means ordain'd by the Reſolution of the Diet in the Year 1603, and of the other preceding Diets: and we will not fail to employ all the Means by which the like Diſorders may be prevented for the time to come.

37. We will not give the Right of coyning Money to any Perſon whatever, without the expreſs Conſent of the ſix Electors. And if we find that they who enjoy this Right of Kingly Prerogative and Privilege at preſent, do abuſe the ſame contrary to the Edicts publiſh'd on the Score of the Coyn; we ſhall not be contented barely to interdict them, by virtue of the Conſtitutions of the Empire, but alſo if it ſhall appear that they have obtain'd it without the Conſent of the Electors, we will abſolutely diſpoſſeſs them thereof, and will not permit them to be reſtor'd thereto, without the Conſent of the ſaid Electors. We will particularly repeal and annul the Privileges, which ſhall have been granted to ſuch States as are not ſubject immediately to the Empire; to whom we will not for the Time to come grant thoſe Privileges or the like, without the Conſent of the Electors; eſpecially if they prejudice the Rights of the Electors.

38. But chiefly we ſhall have a great Care not to pretend that the Empire belongs to us by Right of hereditary Succeſſion, neither will we do any thing that can make it be believ'd that we intend to hold it by that Title, and as hereditary, leave it to our Children, Heirs and Succeſſors: but we promiſe, as well for us, as for our ſaid Children, Heirs and Succeſſors, that we will leave the Princes Electors, their Heirs and Succeſſors, in what Degree ſoever they may be, in the poſſeſſion of the Right of electing a King of the *Romans*; ſo that they may proceed to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, as often as they ſhall judge it neceſſary for the Good of the Empire, and for the Eaſe and Relief of the Emperor during his Life, with his Conſent; and even without it, if having been requeſted thereto by the Electors, for urgent Cauſes, he refuſes to give his Conſent. We alſo promiſe, that we will maintain the Vicars in their Power, and in the Enjoyment of the Rights they poſſeſs, by virtue of the ancient Cuſtom of the *Golden Bull*, of the Canon Law, and of the other Laws and Conſtitutions of the Empire, whenever the Neceſſity of Affairs ſhall require it, or Occaſion ſhall offer it ſelf for that Purpoſe: and we will not ſuffer them to be troubl'd or moleſted, nor their Vicarſhips, or the Rights that depend thereon, to be conteſted by any Perſon whatever; it being our Will that all that has been done againſt the Electors, and to their Prejudice, be declar'd null, and of no validity.

39. As King of the *Romans* we pretend to take the Royal Crown; and we promiſe, that we will uſe all poſſible Diligence, to endeavour to obtain alſo the Imperial. We will alſo reſide (as long as the State of Affairs ſhall permit) and we will eſtabliſh our Court in the Empire of the *German* Nation, for the Honour and Utility, and for the Relief of all its Members, Eſtates and Subjects. We will alſo invite the Princes Electors to our Coronation, and in all other things we will act in ſuch Manner, that there ſhall be no reaſon to complain of us.

40. We will give no Letters, Reſcriptions or Orders, neither will we ſuffer any to be iſſu'd out, to the Prejudice of the preſent Capitulation, of the *Golden Bull*, of the Conſtitutions of the Empire; or to the Prejudice of the publick Peace, eſtabliſh'd as well for Religion, as for temporal Things; or againſt the Ordinance made for the Regulation of the Chamber of *Spires* in the Year 1555, or againſt the other Laws and Conſtitutions already made, or to be made hereafter, in any manner or way whatever. Nay we will not oblige the Princes to grant us any thing that is contrary to the *Golden Bull*, the Liberties of the Empire, and to the Laws, Conſtitutions and Treaties which we have now mention'd, directly or indirectly. And if it ſhall happen that we obtain any thing like it, we will not make uſe thereof in any manner whatever.

41. And if it ſhould happen that any Perſon ſhould have obtain'd Letters contrary to what we have here ſaid, or to the foregoing Articles, it is our Will that they be ras'd, cancell'd and ſuppreſs'd: and as null and of no effect we declare them to be void even now, as well as then; and we promiſe, in caſe of need, to give for this effect all the neceſſary Declarations: the whole without Fraud.

42. We promiſe that we will grant to the Electors, Princes, and other States of the Empire, and to their Embaſſadors and Deputies, the Audiences they ſhall ask of us; and that we will diſpatch them ſpeedily: And that we will not refuſe them the Inveſtitures of their Fiefs, nor the Letters neceſſary thereto; and that in Affairs of Importance, we will make uſe of the Advice and Counſel of the Princes Electors.

43. Particularly we promiſe to take care that the Privy Council of the Empire, eſtabliſh'd in our Court, be compos'd of Princes, Counts, Barons, Gentlemen, and of other Perſons of Quality which we will chuſe, not only amongſt our Vaſſals and Subjects, but alſo moſt of them among thoſe who are born, and poſſeſs Eſtates in the other Provinces of the Empire of the *German* Nation, who have been train'd up in Buſineſs, and whoſe Reputation is ſo well eſtabliſh'd, that every body may hope to receive good Juſtice from them.

44. We will alſo make a Regulation, and a particular Inſtruction for the Council of the Empire, eſtabliſh'd in our Court, and will communicate it in the firſt Diet (if that be not done during the Life of the preſent Emperor)

to the Princes Electors, in order to have their Opinion thereupon. We will reviſe the ſame every Year, or at leaſt every two Year, in the Preſence of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, as Great Chancellor of the Empire in *Germany*. But above all things, we will put into Conſideration the Remonſtrance made by the Electors in the laſt Aſſembly of *Nuremberg*, concerning the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, to which we ſhall have regard. In like manner we promiſe that we will alter nothing of what ſhall have been reſolv'd and determin'd in our ſaid Council by peremptory Judgment; neither will we ſuffer any Perſon whatever to take Cognizance of the ſame, or hinder the Execution thereof.

45. We alſo promiſe, that we will execute, and cauſe to be executed, the Regulation which the Emperor or we may make, by the Advice of the Princes Electors, for the Council of the Empire eſtabliſh'd in our Court, and againſt the Diſorders and Abuſes which have crept into the ſame; and we will not allow of any Contravention thereto in any manner whatever.

46. We ſhall alſo have very particular Care, and we will not ſuffer, that the Favours we ſhall diſpenſe, as King of the *Romans*, and future Emperor; eſpecially for the Titles of Duke, Count, and Baron, and even for Patents to ennoble, and thoſe for *Palatinates*, or for Privileges and Exemptions, be diſpatch'd any where elſe than in the Chancerles of the Empire, purſuant to the good ancient Cuſtom; and will not cauſe the *Golden Bull* (which the Emperors regnant are accuſtom'd to make uſe of) to be put to any Letters, but ſuch as ſhall have been diſpatch'd in the Chancery of the Empire.

47. In like manner we will not give the Title of Duke and Count but to Perſons of high Merit, who reſide effectually in the Empire, and have wherewith to ſupport the Dignity with which they deſire to be inveſted.

48. And whereas we are oblig'd to have a particular Conſideration for the Princes Electors of the Holy Empire, as our precious Members, and as the Buttreſſes of the Empire; we will take care that their Vicars and hereditary Officers, who ſhall be at Court, be alſo conſider'd, and that they diſcharge their Offices, as well at the Elections, as at the Diets and other Aſſemblies, general or particular, where they can lay Claim to this Honour; and ſhall not permit the Officers of our Court to encroach upon their Functions. And if it ſhall happen that the Officers of our Court be oblig'd, for certain Reaſons, to execute them, the Vicars and hereditary Officers of the Electors ſhall nevertheleſs enjoy the Fruits and Emoluments of their Offices, in the ſame manner as if they had done the Functions thereof.

49. We will not meddle with the Government of the Empire, nor with the Adminiſtration of Affairs, during the Life of the Emperor, but with his Permiſſion, and when he ſhall call us thereto; neither will we encroach upon the Sovereignty and Imperial Dignity in any manner or way whatever.

50. And whereas for particular and very weighty Reaſons, the Elector of *Triers* cannot aſſiſt at the preſent Election, neither in Perſon nor by his Embaſſadors; our Intention is, that his Abſence ſhall not have any Conſequence, nor do any Prejudice for the future; as in effect we do not thereby mean to violate the *Golden Bull*, nor the good ancient Cuſtom.

51. And to the end thoſe of our Council, as alſo thoſe of the Council of the Empire, eſtabliſh'd in our Court, may have a perfect Knowledge of the Contents of the preſent Capitulation, and that it may ſerve for a Rule to their Deliberations and Reſolutions, we ſhall not content our ſelves with communicating it to them, but we will oblige them to promiſe expreſſly, by taking an Oath of Fidelity, that they will not counſel us, nor ever do any thing, but what ſhall be conformable to this Capitulation.

All which things above mention'd in general, and each of them in particular, we the above-nam'd King of the *Romans* have granted and promis'd, upon our Honour, and upon our Faith and Royal Word, to the above-nam'd Princes and Electors, and do grant and promiſe them by virtue of theſe preſent Letters; and have promis'd by a ſolemn Oath to God, on the Holy Goſpel, to obſerve and execute them firmly and inviolably, without contravening thereto our ſelves, or ſuffering any thing to be acted to the contrary, directly or indirectly, in any manner or way whatever.

In Teſtimony whereof we have caus'd ſix Letters to be diſpatch'd of the ſame Tenor, and have caus'd them to be ſeal'd with our Arms. Given at our Imperial City of *Ratiſbone*, *December* 24, in the Year of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, 1636: Of our Reigns, of *Rome* the firſt, of *Hungary* the ſecond, and of *Bohemia* the tenth. And was ſign'd *Ferdinand*: and underneath *Ferdinand Curtz* Baron of *Senſteman*.

The Capitulation ſerves as a fundamental Law to the Empire, as well as the *Golden Bull*, and indeed is in ſome manner of more Importance than the *Caroline Conſtitution*: becauſe the Electors, who repreſent in this Action the States and Sovereignty of the Empire, may derogate therefrom by the *Capitulation*: So that it hardly contains any one Article, on which ſome Reflection may not be made. But this is what cannot be done without making a Treatiſe that ſhould comprehend the State of all the Affairs of *Germany*: For which Reaſon we ſhall keep within the Bounds of our Diſcourſe, which ſpeaks only of the Electors, and of the Election. Only we will take notice, that the number of the Electors had not yet been augmented, at the time of the Capitulation of *Ferdinand* III; and the King of *Bohemia* having no Concern in the Affairs of the Empire out of the Election, it could ſpeak but of ſix Electors; whereas at this Day, and ſince the Creation of an eighth Electorate, there is an Obligation to mention ſeven Electors. The Reſolutions of the Diets, of which the Capitulation ſpeaks, are the Ordinances, Decrees and Regulations which the States of the Empire make in their General Aſſemblies. They make uſe for that of a *German* Word *, which is ſynonymous with that of *Congé*, or *Leave*,

* The German word is Abſcheid.

in

in whatever Senſe it can be taken: and their Doctors expreſs it, tho' very impropperly, by the *Latin* word *receſſus*, becauſe theſe Reſolutions conclude the States, and are not form'd but at their ſeparating, and when they take Leave one of the other.

As for the Exception which the Proteſtant Electors make to the firſt Article, which ſpeaks of the Pope, and of the See of *Rome*, it was in the Capitulation of *Maximilian* II, that they began to proteſt, That it was not their Intention to oblige the Emperor to protect the Pope, who having declar'd againſt them and their Doctrine, their Intereſt would not permit them to ſpeak in the behalf of his; and that they could do nothing for the Pope but what would be contrary to the Advantages they had had ſo much Difficulty to obtain by the Treaty of *Paſſau*.

We ſhall moreover add, at the end of this Chapter, that the word *Palatinate*, whereof mention is made in Article 46. of the preſent Capitulation, has nothing in common with the *Palatinate* of the *Rhine*; but is only a Dignity with which the Emperor ſometimes honours Men of Learning, who obtain the ſame through Favour, and often for Money than by Merit. Theſe Perſons are call'd *Counts Palatins*, and they can make Doctors, create Notaries, legitimate Baſtards, *&c.* But as theſe Counts are not very much reſpected, their Productions are ſtill leſs conſider'd, which are all venal, as well as the Dignity it ſelf.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Election of the Emperor.

WE have ſaid in the foregoing Chapter, that the Deliberations that are had concerning the Election, and which we have plac'd among the Preliminaries, made formerly one of its principal Parts, and indeed the *Golden Bull* requires †, that the Electors being come to *Franckfort*, do repair the very next Day to St. *Bartholomew*'s Church, that they there begin the Deliberations about the Election, and that they put an end to it in a Month. But there is not any Legiſlator, whoſe Intention is not eluded preſently after the Publication of the Law. The Electors, to exempt themſelves from thoſe Penalties which the Law impoſes on them, if they do not finiſh the Election in a Month (reckoning from the Day they are ſworn) have found a Means to make the Election laſt ſix Months, and longer if they think fit, without apprehending to incur thereby the Penalties ordain'd by the *Golden Bull*, and to be reduc'd to Bread and Water for all Nouriſhment: And for this purpoſe they have diſtinguiſh'd the Deliberations (which make the principal part of the Election, and which may retard the Concluſion thereof) from the Election it ſelf. In that of *Charles* V, ſo great a Difference is to be ſeen between the Deliberations and the Election, notwithſtanding the Electors had caus'd the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt to be ſaid before they enter'd upon Buſineſs; that the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* himſelf, in opening the Diet, ſeeing that it might be reproach'd to him that he acted contrary to the Order eſtabliſh'd by the *Golden Bull*, proteſts, *That they are not there aſſembled to ſpeak their Opinions, or to give their Suffrages, but only to diſcourſe together in an amicable manner concerning the future Election.* That is to ſay, that they were not there to elect, but to deliberate; as in effect the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, who ought to give his Opinion laſt, ſpoke firſt, and concluded his Diſcourſe by the Nomination of *Charles*. *Triers*, who ought to vote the firſt, ſpoke his Opinion the ſecond: and *Sleidan* obſerves, that he took that Rank but on the account of the great Reputation he had in the Empire for his Prudence: and the Duke of *Saxony*, who ought to have ſpoken the fifth, gave his Opinion before *Bohemia* and the *Palatin* (who ought to have preceded him;) becauſe he was ſo very much conſider'd in the College, that his Collegues did not only yield up that Honour to him, but they call'd him to the Empire, and had preferr'd him to *Charles*, if he had had Ambition enough to accept the Dignity which was offer'd him. And indeed they did not give their Suffrages, but they only ſpoke their Opinions; and they did not elect, but they deliberated on the Election, which was perform'd ſome Days after, and according to the Forms preſcrib'd by the *Golden Bull*, as *Goldaſt* repreſents it in his publick Acts, publiſh'd in the *German* Tongue *An.* 1614 ‡. The Archbiſhop of *Triers* therein voted firſt, conformably to the *Golden Bull*, and gave his Suffrage to *Charles*: whereas in the Deliberation he was for excluding *Charles*, and was for having *Francis* I, King of *France* choſen. The other Electors voted in the Order regulated by the *Golden Bull*, and the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* laſt of all. The like has been practis'd in all the ſubſequent Elections, which are accompany'd with all the Circumſtances of Forms, which the *Golden Bull* requires ſhould be obſerv'd therein, but it is only by the way of Ceremony. But foraſmuch as they are ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that the Election would be vicious without them, we ſhall ſet down in this Chapter how the Emperors are choſen, according to the Regulation made by the *Golden Bull*.

Theſe Ceremonies are only perform'd when the Election is reſolv'd upon, ſo that when the Electors are agreed in reference to the Perſon they have a mind to call to the Imperial Crown, they fix a Day for the Election, or rather for the Publication they intend to make thereof. The Day being come, the Electors

† Chap. II. §. 1.

‡ Part. 1. Tit. 16. pag. 41.

repair

repair in the Morning to the Town-houſe, without Order, with their Retinue and uſual Apparel. Being all of them met together, they retire each into a ſeparate Room, where they put on their Electoral Habits*: to wit, the three Eccleſiaſticks, Robes and Caps of Scarlet, lin'd with Ermin; and the Secular Electors, Robes and Caps of Crimſon Velvet, lin'd with the ſame Furs. Being come out of the Town-houſe they mount on Horſeback, to repair to St. *Bartholomew*'s Church: the Place nominated in the Circular Letters, and deſtin'd to the Election.

† The *Golden Bull* does not regulate the Order which the Electors are to obſerve in this Cavalcade; for which reaſon a great Variety is to be found therein, almoſt in all the Elections. In that of *Maximilian* I, they obſerv'd the following Order. The Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine* march'd firſt; having on his left *Maximilian*, who was only titular Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*. After them march'd the Archbiſhop of *Triers* alone, and after him the Duke of *Saxony* alſo alone, carrying the Sword drawn before the Emperor, who had on his right Hand the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, and on his left that of *Cologn*. The King of *Bohemia* had not been invited thereto, and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*, who was ill of the Gout, was carry'd to the Church in a Chair, and did not take any Rank with the reſt. In that of *Maximilian* II, *An.* 1562, *Mayence* and *Triers* march'd firſt, after them *Cologn* and *Bohemia*, and after them the *Palatin*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg* a-breaſt, the *Palatin* being in the middle, *Saxony* on the Right, and *Brandenburg* on the left. The ſame Order was obſerv'd in the Cavalcade which was perform'd for the Election of *Matthias* in the Year 1612. The Archbiſhop of *Triers* did not aſſiſt at the Election of *Ferdinand* III, wherefore the Order was chang'd; ſo that the Archbiſhops of *Mayence* and *Cologn* march'd firſt; after them the King of *Bohemia* and the Duke of *Bavaria*; and then the Embaſſadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. At this Day *Mayence* and *Triers* march firſt; after them *Cologn* and *Bohemia*; then *Bavaria* and *Saxony*, and finally *Brandenburg* and the *Palatin*.

In this Cavalcade all the Electors have the hereditary Mareſchals of their Archbiſhopricks or Principalities, or elſe of their Court, marching before them, and carrying the Sword: Thoſe of the Eccleſiaſticks in Scabbards adorn'd with Silver Gilt: and the Seculars in Scabbards of Crimſon Velvet, ſet off with Silver. The Embaſſadors of the abſent Electors have nothing of all this. They have only their uſual Apparel, they have no Officers before them, and take their Rank only after all the Electors preſent; but the Adminiſtrators or Guardians of the Electors in their Minority, enjoy all the Honours and all the Preeminences which the Law gives to the Electors themſelves: and the Elector of *Saxony* has this in particular, that it is not the hereditary Mareſchal of the Dutchy of *Saxony*, but the Count of *Pappenheim* that carries the Sword before him.

‡ The Electors being arriv'd at the Church Door, and alighting from their Horſes, enter the Church in Proceſſion as far as the Choir, where they find their Chairs prepar'd and diſpos'd according to the Rank they hold in the Electoral College, each having an Inſcription in large Characters, expreſſing the Name of the Elector it is intended for. At the Election of *Maximilian* I, the Emperor his Father, who was there preſent, took his Place before the Altar, having on his right Hand the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*, and *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*: And on his left the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*: and *Triers* ſate above the Electors, by the Wall towards the Altar. In thoſe of *Maximilian* II, of *Matthias*, and of the other following Emperors, *Mayence*, *Bohemia*, and the *Palatin* took the right ſide; and *Cologn*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg* the left. But ſince the Creation of the eighth Electorate the Practice is otherwiſe; for *Mayence*, *Bohemia* and *Saxony* take the right; and *Cologn*, *Bavaria*, *Brandenburg*, and the *Palatin* the left; and *Triers* the middle. As ſoon as the Electors have taken their Places, ſome Princes and Counts, and the Counſellors of the Electors are let in, and then the Count of *Pappenheim* ſhuts the Door and takes the Keys; which being done, the Prelate who is to officiate begins the Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*; during which, as alſo during the Maſs, the Officers belonging to the Electors ſtand before them, holding the Sword reſted on their Shoulder; tho' it is obſervable in the Election of *Maximilian* I, that the Officers retir'd, and laid the Swords on Velvet Cuſhions before the Electors. The Muſicians having ended the Hymn, Maſs begins, during which the Proteſtant Electors withdraw, and do not return till it is over; and then the Hymn, *Veni Creator*, is repeated.

After that all the Electors riſe, and being come near the Altar (their Officers marching, and carrying the naked Sword before them) they turn towards the Princes who are in the Choir; and then the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* makes a Speech to this effect; That ſince they are come thither to chuſe a temporal Head to *Chriſtendom*, purſuant to the Direction of the *Golden Bull*, he is willing to believe, that the Electors his Collegues will make no Difficulty to take the Oath, which the ſame *Golden Bull* ordains ſhould be taken before they proceed to the Election. After which he puts the Goſpel into the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, who dictates to him the Form of the Oath. When the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* has taken it, all the other Electors do the ſame in his Hands, one after another. The Seculars by putting their Hand on the Goſpel, and the Eccleſiaſticks laying it on their Stomach. The Form of the Oath is taken from Chap. II. §. 2. of the *Golden Bull*, and is compris'd in theſe Terms. *I——Prince Elector of the Holy Empire, ſwear on the Holy Goſpel, put here really before me, by the Faith I owe to God and to the Holy Roman Empire, that by the Help of God, and the whole Strength of my Mind and Underſtanding, I will chuſe for Temporal Head of* Chriſtendom, *that is to ſay, for King of the* Romans *future Emperor, him that I ſhall judge in my Conſcience to be moſt capable thereof: promiſing on the ſame*

* *The Habit of the Electors.* † *The Cavalcade.* ‡ *Their Places in the Church.*

Faith, that I will give my Vote and Suffrage in the ſaid Election, without any hope of Profit, Penſion, Promiſe, Recompence, or other Acknowledgment of any nature whatever. The *Golden Bull* adds thereto, *So help me God and his Holy Goſpel.* The Archbiſhop of *Mayence* cauſes an account hereof to be taken down in Writing by two Notaries, who are there preſent: or by two of his Secretaries, authoriz'd for this effect; who take for Witneſs to the ſame, the Princes and Lords who were admitted into the Chancel.

The Electors being ſworn reſume their Places, and the Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, is ſung for the third time: which being ended, the Electors retire into the Conclave or Place prepar'd for the Election. At *Franckfort* there is a Place deſtin'd particularly to that purpoſe, which is a little vaulted Gallery, into which there is an Entry out of the Chancel it ſelf. Here it is that they obſerve very exactly the Order which the *Golden Bull* requires ſhould be obſerv'd at the Election of a King of the *Romans*, without the leaſt Variation; excepting the Rank and Place which was regulated in the laſt Diet of *Ratisbone*, after the manner we have before related in Chap. II. It was there ordain'd, that when the Electors ſhall be aſſembl'd for the Election of a King of the *Romans*, or of an Emperor, they ſhall take their Places in ſuch manner, that *Mayence* ſhall have the firſt, *Triers* and *Cologn* the ſecond and third alternately, *Bohemia* the fourth, *Bavaria* the fifth, *Saxony* the ſixth, *Brandenburg* the ſeventh, and the *Palatin* the eighth; all in the ſame Line, provided they be all there preſent. For when ſome of them are there perſonally preſent, and the others repreſented by their Embaſſadors, the Embaſſadors of the abſent fall in the Rear, and place themſelves after all the Electors preſent. After the Electors have taken their Places the Count of *Pappenheim* ſhuts the Conclave, and puts the Keys in ſuch a place where the Electors may be Maſters of them.

It is then they execute indiſpenſably the Regulation of the *Golden Bull* in Chap. IV. §. 2. which requires that the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ſhould collect the Votes, and ask the Suffrages, giving his own laſt of all. Formerly he voted the firſt; of which we have an Infinity of Proofs in Hiſtory, and amongſt the reſt the illuſtrious Teſtimony of the Emperor *Frederick* I, who ſays very expreſſly to the Legates of Pope *Adrian* IV, *We give the firſt Vote at the Election to the Archbiſhop of* Mayence: and *Gunther Ligurinus* ſays,

——Ad proceres Electio pertinet, in qua Præcipuam vocem præſul, de more vetuſto, Moguntinus habet. ——

But at this time the Regulation of the *Golden Bull* is obſerv'd in all its Circumſtances and Ceremonies; for which reaſon the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* follows alſo very exactly the Order eſtabliſh'd by the *Golden Bull* in asking the Suffrages; 1. of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*; 2. of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*; 3. of the King of *Bohemia*, who votes in his Rank, and not in the Caſe of a Diviſion only; 4. of the Duke of *Bavaria*; 5. of the Duke of *Saxony*; 6. of the Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*; and 7. of the Count *Palatin* of the *Rhine*. This done, the Elector of *Triers* takes the Vote of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*.

We have ſaid elſewhere, that the Plurality of Votes makes an Emperor, or a King of the *Romans*; and that an Election made by the Conſent of the major part of the Electors, has the ſame Force as if it had been made by the unanimous Conſent of all of them; purſuant to the Tenor of the *Golden Bull*, Chap. II. §. 4. and we have obſerv'd, that by the Plurality of Votes is underſtood, that of the whole College; ſo that to make an Emperor now that there are eight Electors, it is requiſite that five Suffrages ſhould concur to his Election. And it is alſo true, that if the Perſon nominated to the Empire be likewiſe an Elector, he may aſſiſt himſelf with his own Suffrage, augment the Number of the Chuſers, and make the requiſite Plurality of Votes, by the Addition of his own: ſo that if there are four Electors who nominate him, he may conclude and finiſh the Election by his own Suffrage, which will make the fifth, by which he ſhall be Emperor: purſuant to the Tenor of the *Golden Bull* in the ſame Chapter, §. 7. On this Occaſion is alledg'd the Example of *Sigiſmund* of *Luxemburg*, King of *Hungary*, and Marquiſs of *Brandenburg*; who was deſir'd by the other Electors, at the time of the Election, after the Death of the Emperor *Rupert* of *Bavaria*, to nominate to the Empire him of the Princes whom he ſhould in his Conſcience judge to have all the Qualities neceſſary for that high Dignity. He anſwer'd thereto, that the other Electors, in ſhewing that Deference to his Judgment in an Affair of that Importance, put him upon the neceſſity of declaring, that he had not a ſufficient Knowledge of the particular Merits of the others, to charge his Conſcience therewith; but that he knew himſelf ſo perfectly well, that he might ſafely ſay, they would not be miſtaken in the Choice of himſelf; and ſo according to the Power that the Electors his Collegues had given him, he nominated himſelf to the Empire. *Dubravius* Biſhop of *Ormutz* ſpeaks hereof as of a true Hiſtory; but it is certain, that *Sigiſmund* aſſiſted at the Election but by his Embaſſadors, and that he was in his Kingdom of *Hungary* when he was choſen Emperor: Be it as it will, the Text is formal therein, and it is a thing which is not at all doubted of.

And that nothing may be wanting to Shew and Ceremony, the Electors being thus ſhut up, ſend for their Chancellors and principal Counſellors, as if they had occaſion for their Advice upon the Difficulties which occur in the Election; and then put them out to continue their Deliberations; but this is all Grimace, ſince they begin and finiſh in leſs than an Hour the Election of the firſt Perſon of *Chriſtendom*.

The Election being ended, the Electors cauſe their chief Miniſters of State to re-enter; and the Chancellor of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, together with the Chancellor of another Secular Elector, having reckon'd up the Suffrages, ſet the ſame down in Writing, and draw up a verbal Proceſs, which all the Electors ſign, and cauſe to be ſeal'd with the Great Seal

of their Arms. This being done the Electors go out of the Conclave, and go ſtreight to the high Altar, on which they ſeat the new Elect; and then the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* having recommended to him the Intereſt of the Empire, and caus'd him to ſign the Conditions under which he has been rais'd to that Dignity, he obliges him to confirm to the Electors all the Rights, Privileges, Sovereignties, Prerogatives and Preeminencies which they enjoy; and after that he cauſes a Publication of the Election.

This Confirmation of the Electors Rights is ſo neceſſary, that without it the new Elect cannot meddle with the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Empire, and he is oblig'd to give one to each Elector, in the Form of Letters Patents, ſign'd and ſeal'd with the Great Seal. This Confirmation was formerly executed near *Coblentz*, between *Rens* and *Capel*, at a Place that is ſtill at this Day call'd *Konigſtul*; that is to ſay, *Royal Seat*. It was a Structure erected in an Orchard, under ſeven great Walnut Trees, where there were Seats of Free Stone for the Emperor and the ſeven Electors, built on Pillars join'd together by ſo many Arches. But this Building is altogether ruin'd, and the Confirmation is at this Day perform'd at the Place of the Election.

But we cannot better repreſent all the Particulars of this Ceremony, than in the Election of the late Emperor, which was perform'd at *Ratisbone*, in the following manner.

On *December* 22, 1636, about ſeven a Clock in the Morning, the Embaſſadors of *Brandenburg*, then thoſe of *Saxony*, after them the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, after him the King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, and laſt of all the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, came to the Town-Houſe, and repair'd all to the ordinary Council Chamber, except the King of *Bohemia*, who went into a particular Room, where he put on his Electoral Garments. The Electors of *Cologn* and *Bavaria* went alſo, and put on their Robes in a Chamber deſtin'd to that Uſe, and the Elector of *Mayence* put on his in the Antichamber. Thoſe of the Electors of *Mayence* and of *Cologn* were of Scarlet, and thoſe of the King of *Bohemia* and of the Elector of *Bavaria* were of Crimſon Velvet, lin'd with Ermins. After they had put on their Robes, and the King of *Bohemia* having the Crown upon his Head, they return'd to the Council Chamber; but they made no longer ſtay there, than to march out together. At the Gate of the Town-Houſe they all mounted their Horſes, in order to proceed to the Cathedral Church, as to the Place appointed for the Election by the Circular Letters. *Mayence* and *Cologn* march'd at the Head, after them the King of *Bohemia* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Embaſſadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* came laſt, but in their ordinary Habits; neither had they any Officers before them, as the Electors, who had before them the hereditary Mareſchals of their Electorates, or the Mareſchals in Ordinary of their Courts, who were likewiſe on Horſeback, and carry'd a Sword for the Eccleſiaſticks, in a Scabbard of Silver gilt; and for the Seculars, in a Scabbard of Crimſon Velvet.

They diſmounted at the Church Door, and march'd in the ſame Order into the Chancel; their Officers going before them, and carrying the Sword reſted on their Right Shoulder. The Chancel was all hung with Crimſon Velvet, having on the Right Hand as you go in, and on the Left of the high Altar, againſt the Wall, three Chairs cover'd with the ſame, and as many on the other ſide, with an Inſcription in very large Characters, for *Mayence*, *Cologn*, *Bohemia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. The Electors of *Mayence*, of *Bohemia*, and of *Bavaria*, took their Seats on the left ſide of the Altar; and the Elector of *Cologn*, with the Embaſſadors of *Saxony* and of *Brandenburg*, plac'd themſelves in the three other Chairs on the Right Side of the high Altar. Right againſt it, in the middle of the Chancel, there was a ſeventh Chair empty for the Elector of *Triers*, who was abſent. The Officers were ſtanding before each Elector, having the Sword reſted on their Shoulders.

As ſoon as the Electors had taken their Places, the Biſhop of *Ratisbone*, a Prince of the Empire, who was already cloath'd in his Pontifical Habit, and who only waited for the Electors, advanc'd to the high Altar, being follow'd by *Hugues Eberhard Cratz* of *Scharfenſtein*, Chantor of the Church of *Mayence*, Archdeacon of *Triers*, and Prevoſt of the Church of *Wormes*; and by *John Valentine de Gortz*, call'd *Sinſig*, Prevoſt of the Church of *Spires*; by *Sebaſtian Tenigt*, Dean of *Ratisbone*; and by *Gaſpar George* of *Hegnenberg*, with their Chaplains as Aſſiſtants, to receive the Mitre and Croſier of the officiating Biſhop; who began the Service by the *Antiphone*, *Veni Creator Spiritus*; and the Emperor's Muſick finiſh'd it. * While the Biſhop ſung the Verſes and the Collects, the Electors, and the Embaſſador of *Brandenburg*, who was a Catholick, kneel'd down, but that of *Saxony* kept ſtanding.

After that, began the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt (purſuant to the Conſtitution of the *Golden Bull*) accompany'd with the Emperor's Muſick. The Sieur *de Gortz* ſung the Goſpel, and the Sieur *de Cratz* the Epiſtle. After the Goſpel, the two Aſſiſtants, follow'd by ſeveral Eccleſiaſticks, and preceded by two of the Emperor's Pages, carrying Flambeaux of white Wax, having taken the Cenſer and the Goſpel, came up to the Elector of *Mayence*; and, after three profound Reverences, gave him Incenſe as many times; and after him to the Elector of *Cologn*, to the King of *Bohemia*, to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and to the Embaſſador of *Brandenburg* one after the other; and preſented to them the Goſpel to kiſs in the ſame Order. After the Biſhop who officiated had made an end of the *Introitus*, and ſaid, *per omnia ſecula ſeculorum*, the Embaſſador of *Saxony* withdrew, and did not return till Maſs was ended. During the *Agnus Dei*, the Aſſiſtants carry'd a Silver Croſs, or the *Pax*, to be kiſs'd by the Electors and Embaſſador of *Brandenburg*. After the Maſs was ended, and that the Embaſſador of *Saxony* had reſum'd his Place,

* *It was the Count of* Suartzemburg.

the

the Biſhop unveſted himſelf before the Altar, put on a Cope, and kneeling down, began the Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which was ended by the Muſick.

This being done, the Biſhop of *Ratisbone* withdrew with his Aſſiſtants; and the Electors, and the Embaſſadors of the Abſent, obſerving the ſame Order with which they enter'd into the Church, approach'd the Altar, on which the Goſpels lay open, and the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* addreſs'd himſelf to his Collegues, and told them, That ſince they had agreed to proceed that Day to the Election of a King of the *Romans*, and that purſuant to the Conſtitution of the *Golden Bull*, and to the laudable ancient Cuſtom, it was neceſſary that the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt being ended, all the Electors ſhould take the uſual Oath: That he was thoroughly perſuaded that the Electors his Collegues, and the Embaſſadors of the Abſent, would make no Difficulty to do it; and having put the Tenor of the Oath into the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, who read it over to him, he took the ſaid Oath in the following manner.

I, Anſelm Caſimir, *by the Grace of God, Archbiſhop of* Mayence, *Great Chancellor of the holy* Roman *Empire, in* Germany, *Prince Elector*, &c. *do ſwear on the holy Goſpels, here really put before me, by the Faith which I owe to God, and to the holy* Roman *Empire, That with the help of God, and the whole Strength of my Mind and Underſtanding, I will chuſe for the temporal Head of* Chriſtendom, *that is to ſay, for King of the* Romans, *future Emperor, him I ſhall think in my Conſcience to be the moſt capable thereof; promiſing, on the ſame Faith, that I will give my Vote and Suffrage in this Election, without any Hope of Profit, Penſion, Promiſe, Recompence, or other Acknowledgment. So help me God, and his holy Goſpel.*

After him, all the Electors took the Oath in the Hands of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, who read to them the Text of the *Golden Bull*, changing only the Names and Qualities, and gave to each an authentick Copy thereof without any Alteration, except in the laſt Words, as we have ſaid before. The Eccleſiaſtick Electors, in taking the Oath, laid their Right Hand upon their Breaſt; and the King of *Bohemia*, as alſo the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Embaſſadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, put two Fingers of their Right Hand on the Book.

The Oath being taken, the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* order'd two of his Secretaries, who were requir'd thereto inſtead of Notaries, to draw up a verbal Proceſs, and take an Act of the ſame, which they did in the uſual Forms.

This being done, the Electors and Embaſſadors reſum'd their Places, till the Hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, with the Verſicles and Collects belonging thereto, was ſung again; which being ended, they went into one of the Chapels in the Chancel which was appointed for the Election, and which on that Account was hung with a very rich Tapeſtry, and adorn'd with a little Altar. They alſo took in along with them their Chancellors, and ſome of their Council, and the two Secretaries of the Archbiſhop of *Mayence*, to do the Functions of Notaries. The Count of *Pappenheim*, hereditary Mareſchal of the Empire, who ſtood at the Door, immediately lock'd the Chancel and the Chapel, and hung the Keys of the Gates of the Town, which were all in a Leathern Bag, at one of the Croſs-bars of the Chapel.

After that the Electors had taken their Places in Chairs of red Velvet, which were plac'd on the Right Hand, at the Entrance into the Chapel, the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* ask'd the other Electors and Embaſſadors, If any of them knew any thing that could hinder them from proceeding to the Election; deſiring them to declare themſelves thereupon; and the Electors having all anſwer'd, That they knew of nothing that could hinder or retard the Election: *Mayence* continu'd, and ſaid, That the Electors might remember, that within ſome Days a certain Capitulation had been contriv'd, and ſeveral Articles put down in Writing, which the Electors and Embaſſadors had approv'd; but that the ancient Cuſtom requir'd that this Capitulation ſhould be read again in the Conclave, and that afterwards the Electors ſhould promiſe one to another, touching each the other's Hand, to obſerve them firmly and inviolably; and that if it ſhould happen that one of their College ſhould be rais'd to the Dignity of King of the *Romans*, he ſhould be oblig'd to take the Oath in the Form it was conceiv'd, and ſhould ſwear to obſerve punctually the Capitulation, and all the Conditions which they had jointly agreed to: As alſo, That the Election which ſhould be made by the Plurality of Votes, ſhould be of the ſame Force as if they had all conſented thereto unanimouſly; and that the Elect ſhould be proclaim'd King of the *Romans*, and held for ſuch, in the ſame manner as if he had been elected with one general Voice, and therefore he hop'd they would make no Difficulty to promiſe it, and to give their Word for the ſame, which ſhould be inſtead of a ſolemn Oath.

The Eccleſiaſtical Electors, the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the two Embaſſadors, ſaid that they conſented thereto, and that they promis'd it; and they touch'd each the other's Hand: Whereof the Archbiſhop of of *Mayence* requir'd the Notaries to draw up their verbal Proceſs, and to make one or more formal Inſtruments of the ſame if it were neceſſary.

The Notaries took to witneſs all that were there preſent, and made their verbal Proceſs. After which the Archbiſhop of *Mayence* caus'd all the Chancellors and Counſellors, who had ſerv'd as Witneſſes, to withdraw, and order'd the Count *de Pappenheim* to ſhut the Chapel Door, who took the Keys thereof; and then the Electors proceeded to the Election, which laſted about three Quarters of an Hour. The Election being ended, the Chancellors and Counſellors were call'd in again, and a ſolemn Deputation was made to the Emperor to give him Advice thereof. The Elector of *Mayence* ſent the Sieur *de Metternich*, Prevoſt of his Cathedral Church; the Archbiſhop of *Cologn*, the Count *de Konigſeck*; the King of *Bohemia*, the Count *de Martinitz*, his Vicechancellor; the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Count *Doring*; the Embaſſador of *Saxony*, Doctor *Tuntzel*, and that of *Brandenburg*, the Sieur *de Kneſebeck*; who pray'd his Imperial Majeſty to take the Pains to go to the Conclave, to hear the Reſolution

which

which had been taken there concerning the Election. In the mean time the Elector of *Mayence*, as well for himself as in the Name of the Electors present, and of the Embassadors of the absent, represented to the Counsellors and Notaries, who had been recall'd into the Chapel, That the Electors had judg'd it necessary, in Consideration of the present State of Affairs, to give to the Empire, by a solemn Election, a Subject capable and qualify'd; and that having all of one Agreement, and by a common Consent acknowledg'd, That *Ferdinand* III, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, possess'd all the Qualities requisite to a King of the *Romans*, who was one Day to succeed in the Empire to his Imperial Majesty, to whom God send a long and happy Life; they had elected, and did elect all, with one Voice, the said *Ferdinand* III. King of the *Romans*. But whereas his Royal Dignity made Difficulty to accept that Honour without the Consent of the Emperor his Father, it was proper to keep the Election secret till his Imperial Majesty's Pleasure should be known.

Whereupon the Archbishop of *Mayence*, having ask'd the other Electors, and the Embassadors, If that were not their Intention, Will and Sentiment; and they having answer'd, Yes: He requir'd the Notaries, by virtue of the Power which the other Electors had given him, to draw up their verbal Process thereof; to make and deliver one or more Instruments in form, of the same, if Need required it; which the Notaries promis'd to do, and for this Effect they took the Counsellors there present as Witnesses.

The Deputies of the Electors return'd back within a little half Hour, and made their Report, That the Emperor would repair forthwith to the Church; as accordingly he did, and that with so much Diligence, that the Electors, who intended to have met him in the middle of the Body of the Church, found he had already enter'd the Chancel. They march'd in the same Order they had observ'd in coming into the Church, except that their Mareschals carry'd the Sword with the Point downwards. As soon as the Emperor perceiv'd them, he got out of the Chair in which he was carry'd; having before him *Wolfgang William* Count of *Pappenheim*, who discharg'd the Office of hereditary Mareschal, in the absence of the eldest of that House, who was indispos'd. The Electors having first complemented the Emperor, conducted him into a Chapel right against the Conclave, where the Imperial Garments lay ready, and the *Regalia* of the Empire, and then they retir'd into the Conclave. As soon as they knew that the Emperor was Robed, they went and receiv'd him in the Chapel, and conducted him into the Conclave; the Secular Electors marching first, and carrying the *Regalia*, and the Ecclesiasticks after. As soon as the Emperor had seated himself in a Chair, right against those of the Electors, and that the Chancellors and Counsellors were let in, the Archbishop of *Mayence* standing up, made his Report of the Election which had been made of the Person of *Ferdinand* III.

After the Archbishop had resum'd his Seat, the new King of the *Romans* went and seated himself in a Chair, which was plac'd on the Right of the Emperor's; in such manner nevertheless, that with Respect to the Altar, the Emperor still retain'd the first Place. Immediately after they went out of the Conclave, and the Emperor plac'd himself in a Chair under a Canopy, having before him an Oratory, where he knelt while Prayers were saying; during which Time he had caus'd his Crown to be taken off by the Count *Kiesel*, first Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber. He had by him the Count of *Wolfseck*, who held the Globe; the Prince of *Hohenzollern*, who held the Sceptre; and a young Count of *Pappenheim*, who held the Sword; and on his Right Hand were five Heralds at Arms dress'd in their Jackets. The Electors and the Embassadors conducted the King of the *Romans* streight to the High Altar, and after the Embassador of *Brandenburg* had taken off his Crown, which the Baron of *Limburg* receiv'd on a Velvet Cushion, the Bishop of *Ratisbone*, who had said the Mass of the Holy Ghost, pronounc'd some Prayers; during which, the Emperor, the King of the *Romans*, the Electors, and the Embassador of *Brandenburg*, kneel'd down; but that of *Saxony* kept standing.

Prayers being over, the Embassador of *Brandenburg* put the Crown again on the Head of the King of the *Romans*, and all the Electors and Embassadors plac'd him upon the Altar, assisting themselves therein with two Steps cover'd with Velvet, which had been made on purpose for that Use; and *Te Deum* was sung to the Sound of the Trumpets and Kettle-Drums, and follow'd by the Discharge of all the Canon of the Town, and several Volleys from the Burghers, who were under Arms.

After this the King of the *Romans*, and the Electors and Embassadors retir'd from the Altar, and went up into a Gallery erected in the Body of the Church, adjoyning to the Door of the Chancel, and cover'd with a very rich Tapestry. First march'd the Heralds with their Maces and Jackets: After them came some Lords, Counts and Barons; and then the hereditary Mareschals of the Electors: After that follow'd the Duke of *Bavaria*, who carry'd the Globe, having on his Right the Embassador of *Saxony*, and on his Left that of *Brandenburg*, who carry'd the Scepter: Then came the young Count of *Papenheim*, who bore the naked Sword before the Emperor, who was carry'd in a Chair, dress'd in his Imperial Garments, and having the Imperial Crown on his Head: The King of the *Romans* march'd last, having on his Right the Archbishop of *Mayence*, and on his Left the Archbishop of *Cologn*. In the Gallery were five Chairs of Crimson Velvet; two on the Right Hand, for the Electors of *Mayence* and of *Bavaria*; and three on the Left Hand, for the Elector of *Cologn*, and for the Embassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. In the middle were on an Alcove, rais'd about two Foot, two Chairs cover'd with Cloth of Gold and Silver; the one for the Emperor, and the other, which was about a Foot and Half backwarder than the first, for the King of the *Romans*.

When they had taken their Places, the Archbishop of *Mayence* order'd *John Regnault*, Baron of *Metternich*, Prevost of the Cathedral Church, to proclaim the Election to the People:

ple: and at the ſame time the King of the *Romans*, the Electors and the Embaſſadors ſtood up; but the Emperor remain'd ſitting, while the Baron of *Metternich* made the Proclamation according to the Tenor of what had been given him in writing, and was to this effect.

The moſt Reverend, and moſt Serene, my moſt Gracious Lords, the Princes Electors of the Holy Empire, having judg'd it neceſſary, for very preſſing and important Cauſes, to proceed to the Choice and Election of a King of the Romans; *their Graces and Electoral Highneſſes, and the Embaſſadors of the abſent, have, after a mature and ſerious Deliberation, to the Honour and Glory of Almighty God, and for the Benefit and Advantage of the Holy Empire, and of all Chriſtendom, elected in the Name of God, and nominated by one common Agreement, and with one Voice, for King of the* Romans, *the moſt Serene and moſt Powerful Prince and Lord,* Ferdinand III, *King of* Hungary *and* Bohemia, *Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *&c. our moſt Gracious Lord; as being born Arch-Duke of* Auſtria, *and their Coelector, in the Quality of King of* Bohemia, *to be Emperor, as ſoon as the Empire ſhall become vacant; which may it pleaſe God to delay for many Years. Which Election, ſo unanimouſly made, I publiſh and declare in the Name of the moſt Gracious Lords, the Princes Electors, and the Embaſſadors of the abſents: commanding every one to acknowledge for ſuch the ſaid Lord* Ferdinand III, *King of* Hungary *and* Bohemia, *&c. and to pay him the Honour and Reſpect which is due to him.*

After the Baron of *Metternich* had read the Proclamation, he cry'd firſt, *God ſave the King*, and made a Sign to the People to do the ſame: ſo that in a moment, the whole Church rung with Acclamations of Joy, which were accompany'd with the Sound of Trumpets and Kettle-Drums. Theſe Ceremonies were ended but very late; and the Aſſembly did not ſeparate till it was paſt two a Clock in the Afternoon. They went out of the Church in the following Order.

The Magiſtrates of *Ratisbone* had caus'd a Wooden Bridge to be made, adorn'd with Balluſters, and cover'd with Cloth, from the Church to the Biſhop's Palace. The Domeſticks of the Emperor, of the King of the *Romans*, of the Electors, and of the other Princes, with the Counts, Barons and Gentlemen, march'd firſt: After them came the Trumpets and Kettle Drums; and then the five Heralds at Arms, all uncover'd: The Elector of *Bavaria* march'd next, between the Embaſſadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*: Then follow'd the young Count of *Pappenheim* alone, carrying the Sword drawn before the Emperor, who was carry'd in a Chair by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition: Going out of the Church, four Senators of the City of *Ratisbone* receiv'd him under a Canopy of Yellow Taffaty, having in the Top thereof on the Inſide, an Eagle embroider'd in Black Silk: The King of the *Romans* was on his Left Hand, but a little backwarder, and had at his Sides the Electors of *Mayence* and of *Cologn*, who alſo let him go half a Pace before them: Some Perſons of great Quality, Prelates and others follow'd them; and the Yeomen of the Guard, and the Body Guards, clos'd the Proceſſion.

The Emperor was cloth'd in his Imperial Garments, and had the Imperial Crown on his Head. The King of the *Romans* had alſo his, but he had not chang'd his Clothes, and had on the ſame Electoral Robe, which he had when he went into the Conclave. The Embaſſadors had their ordinary Habits, and cover'd themſelves at their going out of the Church, as well as the Electors, who caus'd the Sword to be carry'd before them, but in the Scabbard, and the Point downward. The Emperor and the King of the *Romans* enter'd into their Apartment; where they thank'd and diſmiſs'd the Electors, who retir'd to their Lodgings.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Effect of the Election.

WE have given to underſtand in the whole Sequel of this Diſcourſe, that the Princes who are call'd Electors, have this Quality but only becauſe they are in Poſſeſſion of the Right of chuſing a Head to the Empire: and we have ſhewn, that the Plurality of Votes in the Electoral College makes an Emperor; ſo that it ſeems as if there was no room to doubt of the Effect of the Election. But they who ſhall conſider that the ſame *Golden Bull*, which has ſerv'd for Foundation to this Treatiſe, never ſpeaks of the Election of an Emperor, and gives no other Power to the Electors, than to make a King of the *Romans*, future Emperor: that is to ſay, a Prince who is not to take the Quality of Emperor, till he has been crown'd by the Pope; will eaſily allow, that it is not without Reaſon that we make a particular Chapter of the Effect of the Election; to know whether the Elect ought to be contented with the Quality of King, or whether he can take that of Emperor immediately after his Election.

There are two Opinions quite different on this Subject; the one maintains that the Pope is in poſſeſſion of the Right, not only to give the Title of Emperor to the Elect, but alſo the Empire it ſelf: and that the Election receives its Force from the Confirmation of the Pope: The other ſays on the contrary, that the bare Election makes the Emperor, and that it is not neceſſary the Pope's Authority ſhould intervene directly or indirectly.

There was formerly to be ſeen in a Picture in the Great-Hall of the *Lateran*, the Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Emperor *Lotharius* II, where the Pope *Innocent* II. had caus'd the Emperor to be repreſented at his Feet, to

receive the Imperial Crown, and do him Homage for the Empire. And that his Intention might not be doubted of, he had caus'd Verſes to be added thereto, which ſaid very expreſſly, that *Lotharius* became there the Pope's Man; that is to ſay, his Vaſſal.

Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:
Poſt homo fit Papæ, ſumit quo dante Coronam.

Pope *Adrian* IV, thinking he had ſome Reaſon to be diſſatisfy'd with *Frederick* I, was willing to lay hold of the Opportunity, and ſee whether that Emperor would ſuffer him to corroborate thereby, the Pretenſions of his Predeceſſors. He had contriv'd (in reproaching him with his Ingratitude, and that he did not acknowledge the Obligations he had to him) to ſlip into his Letters the Word *Beneficium*; with a Deſign to explain it to his Advantage, if it was over-look'd, and to make it believ'd that the Emperor own'd the Empire to be a Fief of the See of *Rome*; or to maintain his Pretenſions, if the Emperor offer'd to diſpute them with him. And indeed, his Legates did not diſſemble the Matter, and ſhew'd very well that the Word *Beneficium* ſignify'd Fief, when they ſaid; *Of whom then does the Emperor hold the Empire, if he does not hold it of the Pope?* *John* XXII, and *Clement* V, explain themſelves much better, when they ſay; *That the Kings of the* Romans, *who are choſen in* Germany, *are not look'd upon as Emperors, and that they cannot diſcharge the Functions thereof, till they have receiv'd the Power, together with the Crown, from the Hands of the Pope; to whom the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of the Empire belongs, during the Interregnum: That the Empire holds of the See of* Rome: *That the Election of the Princes of* Germany *has no other Force, than what it receives from the Authority and Confirmation of the Pope: That the Elect cannot meddle with the Affairs of the Empire, but under the good liking of the Divinity* (numine) *of the Vicar and Lieutenant of God; and that the Empire becoming vacant, the Pope can diſpoſe of it abſolutely, as of a Fief of the See of* Rome.

The Doctors who ſtand up for the Intereſt of that Court, ground the Power they aſſign the Popes, not ſo much on that of tying and untying which our Saviour gives to St. *Peter*, and to the other Apoſtles, (becauſe they are oblig'd to acknowledge that that Power is only Spiritual;) as on the Poſſeſſion of the Right which they ſay the Popes have to transfer States and Empires. They alledge for this Purpoſe the Examples of *Zachary*, and *Leo* III; and ſay, that the firſt transferr'd the Kingdom of *France* from the Houſe of *Meroveus* to that of *Pepin*; and that the other took away the *Roman* Empire from the *Greeks*, to beſtow it on the Eaſtern and Weſtern *French*, in the Perſon of *Charlemagne*: That the major part of the Princes who have been call'd to the Empire, did not take the Quality of Emperor till they had receiv'd the Imperial Crown from the Hands of the Pope: That they cannot after their Election aſſume any other Quality than that of King; and that they reckon'd the Years of their Empire, but from the Day of their Coronation at *Rome*: That *Charlemagne* himſelf would not diſpoſe of the Empire, without the Pope's Permiſſion; ſince he thought fit to ſend his Will and Teſtament as far as *Rome*, to have it ſign'd and confirm'd by him, who alone has a Right on Earth to diſpoſe of the Empire: That the Emperor *Albert* I, intreated the Pope *Boniface* VIII, to make the Empire hereditary in his Houſe; which he would not have done, if he had not believ'd that the Pope had a Power to diſpoſe of the ſame: That *Emanuel Comnenus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, offer'd a good Sum of Money to the Pope, and a very conſiderable Army againſt his Enemies, and to reunite the *Greek* Church to the *Latin*, if he would reunite the Empires of the Eaſt and Weſt in his Perſon.

But they who ſpeak for the Emperor's Intereſt, anſwer to this, That the Examples of *Zachary* and of *Leo* III, are of no uſe to the Intention of thoſe that alledge them: That indeed it is true, that ſeveral Authors, * almoſt Contemporaries with them, ſay very expreſſly, That the Depoſition of *Childerick*, and the Exaltation of *Pepin*, was the Work of the Pope, and that it was done by *Zachary*'s Authority: But then it muſt be conſider'd that they are moſt of them Strangers, and as Eccleſiaſticks, intereſſed in the Pope's Cauſe. Beſides which, they are often contented to copy one another Word for Word, and their Language is not ſo pure, to allow all their Expreſſions to be taken in their proper and natural Signification: That this appears evidently by the Teſtimony of a great Number of other Hiſtorians, at leaſt as knowing, and beyond compariſon more exact than the firſt, who all ſay, That *Childerick* was ſhav'd, and that *Pepin* was plac'd on the Throne by the Election of the *French*. Amongſt the Authors they alledge for this, there are two that are irreproachable; to wit, *Ado* and *Sigebert*. The firſt, who was Archbiſhop of *Vienna*, and liv'd under *Charles the Bald*, and under *Lewis* his Son, ſays, † That *Pepin* having ſent *Burghard*, Biſhop of *Wurtzburg* to *Rome*, to conſult the Pope concerning the State of the Affairs of the Kingdom, *Zachary* made anſwer to him, That it was better to call to the Crown him that appear'd capable of reigning; whereupon *the* French *gave themſelves a King, purſuant to the Pope's Advice, and that of the Embaſſadors*. *Sigebert*, a Monk in the Abbey of *Gembloux* in *Brabant*, who liv'd under the Emperor *Henry* IV, ſays, ‡ That Prince *Pepin* was crown'd by *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mayence* by Apoſtolick Authority, *and by the Choice of the* French. And that no doubt may be made hereof, they ſay, That the moſt affectionate to the Intereſt of the Court of *Rome*, the Prelates, Religious, and the *Italians*, agree that the Pope interven'd in this Action, but only to favour the Change the *French* deſign'd to make, and did really make with the Conſent of the States of the Kingdom. *Flavius Blondus*, Secretary to Pope *Eugenius* IV, does not ſcruple to ſpeak thus of it; * "I find in *Aleuin*, in *Paulus Diaconus*, " and in moſt of thoſe who have written the " Hiſtory of *France*, That the Lords and Peo-

* Blondel *names them all in his Treatiſe*, De Formulâ Regnante Chriſto. *Sect.* 2. §. 16. † Ann. 749. ‡ Ann. 750.
* Decad. I. lib. 10. *p.* 148.

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" ple of the Kingdom, making a Comparison " of the great Qualities of *Pepin*, with the Im- " pertinencies of *Childerick*, sent to the Pope " to ask him, Whether they were oblig'd to " suffer the Idleness of the one, and frustrate " the other of the Honour which was due to " his Merit? And that after the Pope had an- " swer'd, That it was proper to acknowledge " for King, him, who was most capable of sup- " porting the Regal Dignity, *The* French *de- " clar'd* Pepin *King, and put* Childerick *into a " Convent, by the Advice of all the People. An- " toninus*, Archbishop of *Florence*, says, † That " *Pepin*, Mayor of the Palace, considering the " Incapacity of his King, sent a solemn Em- " bassy to Pope *Zachary*, and desir'd to know " of him who best deserv'd to be King, He " who had all the Qualities requisite thereto, " and had the whole Administration of the Go- " vernment; or he, who spending all his Time " in Drunkenness and Sloth, had only the " bare Name thereof." To which, it is said, the Pope made this Answer, That he who knew the Art of Reigning, ought to reign in effect; and that these Embassadors having made their Report in *France* of the Pope's Answer, *a General Assembly was held of the Princes and Prelates; who depos'd* Childerick, *and elected, with one common Consent*, Pepin, whom they caus'd to reign over them. *P. Maturus*, a Jesuite, who has made Annotations upon *Antoninus*, adds, That the Pope had no Share in the Change, except that he made Answer to the Embassador's Questions, in the common Sense, and that *the whole Affair was begun, and finish'd by the* French *themselves*. *Naucleras* ‡, and *Sabellicus* *, do not speak otherwise thereof: But no body is more express on this Subject than *Michael Coccinius*, in his Treatise *De Translatione Imperij*, when he says, That *Childerick*, the last King of *France* of *Merovens*'s Posterity, was depos'd because he was incapable of reigning; and that *Pepin*, who was a Native of *Gallia Belgica*, was made King by the Pope. Now it is reasonable to believe, says he, that this Deposition of *Childerick*, and the Exaltation of *Pepin* had their chief Force from the Consent and Authority of the *French*. For by what we read that it was the Pope who depos'd the one, and substituted the other, must be understood; that he consented to those who depos'd and substituted, and that he freed them from their Oath of Fidelity, conformably to the Explication which the Gloss gives *in q. 6. c. alius*, where it says, *Deposuit, hoc est, deponentibus Consensit.*

They add to the Testimony of these Authors, the Particulars of the History of this Deposition; and say, That *Pepin* was substituted in the Place of *Childerick*, without the Intervention of the Pope's Authority, directly or indirectly; at least if the Word *Authority* be taken in its true Signification, for the Power of him who can command, and without which the *French* would not have dar'd, nor could not have proceeded to the Deposition of the King, and to the Election of another. For all those who in speaking of this Action, have accompany'd it with some Circumstances, make it sufficiently known, that the *French* did not intreat the Pope's Permission, for an Action of this Importance: but that it was *Pepin*, who had himself Occasion for it, to give a Colour to his Usurpation. And all that he did was to send *Burghard*, Bishop of *Wurtzburg*, to Pope *Zachary*, to ask in general Terms, which of the two best deserv'd to be King; he who had only the bare Name thereof, and abus'd that Quality, to pass his Life in a continu'd Idleness, or else he, who under the Name of a private Person, possess'd Qualities which were truly Regal, and employ'd his whole Care, and all his Thoughts in the Conduct and Management of the Affairs of the Kingdom: and that the Pope did no more than make a very general Answer, and such a one as might reasonably be expected from a Man of Sense.

For which Reason *Claude de Seissel*, who was a great Statesman under *Lewis* XII, speaking of this Action, says, That *Pepin*, considering that this Question, and the Answer which common Sense would oblige the Pope to make, would be capable of raising in *Zachary*, hopes of several Advantages against the Kings of *Lombardy*, had Address enough to wrest by this mean, a tacit Consent from the Pope to authorize his Usurpation. But if, says *Claude Fauchet* *, he had ask'd the Pope, whether it was lawful for *Pepin* to make use of the Weakness of his Prince, to take the Crown off of his King's Head to place it on his own? There is no likelihood that a good Pope, who had the least Tincture of divine and human Right, would have made an Answer in favour of *Pepin*. From whence they conclude, That *Zachary* did not back *Pepin* with his Authority, but was contented to favour his Pretensions under-hand: So that it cannot be said, it was the Pope who transferr'd the Regal Crown of *France* from one Family to the other; but that this Change is owing only to the universal Consent, and unanimous Agreement of the States of the Kingdom.

They produce against the Example of *Leo* III, the same Testimonies which we have just alledg'd against that of *Zachary*; but it will be sufficient to say with them, that in what *Leo* did there was no Translation of the Empire; because the word *Transfer* signifies to take from one Place or Person, to carry to, or give to another; so that the thing transferr'd is no longer where it was, but is found to be where before it was not. But *Leo* III. took nothing from the *Greeks*, not even so much as the Title of Emperor, which remain'd to the Princes of *Constantinople*, till such time as the *Turks* made themselves Masters thereof; and he gave no Empire to *Charlemagne*, who gain'd nothing in the West by his Coronation but the bare Title. This is what Cardinal *Bellarmin* restrains all the Power of the Pope to, at least in the Example of *Leo* III, when he says, That it is certain that *Charlemagne* was in Possession before his Coronation of all *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*, either by Right of Succession, or by that of Conquest, and that the Pope gave him only the bare Title of Emperor. The others on the contrary say, that the Pope did not so much as give him the Title: but that it was the Senate and People of *Rome* who would

† *Part. Hist.* 2. Tit. 18. cap. 1. §. 2. ‡ Gener. 26. Art. 750. * Ennead. 8. lib. 8. † *Antiq. Gall.* lib. 6. *chap.* 1.

needs honour with an extraordinary Quality their Sovereign, who poſſeſs'd too many Kingdoms to be contented with that of King: and that the ſame Pope, who as being *Charlemagne*'s Subject, could not arrogate to himſelf the Authority of undertaking of his own Head an Affair of this nature, diſcharg'd no other Function at his Coronation than that which the Cuſtom of *France* gives to the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*. They alledge for that, *Sigebert*, who ſays on this account, * "That the *Romans* being grown "weary of the Government of their Emperors "who reſided at *Conſtantinople*, and laying hold "of the occaſion they had from the Inſolence of "a Woman, who had caus'd the Eyes of the "Emperor her Son to be put out, in order to "reign her ſelf, ſaluted King *Charles* Emperor "with one common Conſent; crown'd him by "the Hands of the Pope, and call'd him Empe"ror and Auguſt." *Godefroy de Viterbe* †, explaining theſe words, *Crown'd by God*, which the *Roman* People mingl'd with their Acclamations at the Coronation of *Charlemagne*, ſays; That the Pope indeed crown'd *Charles*, but that it was *God* who anointed him, and that he was conſecrated by a Hand which is only viſible to the Heart: alledging for that the Paſſage of Holy Writ, where God ſays, That it is he has anointed *David*: to make it appear that *Charlemagne* held the Imperial Dignity of none but *God* immediately. And it is for this purpoſe they relate what the learned *Onuphrius Panvinius* ſays, ‡ That *Charles* having been declar'd Emperor by the Senate and the *Roman* People, was anointed and crown'd by the Pope, with a Diadem or Crown of Gold; becauſe he was the firſt Prelate of the World: after the Example of the Emperors of the Eaſt, who caus'd themſelves to be crown'd by the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, who were the firſt Prelates of the whole *Greek* Empire.

They find that nothing is more eaſy than to anſwer the Objections the firſt make concerning *Charlemagne*, *Albert* I, and *Emanuel Comnenus*. For firſt, as to *Charlemagne*, they ſay, that he made his Teſtament in the Year 806, and that he does not therein ſo much as mention the Empire, nor his Son *Lewis*; and that in reality he could not then have any thought of him; ſince both *Charles* and *Pepin* his Elder Brothers were ſtill living, and excluded *Lewis* from the Imperial Dignity: That *Charlemagne* did indeed ſend his Will to the Pope, and deſir'd him to ſign it: but that he likewiſe did the ſame Honour to all the Metropolitans, and to divers other Biſhops of his Empire. And that he was ſo far from intending by this Civility to beg the Imperial Dignity for his Son, that on the contrary the circumſtances of *Lewis*'s Coronation, whereof we have ſpoken heretofore, * make it very plain that he had a mind all the World ſhould know, that he held the Empire of God immediately, and by Right of hereditary Succeſſion.

As for *Albert* I, the Truth is, that this Emperor finding himſelf preſs'd by *Boniface* VIII, to declare War againſt *Philip le Bel* King of *France*, he gave him to underſtand, That he was ready to take Arms againſt *France*; but it was neceſſary to conſider, that he might periſh in the War, and ſo leave his Children to the Mercy of the Enemies of his Houſe: ſo that to give him both the Means and Courage to undertake it, it would be proper to confirm the Empire to his Son, and to make it hereditary to his Poſterity. There would indeed be room to ſpeak with Advantage in Favour of the Pope's Authority, in the Election of the Emperors, if *Boniface* had alter'd the elective State of the Empire, and made it hereditary, and if the Princes and States of *Germany* had approv'd the Change either by a publick Acknowledgment or a tacit Conſent: But there is no poſſibility of grounding it on the bare Demand of a Prince, who had a mind to rid himſelf of the Pope's Importunity, and who laugh'd at the Gift he offer'd him of the Kingdom of *France*, if he would but conquer it. However *Boniface*, who did not ſcruple to maintain that all Crowns held of his Mitre, was not ſo imprudent notwithſtanding as to undertake an Affair of that Importance; and the Refuſal he made to *Albert*, is an infallible Proof of his Impotency, and of the Apprehenſion he had of offending the Princes of the Empire, who would have had Courage enough to have employ'd againſt him the ſame Means which *Philip* was oblig'd to make uſe of for the Preſervation of the Rights of his Crown.

That the Offers of *Emanuel Comnenus* were not founded on the Opinion he had of the Pope's Power, but on the Knowledge he had of the Weakneſs of the Minds of thoſe Times, which were ſo devoted to the Pope's Will, that they made no Difference between the Decrees of the Court of *Rome*, and the Oracles of the Sanctuary. But notwithſtanding all this, it will not appear that the Advantage he offer'd the Pope (which was the greateſt the See of *Rome* can ever obtain, to wit, the Re-union of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches) could prevail with the Pope to grant the *Greek* Emperor what he demanded.

As to what the firſt ſay, that thoſe Princes of *Germany* which have not been crown'd by the Popes, ought not to be plac'd in the Catalogue of the Emperors; the others anſwer, that they cannot deny but the following Emperors are commonly left out of the ſaid Catalogue; to wit, *Lewis* III, *Conrade* I, *Henry* I, *Conrade* III, *Philip* of *Suabia*, *William* of *Holland*, *Alphonſus* of *Caſtile*, *Richard* of *Cornwal*, *Rodolphus* I, *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, *Albert* I, *Wenceſlas*, *Rupert*, and *Albert* II. But that it is by an Abuſe and the mere Caprice of the *Italian* Writers, who inſert in the place of *Lewis* III, and of ſome of his Succeſſors, ſeveral Uſurpers, who caus'd themſelves to be crown'd at *Rome* in thoſe Times; tho' they poſſeſs'd but a very ſmall part of what formerly made the Empire of *Germany*. And to ſhew that they have Reaſon to ſpeak thus, they ſay againſt the Objection which the firſt make here, concerning *Lewis le Begue* (who was crown'd Emperor, and was the third of the Name, and ſo *Lewis* of *Bavaria* would have been the fifth, if *Lewis* the Son of *Arnulphus* had been Emperor) that *Lewis le Begue* never took the Quality of Emperor, and that he was crown'd at *Troyes* by Pope *John* but only as King of *France*: So that

* Ann. 801. † Part 17. ‡ *In his Treatiſe* de Comitiis, cap. 5. * *Chap.* I.

if

if he be taken from the Number of the Emperors, which muſt of neceſſity be done, *Lewis* of *Bavaria* will not be the fourth, but the third of that Name, if *Lewis* the Son of *Arnulphus* was not Emperor. They moreover ſay, that even the Canons, in ſaying that *Henry* Duke of *Bavaria*, who ſucceeded in the Empire to *Otho* III, is the ſecond Emperor of that Name, ſufficiently declare that they believe *Henry the Fowler* was the firſt, and Emperor; and that if the Quality of Emperor be not given to *Lewis* III, *Conrade* I, and *Henry the Fowler*, it is not becauſe they were not crown'd at *Rome*; but becauſe they did not reign in *Italy*, where was the Seat of the Empire under *Lotharius* I, *Lewis* II, and *Charles the Bald*.

That it is true alſo, that the ſame *Charles the Bald* was he who began to diſtinguiſh between the Years of his Empire and thoſe of his Reign; but that he could not do otherwiſe, becauſe he was King of *France* long before he attain'd the Empire: and that it was not ſo much the Coronation that gave him the Quality of Emperor, as the Poſſeſſion of *Italy*, to which this Quality had been annex'd under *Lewis* II, his Predeceſſor, as we obſerv'd before. So that if he took the Title thereof but from the Day of his Coronation, it was becauſe he could not be certain whether *Lewis the German* his eldeſt Brother would get the ſtart of him, and make ſure of *Italy*, and the City of *Rome* before him. That thus *Otho* I. did not aſſume the Quality of Emperor but from the Day he was crown'd at *Rome*, becauſe he judg'd that he took Poſſeſſion of *Italy* by this Ceremony: But that it cannot be ſaid that therefore the Pope gave him the Empire, or even the Title of Emperor; ſince *Otho* could not hold that Dignity of a Prelate, whom he treated as a Subject, and from whom he took the Pontificate ſome Days after. That the ſaid Poſſeſſion of *Italy*, and of the City of *Rome*, has oblig'd moſt of *Otho*'s Succeſſors to diſtinguiſh between the Years of their Reign and thoſe of their Empire; and yet that this Cuſtom has not been ſo univerſal, but that amongſt ſo many Emperors, there are ſeveral to be found who have taken the Quality of Emperor and of Auguſt preſently after their Election, and before their Coronation. For *Frederick* II. was not crown'd by *Hugolin* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and Legate from *Honorius* III, till *November* 22, 1220; and yet there are Letters of *April* 19. foregoing, by which he confirms to the Biſhop of *Utrecht* certain Rights and Privileges, which had been granted to him before by his Predeceſſors, wherein he aſſumes the Quality of Emperor of the *Romans*, and of Auguſt. *William* of *Holland* makes a Donation to *John d'Avénes*, dated *June* 9, 1252, and in the fourth Year of his Empire, where he makes uſe of the word *Empire*, tho' he was never crown'd by the Pope. *Rodolphus* I. takes the Quality of Auguſt in the Act, by which he confirms to *Reginald* Earl of *Gueldres* the right of coining Money, from the Year 1282. *Adolphus* of *Naſſau* takes alſo the Quality of Auguſt in the Act, by which he confirms to the ſaid *Reginald* the leave to build the Town of *Staveren* in *Friſe*. *Albert* I. takes the ſame Quality of *Auguſt*, in the Letters which confirm to *Reginald* of *Gueldres* the Inveſtiture *Rodolphus* I. had given him of the *Eaſtern Friſe*, which is at preſent call'd the *Weſtern*, in reſpect to that which is ſituate beyond the River *Ems*. They are dated at *Boppard*, *April* 24, 1299, and thoſe from *Rodolphus* are inſerted therein, dated *July* 29, 1290. *Henry* of *Luxemburg* was not crown'd at *Rome* till the Year 1212, yet nevertheleſs he aſſumes the Quality of Auguſt in 1210. *Wenceſlas* was not crown'd at all in *Italy*; and yet that does not hinder him from taking the Quality of Emperor of the *Romans*, always Auguſt, in his Letters of Inveſtiture of the Dutchy of *Guelders* for *William* of *Juliers*, dated *October* 18, 1383. And it is with the ſame Indifferency that ſeveral other Emperors reckon the Years of their Empire ſometimes from the Day of their Election, and ſometimes from that of their Coronation.

That all the Emperors who have reign'd ſince *Charles* V, have reckon'd the Years of their Empire from the Day of their Election, and have neglected receiving the Imperial Crown from the Hands of the Pope; becauſe they look'd upon this Action to be a mere Ceremony, which their Predeceſſors had made uſe of, only to give the greater Luſtre to the Imperial Dignity: or elſe thereby to take as it were a civil Poſſeſſion of *Italy*, over which they pretended by this mean to preſerve their Rights. And that it appears manifeſtly that it is but a Ceremony, not only in this, that divers Princes who did not pretend to the Empire, would needs be crown'd by the Pope; but alſo becauſe ſome Emperors have reiterated this Ceremony in their own Perſons; tho' the Quality of Emperor was not conteſted with them. There are Examples thereof in *Pepin* King of *France*, who caus'd himſelf to be crown'd with his Sons in the Year 753, by Pope *Stephen* II, tho' he had in the Year 750. been crown'd by *Boniface* Archbiſhop of *Mayence*. *Charles* and *Carloman* Sons to *Pepin*, were nevertheleſs crown'd at their Acceſſion to the Crown, tho' they had already been crown'd with their Father by Pope *Stephen*. *Lewis le Begue* caus'd himſelf to be crown'd by Pope *John* VII; and yet he did not take the Quality of Emperor for all that. *Lewis the Debonnair*, who had been crown'd during his Father's Life in the Year 812, was ſo again by *Stephen* IV, in the Year 816. *Lewis* II. was crown'd by *Sergius* II, in the Year 864, and by *Adrian* II. the fifth of *June* 871. *Otho* I. by *John* XII. in the Year 962, and by *Leo* VIII. in 968. *Henry* V. by *Paſcal* II, in the Year 1111, and by the Biſhop of *Braccara*, whom he had caus'd to be choſen in oppoſition to *Gelaſius* II. in 1118. *Otho* IV. by *Guy de Poré*, Legate from Pope *Innocent* III, in the Year 1203, and by *Innocent* himſelf in the Year 1209. *Charles* IV. by *Peter Bermandy* and *Giles*, Cardinals of *Oſtia* and of *Sabine*, Legates from *Innocent* VI, in 1355, and by *Urban* V, in the Year 1364. They oppoſe to the Advantage the firſt may gain from the Decrees of *John* XXII, and thoſe of *Clement* V, the expreſs Proteſtations of ſeveral Emperors, who poſitively ſay, *That they hold their Dignity but of the Election only, which gives to the Elect all that Succeſſion gives to the Heir*. *Frederick* I. made Anſwer to the Legates of Pope *Adrian*; *That the Crown of the Empire is free: That it holds of God immediately:*

mediately: That the Emperor holds his Dignity of the Election of the Princes of Germany, *and that the Pope's Unction is but a mere Ceremony, as well as that of the Archbiſhop of* Cologn. *Rodolphus* I. ſpoke to thoſe who preſs'd him to go, and receive the Imperial Crown at *Rome*, in theſe Terms: Italy *has conſum'd ſeveral Kings of* Germany; *I ſhall not go to* Rome; *I am King*; *I am Emperor*; *and promiſe my ſelf to govern my Eſtates with as much Conduct, as if I had been crown'd at* Rome. And the Emperor *Maximilian*, who would never be crown'd by the Pope, tho' he took ſeveral Journies to *Italy*, did not ſcruple to tell the Legate, who was at the Diet of *Conſtance* in the Year 1507, *That it is but a mere Ceremony, and that it is of no Utility to receive the Imperial Crown from the Hands of the Pope*; *ſince all the Authority and Power of the Emperor depends abſolutely of the Electors and States of the Empire.*

Theſe are moſtly the Reaſons of both Parties; of which every one may judge. But it ſeems to many of the moſt learned in this matter, that thoſe of the Emperors are ſtrongeſt and beſt grounded in the Truth of Hiſtory; ſince Pope *Innocent in C. Venerabilem de Electio. & Elect. poteſtate*, makes no Difficulty to ſay: *It is our Opinion however, that if the Emperor cannot receive the Crown at* Rome, *he nevertheleſs receives the Authority to adminiſter the Affairs of the Empire from the Archbiſhop of* Cologn, *or even from the Power which the Election it ſelf gives him, without the Coronation.*

And therefore we ſhall finiſh this Diſcourſe with the formal Words of the Conſtitution of the Emperor *Lewis* IV, which declares, by the Advice and Conſent of all the Princes and States of the Empire; That the Imperial Dignity and Power is immediately from God, and that the ancient Cuſtom of the Empire requires, That *he who is choſen by all the Princes unanimouſly, or by the Plurality of Votes, ought to be reputed and nam'd, and is in effect true and lawful King and Emperor of the* Romans: That all the Subjects ought to reſpect him in this Quality, and that immediately after his Election he can adminiſter the Affairs of the Empire, without its being requiſite that the Conſent, Authority, Approbation, or Confirmation of the Pope, of the Apoſtolick See, or of any other foreign Power whatever, ſhould intervene directly or indirectly.

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